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S I X

HISTORICAL LECTURES,

ON THE
ORIGIN AND PROGRESS, IN ENGLAND,

OF THE
CHANGE OF RELIGION,

CALLED
THE REFORMATION,

DELIVERED IN THE
CATHOLIC CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY,
NEWARK, ENGLAND.

BY THE REV. J. WATERWORTH, M. A.

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INTRODUCTION

BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR.

THESE Lectures are from the pen of an English clergyman, educated, we believe, chiefly at Rome, and the author of several works appertaining to the history, faith, or doctrines of the Catholic church. The present work has been pronounced by competent judges the best compilation of the kind that has as yet appeared. To produce such a history, rather than give his own views or reflections upon the memorable revolution of the sixteenth century, appears, indeed, to have been the author's principal design. With wonderful patience and learning he has woven together the various acknowledgments, concessions, and testimonies regarding the real origin and character of the "Reformation," scattered through a host of Protestant writers, and thus, from their own lips, extorted unimpeachable evidence that the so-called "Reformation" never was, never could have been the work of God.

The names of Heylin, Soames, Burnet, Camden, Strype, Dugdale, Tanner, Godwin, Ellis, Herbert, Foxe, Collier, Baker, Wordsworth, Holinshed, Hume, Tytler, Mackintosh, and Hallam load his pages, prove his research in the preparation of these Lectures, and afford, at the same time, no slight argument of the author's willingness to give the "Reformation" the advantage of having its history told by its own advocates or friends. The reader is already aware that many, if not all of these names, rank among the most distinguished historical writers that England has

produced. The effect of their united testimony upon the sincere inquirer after truth, is such as might be expected. And if ever Mr. Waterworth should cast his eye over these lines, it will afford him unmingled pleasure to know, that it is the impression produced upon such an inquirer, that has led to the speedy republication of his book on this side of the Atlantic, in its present permanent form.

A late writer has observed of the times in which we live, "Never since the era of what is called the 'Reformation,' has the controversy between Protestantism and Catholicism assumed so interesting a complexion; never has it come so home to every breast; never was it so imperative on each individual to make a decision as to his own line of conduct!"*

Since these words were written, scarcely a week of years has passed away, and the evidences of their truth have accumulated on every side. Judging from the general tone of language and sentiment that pervaded society within the recollection of some now living, few could have anticipated the change in both, which we this day behold; which no attentive observer of the times can fail to perceive. The heart of the Catholic leaps within him at the brightening prospect; and as he contemplates the possibility of the near approach of that day when the mother-church of Christendom shall again fold to her bosom her long-estranged children, Heaven will forgive him if a prayer escape his lips that he may not close his eyes in death before he hath seen the salvation of Israel.

We are not of that number, if, indeed, there be any such, who are inclined to set an extravagant value upon the tokens of love, the marks of respect, the signs of repentance, in their deportment towards the Catholic Church, which distinguish the men of the present, from the generation that has gone before them. Our convictions of her divine origin and mission are, we trust, too deeply seated

* Manzoni's *Vindication*, &c., preface, p. xvii.

to be much influenced in her regard, by either the smiles of the world or the frowns of hell.

As amid the ever-changing scenes of this earth—the fall of empires, the rise of states—the Church steadfastly looks on the face of her Christ, we read on her sad, but immortal brow, her past eventful history, her future destiny. The life of her divine Spouse is the type of her own. His mortal course was not one of unmingled joy, of unclouded glory. The brightness of Thabor was soon followed by the gloom of Calvary; and this, again, by the splendours of Olivet. Deeply, indeed, did He drink of the torrent in the way, before he lifted his head in the kingdom of his Father. Such, too, is the destiny of his Church. She has her ages of tribulation; she has her years of honour and glory; these again to be succeeded by, perchance, darker ages of sorrow than any she has yet endured, until she is summoned to the last struggle and the last triumph that shall close her earthly career.

With these convictions of the indefectibility of the Church of God—that Church of which a thousand years ago an intrepid bishop said, “We confess one, and only one Catholic and Apostolic Church, never to be overcome”^{*}—do we therefore suppose we may disregard, as of no account, the homage which from time to time her very adversaries love to offer her? Far from it. These testimonials have their permanent value. They may be likened to so many grains of gold which the stream of time, as it rolls on to the ocean of eternity, throws up from its troubled waters; and he who stoops to gather them, to make an offering of them afterwards upon the shrine of Truth, has not toiled in vain.

Within the last few years so many such evidences of improved feeling, of actual good-will among the ranks of our separated brethren; so many testimonials to the beauty,

^{*} Μία καὶ μόνη καθολικὴ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀκαίρετον μὲν αὐτ. St. Alexander of Alexandria. Ep. apud Theodoret, Hist. Eccl., l. 1, c. iv.

majesty, and worth of our everlasting Church, have come under our observation, that we are almost at a loss what gem to choose, to deck therewith the feet of her whose steps are beautiful upon the mountains, bringing good tidings, preaching peace. We take one from a native writer. He is speaking of the efforts made by the Church to civilize mankind more immediately through the influence of her religious institutions; to infuse into the heart of society a gentler, a holier, a more spiritual life than it had hitherto possessed; and thus eloquently, truthfully, does he discourse.

“In this sphere it laboured with untiring zeal and perseverance from the first century to the fifteenth, and successfully laid the foundations of all that society now is. During the greater part of that period, by means of its superior intelligence and virtue, it ruled the State, modified its action, and compelled its administrators to consult the rights of man, by protecting the poor, the feeble, and the defenceless. It is not easy to estimate the astonishing progress it effected for civilization, during that long period, called by narrow-minded and bigoted Protestant historians, the dark ages. Never before had such labours been performed for humanity. Never before had there been such an immense body, as the Christian clergy, animated by a common spirit, and directed by a common will and intelligence, to the cultivation and growth of the moral virtues and the arts of peace. Then was tamed the wild barbarian, and the savage heart made to yield to the humanizing influences of tenderness, gentleness, meekness, humility, and love; then imperial crown and royal sceptre paled before the crosier; and the representative of Him, who had lived, and toiled, and preached, and suffered, and died in obscurity, in poverty, and disgrace, was exalted; and made himself felt in the palace and in the cottage, in the court and the camp; striking terror into the rich and

noble, and pouring the oil and wine of consolation into the bruised heart of the poor and the friendless.

“Wrong, wrong have they been, who have complained that kings and emperors were subject to the spiritual head of Christendom. It was well for man that there was a power above the brutal tyrants called emperors, kings, and barons, who rode rough-shod over the humble peasant and artisan; well that there was a power even on earth, that could touch their cold and atheistical hearts, and make them tremble as the veriest slave. The heart of humanity leaps with joy, when a murderous Henry is scourged at the tomb of Thomas à Becket; or when another Henry waits barefoot, shivering with cold and hunger for days, at the door of the Vatican; or when a Pope grinds his foot into the neck of a Frederic Barbarossa.

“Aristocratic Protestantism, which has never dared enforce its discipline on royalty or nobility, may weep over the exercise of such power; but it is to the existence and exercise of such power that the PEOPLE owe their existence, and the doctrine of man’s equality to man its progress.

“All that the Church has really done for humanity was done during what are termed the dark ages. It then laid the foundations of modern civilization, breathed into it its humane and gentle spirit, and animated it for an uninterrupted career of peaceful conquest. It was then it established schools and universities, founded scholarships, and prepared for a system of universal education. It emancipated the slave, declared all men equal before God, raised the barefooted friar to the throne of Christendom, and made the rich sinner disgorge his misbegotten wealth to feed the poor he had robbed, and to serve the interests of humanity. Children, as we are, of what is called the ‘Reformation,’ and which was nothing but a rebellion against the Church, and the establishment of an insurrectionary government, we are too prone to forget the benefits of the

Church; and, casting a veil over its struggles and its labours of love, we would fain make it appear, that there was no light in the world till Protestantism was born, and nothing done for humanity till a German monk dared burn the Papal bull. But all that has been done since is but the necessary development of what was done before. He is an undutiful son who curses his own mother, and no good can come of him.”*

From writers professing the most widely diverging creeds, we might cite passages of similar tone and tendency to fill a volume; to meet almost every objection that has been raised against the usages, doctrines, or rites of the Catholic Church. Whatever may be the last result of this singular state of transition, in which a considerable portion of those who sway the public mind, appear at this moment to be, this much is evident: we should do nothing, we should say nothing to chill this growing love; to turn aside, even for a moment, this current of holier thoughts which appears to be gently wafting on some noble spirits to the peaceful haven of Catholicity. Not by taunts and ridicule, not in strife and envy, not by bitterness and reviling, can we ever hope to reunite the broken links of that golden chain which once bound the nations of Christendom to the chair of Peter, and to the throne of God. If our holy faith is ever to receive that development, on this vast continent, which passing events seem to foreshadow, and which some impartial observers have even predicted for it, the memorable conquest will be won by the arms and in the spirit of those humble men—the almost forgotten Apostles of our western world—who, long before the soldier or the trader had crossed the Alleghanies, “pressed on from lake to lake, and from river to river, unresting; and with a power that no other Christians have exhibited, to win to the faith of Christ, the warlike Miamis, and the luxurious Illinois.” Blessed are the meek, *for they shall possess*

* Boston Quarterly Review, No. xvii., January, 1842, p. 13, 14.

the land: are words of the Son of God: and his followers should not forget them. In meekness and humility, long-suffering, patience, fortitude—love, even for those who revile, and calumniate, and persecute us, we shall more certainly triumph over present and future opposition, than by all the means that human wisdom, wealth, learning, and power could array in our support. Far be it from us to undervalue such auxiliaries; but, generally speaking, these are not the arms of God. “For, the weak things of this world hath God chosen, to confound the strong: And the base things of the world, and the things that are contemptible hath God chosen, and things that are not, that he might bring to naught things that are: That no flesh should glory in his sight.”*

Almost without such temporal means, and with infinitely greater difficulties to surmount, the Church hath conquered one world: and why not another?—a world, too, which by the holiest ties she might justly call her own. A Catholic first discovered it; and planted the Cross, the never-rejected symbol of our faith, upon its virgin shores. Another Catholic gave it its name. Catholic missionaries first evangelized it. Catholic martyrs first watered its soil with their blood. A Catholic monk first taught, beneath its sky, that all men were brethren: that the master and his slave were equal before God. Catholics first proclaimed among its unfettered sons the glorious law of civil and religious liberty. And at this hour, (in the words of the philosophic De Tocqueville,)[†] “America, the most democratic country in the world, is also, according to reports worthy of belief, the country in which the Roman Catholic religion makes most progress.”

Nor are the reasons assigned for the fact by this profound investigator of our institutions, irrelevant to our

* 1 Cor. i. 27—29.

† Democracy in America, by Alexis De Tocqueville. Vol. iii., chapter vi., p. 54, London edit.

present purpose, or unworthy the attention of every free-man.

“Equality inclines men to wish to form their own opinions; but, on the other hand, it imbues them with the taste and the idea of unity, simplicity, and impartiality in the power which governs society. Men living in democratic ages are, therefore, very prone to shake off all religious authority; but if they consent to subject themselves to any authority of this kind, they choose at least that it should be single and uniform. Religious powers not radiating from a common centre are naturally repugnant to their minds; and they almost as readily conceive that there should be no religion, as that there should be several. . . . The men of our days are naturally little disposed to believe; but, as soon as they have any religion, they immediately find in themselves a latent propensity which urges them on towards Catholicism. Many of the doctrines and practices of the Roman Church astonish them; but they feel a secret admiration for its discipline, and its great unity attracts them. . . . One of the most ordinary weaknesses of the human intellect is to seek to reconcile contrary principles, and to purchase peace at the expense of logic. Thus there have ever been, and will ever be, men who, after submitting some portion of their religious belief to the principle of authority, will seek to exempt several other parts of their faith from its influence, and to keep their minds floating at random between liberty and obedience. But I am inclined to believe that the number of these thinkers will be less in democratic than in other ages; and that our posterity will tend more and more to a single division into two parts—some relinquishing Christianity entirely, and others returning to the bosom of the Church of Rome.”*

With such a prospect before us, have we not cause for hope? Have we not cause for humble joy such as thrilled

* Democracy in America, vol. iii., chap. vi., p. 55, 56, London edition.

the souls of the holy men of old, who “died according to faith, not having received the promises, but beholding them, *afar off*, and saluting them, and confessing that they were pilgrims and strangers on earth?”* Is it not the hour for us to lift our hearts with a still more earnest prayer to Him “who sendeth knowledge as the light: who filleth up wisdom as the Phison: and as the Tigris in the days of the new fruits: Who maketh understanding to abound as the Euphrates: who multiplieth it as the Jordan in the time of harvest;† that He would gather together the tribes of Jacob; that they may know there is no God besides Thee: that He would hasten the time, and remember the end, that we may declare his wonderful works?”‡

Profoundly significant, full of mystic beauty and maternal love, is that ordinance of the Church which prescribes to her ministers to pray, as the sun marks the sixth hour of the day:

“Extingue flammas litium,
Aufer calorem noxium,
Confer salutem corporum,
Veramque pacem cordium.”§

When shall it dawn upon us,—that Sabbath of our griefs and discontents! The man of desires prayed; and the years of desolation were shortened upon his people, and upon the holy city, that transgression might be finished, and sin might have an end. The Beholder of all Ages, who received *his* supplication, will not turn away from *ours*. For he that adareth God with joy, shall be accepted, and his prayer shall approach even to the clouds. Now, as then, He is willing to be appeased: to hearken and do:

* Heb. xi. 13.

† Eccl. xxiv. 35—37.

‡ Ibid. xxxvi. 10—13.

§ Thus rendered in the Oxford Tracts, vol. iii., p. 68.

“Quench Thou the fires of hate and strife,
The wasting fever of the heart;
From perils guard our feeble life,
And to our souls Thy peace impart.”

No. 75, English edition.

for it is not for our justifications that we present our prayers before Thy face, but for the multitude of thy tender mercies. Have mercy on Jerusalem, the city which Thou hast sanctified: the city of Thy rest. Fill Zion with thy unspeakable words; and Thy people with thy glory. Give testimony to them that are thy creatures from the beginning; and raise up the prophecies which the former prophets spoke in Thy name. Reward them that patiently wait for Thee, that thy prophets may be found faithful: and hear the prayers of Thy servants.*

They who have read these Lectures in the English edition, will perceive that we have taken the liberty of dividing a few sentences, which most readers would find perplexing from their length and the amount of matter crowded into them. On pages 423, 424, 425, of the original, we have ventured, perhaps at our peril, but not unadvisedly, to soften down considerably the language of the estimable author, where it appeared to us, his solicitude to vindicate his Catholic countrymen against certain unfounded charges had carried him too far. In such matters, especially, we should not lose sight of the sound rule as well as noble sentiment of a German poet:

“Revere the Church, thy Mother;
And love thy father-land.”

We have likewise added a few notes and references on the subject of the Anglican ordinations, that the reader may have an opportunity of hearing something on both sides of this important question.

* Vide Eccl., chapters xxxvi. xxxv.; and Daniel, chapter ix.

HISTORICAL LECTURES

ON THE

REFORMATION.

LECTURE I.

A. D. 1488—1530.

Introductory remarks.—Character of the Lectures, chiefly historical.—Subject touches the greatest interests of every Protestant.—Observations of Sir Richard Baker, Heylin, and Burnet.—Arthur, Prince of Wales, marries Catharine of Spain.—Accession of Henry VIII.—State of religion.—Henry's disposition towards the church.—Marries Arthur's widow, the Princess Catharine.—Anne Boleyn and the divorce question.—Henry's conduct towards his queen; with Pope Clement VII.; with Cardinal Wolsey; with the Papal Legate, Campegio.—Campegio's noble reply to Henry's counsel.—Feelings of the nation on the divorce question.—The sweating sickness.—Cranmer and Charles V.—Sir Thomas More and the Bishop of Rochester.—Consultation of the Universities.—Luther's declaration.

If those who are here assembled were not already fully acquainted with the causes which have forced me to enter on the present examination, I might deem it necessary, or expedient to apologize for entering on so delicate and debated a subject as the origin and progress, in this country, of the change of religion, called the Reformation. But this task is rendered unnecessary, from the attention which has, for some time, been directed to my published "Remonstrances" against an organized system of anonymous insult, aggression, and calumny, directed not merely against the faith and practices of the Catholic Church, but having also for its object, to increase the disunion with which this town is distracted, by ascribing the persecution and personal villanies of the dead, not to the depravity or misguided zeal of individuals, but to the religious system professed by the living Catholic.

It was felt that I should have betrayed the religion of which I am the minister, had I suffered such accusations to pass unnoticed; and that, taking into account the deeply-rooted prejudices of this town against the Church of their forefathers, I was imperatively called upon to appear in defence of that religion,

which I believe to be the religion of Jesus, unless I was willing to be judged unable to give a satisfactory answer.

Every concession and effort at conciliation, that, as a Christian, I felt myself called upon to make, I have made. My proposals have been placed before the public, have been addressed to the circulators of the calumnies against us, and my intentions, in case justice was denied me, have been as openly expressed; with the hope that the fears, at least, of my opponents, might induce them to show ordinary charity towards the Catholic. Those appeals have met with no reply, nor have the accusations been retracted or withdrawn. But am I not justified in adding, that the multitude that fills, that crowds this sacred edifice in every part, even to the serious inconvenience of my hearers, proves either that these attacks are disapproved, or that their truth, if not positively disbelieved, is doubted; and that a spirit of inquiry is excited, which will not slumber till the mind has been set at rest by a careful, and, I trust, impartial examination. Your presence and attention show that you are resolved to know the origin of that mighty change which severed the golden chain which, formed by the hand of the Redeemer, linked this country, during ages, to the other nations of the earth, as the Catholic or universal empire of the King of kings.

And yet, loudly as I may have been called upon to arise in self-vindication, I wish it to be distinctly understood that, from that motive alone, I should not have felt myself necessitated to adopt my present course. Besides defending the Catholic Religion, I further believe that I shall put to silence the tongue of the reviler, and thus I feel persuaded that this temporary excitement will be followed by those best of blessings and gifts, charity and peace. The truth will then be known, that the Catholic suffered during more than two centuries, in fortune, person, and life, all that, and more than what was inflicted on the Protestant, during the brief ascendancy of Mary. It is not then so much of the information communicated, as of that withheld by our enemies, that I complain; and it is to supply what they suppress, that I have engaged in this inquiry. The knowledge of the truth, and of the whole truth, will prevent the possibility of continuing, in this town, to work upon the prejudices of the public, in order to excite their indignation against one party, and thus the necessity of mutual forgiveness and forgetfulness of the acts of both parties when in power, will be seen by all. For if a creditor have a claim on me for a hundred pounds, he must cancel his bond, if I can produce an equal or larger claim against him. If the Catholic owe the Protestant a thousand, the Protestant, I contend, owes the Catholic ten thousand pounds.

And now a few remarks on the character of these lectures, and the objects they will embrace. If any one expect loud

declamation against the established Church and her ministers, or figures of oratory, he will be disappointed. Facts, and facts as recorded by Protestant or contemporary authorities, and preserved in the statutes of our Parliaments, and the canons of the established Church, will be laid before you. The labour that these facts have cost me to collect I will not dwell upon, as I am amply repaid, by the opportunity now offered me of laying bare before this vast audience, the foundation of that church, which, three centuries ago, was begun to be raised by the most profligate and tyrannical of our kings, Henry VIII.

Thus we shall not merely weigh blood against blood, but be carried back to the commencement of the religious changes in this country; test the motives of the innovators by their actions; examine, by the same standard, the sincerity of their professions, the piety or sinfulness of their counsels, and decide whether the work was indeed that of God, or not rather of man's basest passions, lust, hypocrisy, revenge, and avarice.

The subject touches the dearest interests of every English Protestant, as well as claims his attention from its own seriousness and importance; for, in the words of Sir Richard Baker, "We shall come to hear of occurrences that have been matter of talk to this day, whereof the like have never been seen, and will hardly be believed when they are heard. A marriage dissolved after twenty years' consummation! Houses, built in piety, under pretence of piety, dissolved! Queens taken out of love, put to death out of loathing! and the church itself so shaken, that it has stood in distraction ever since."¹

We have here the cause, and some of the effects, of the first and most important, and only permanent change in that religious system under which our forefathers, during more than a thousand years, had lived and died. It was Henry's lust, revenge, and rapacity that removed the centre stone of the arch, that principle of unity, by which, under one head appointed by Jesus Christ, there was formed, of all the nations and kingdoms of the earth, one catholic or universal kingdom, believing in one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and one church.

This is so universally acknowledged, and will be made so clear in the sequel, that I need scarcely quote the following testimonies from Heylin and Bishop Burnet. "This king," (Henry VIII.,) says Heylin,² "being violently hurried with the transport of some private affections, and finding that the Pope appeared the greatest obstacle to his desires, he first divested him by degrees of that supremacy which had been challenged and enjoyed by his predecessors for some ages past, and, finally, extinguished his authority in the realm of England." "When Henry began his reforma-

¹ Baker's Chron., p. 272.

² Heylin's Preface to his History of the Reformation.

tion," says Bishop Burnet,¹ "his design seemed to have been, in the whole progress of these changes, to terrify the court of Rome, and force the Pope into a compliance with what he desired."

It may be necessary, for the sake of those who may not be well acquainted with the history of this period, to place before you a few facts which have an intimate connection with the subsequent events, and without which it will be difficult or impossible to follow the train of reasoning and narrative of this lecture.

"Henry was, as is well known, a second son. His elder brother, Arthur, Prince of Wales, was born in 1488, and at the age of fifteen married the Princess Catharine of Spain, being likely, as far as human foresight could penetrate, to inherit, and, by his amiable qualities, to adorn the throne."² "The young prince, a few months after, sickened and died, much regretted by the nation. Henry VII., desirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and also unwilling to restore Catharine's dowry, which was two hundred thousand ducats, obliged his second son, Henry, whom he created Prince of Wales, to be contracted to the infanta. The prince made all the opposition of which a youth of twelve years was capable; but as the king persisted in his resolution, the espousals were at length, by means of the Pope's dispensation, contracted between the parties, an event which was afterwards attended with the most important consequences."³

2. "Henry VIII. ascended the throne of England on the 20th day of April, 1509. He was the first prince for more than a century who had ruled that kingdom with an undisputed title. Every other monarch since the deposition of Richard II. had been accounted a usurper by a portion of the people."⁴

3. "England, though the native country of Wickliffe, and the home of his earliest disciples, was never allowed, like Bohemia, to exhibit the spectacle of a religious party openly refusing to hold communion with the Roman church. The statutory powers, with which Henry IV. had consented, for his own ends, to arm the clergy, effectually enabled them to prevent the Lollards from forming a compact and conspicuous body. Persons, however, thus designated, were known to abound in the kingdom, but their condition seldom reached mediocrity, and they differed, in general, outwardly, little or nothing from their neighbours."⁵

4. "A prince so favourably circumstanced as Henry was, might have ventured, with reasonable confidence, even upon the hazardous experiment of altering the national religion, if his people's voice should appear to approve such a change, or their interest to demand it. But not only did the force of early prejudice, and

¹ Preface, vol. i.

² Tyler's Life of Henry VIII. p. 10.

³ Hume's History of England, c. xxvi., ann. 1502.

⁴ History of Eng. by Sir J. Mackintosh, vol. ii., p. 107.

⁵ History of the Reformation, by the Rev. H. Soame, vol. i., p. 157.

the dislike of innovation, natural to established power, attach him to the papal church: he was also more than usually obedient to her voice from other causes."¹

One example of his peculiar attachment to the Catholic church, and the religion of his forefathers, deserves to be recorded as characteristic of his studies and feelings. "In the year 1521, Henry published a Latin treatise, in reply to the reformer, Luther, entitled, 'A defence of the seven sacraments against Martin Luther,' and dedicated to the Pope. The book was highly extolled by the Pontiff, to whom it was presented in full consistory, by Dr. John Clarke, Dean of Windsor, the English ambassador at Rome. The treatise was richly bound, and laid up in the Vatican as a rarity, where it still remains. The reception of this work was soon followed by a bull from the Pope, conferring upon the king the title of 'Defender of the Faith,' a denomination which neither Henry nor succeeding monarchs have deemed inconsistent to retain, even since their authority has established doctrines wholly opposite to the tenets of that work by which it was obtained."²

From this view of the state of religion, and of Henry's disposition towards it, we will pass to his eventful marriage with the relict of his brother Arthur, the virtuous but unfortunate Catharine. "The solemnities of his father's funeral being completed, he was to determine, before his coronation, whether he should fulfil the nuptial engagement with his brother's wife, against which he had secretly protested, in order to reserve to himself the liberty of a more active dissent in due season. It is hard to suppose that any serious deliberation should arise on the question of fulfilling sacred engagements to a blameless princess, the richly-portioned daughter of a powerful monarch, then probably the the most natural and useful ally of England. If any *doubt* then occurred of the *validity* of the marriage, *the last moment for trying the question was at that time come*. Faith and honour, if not law, required that actual acquiescence in its legality at that moment should be deemed to silence all such objections to it forever. Ample time had been indeed allowed for a more thorough and speedy examination of scruples, for the dispensation of Pope Julius II. had been in England six years."³

Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, is said to have been the only member of Henry's council who raised any objections to the match, and even his difficulties were so completely removed, that he joined Henry and Catharine in wedlock on the 6th of June, 1509, about six weeks after the demise of the late king. They were crowned on the 24th of the same month,⁴ "on which occasion, it must be observed, that Catharine was attired as a virgin."⁵

¹ History of the Reformation, by Rev. H. Soame, vol. i., p. 164.

² Thomson's Memoirs of Henry VIII., vol. i., pp. 380—383.

³ Mackintosh's History of England, vol. ii., p. 110.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Memoirs of Henry VIII., vol. i., p. 28. That her marriage with Arthur had never

"Her long suspense being thus happily terminated, she continued, during several years, to live comfortably with her husband. In the course of this time, she was repeatedly pregnant, but one of her children only, the Lady Mary, survived the period of infancy. Henry beheld his sons just show themselves, and then sink into the tomb, with all that poignant grief and disappointment naturally incident to such fathers in particular as have a splendid inheritance to leave behind them. At length, when every hope of other issue from his wife had disappeared, one of her principal holds upon his affections was gone. Catharine also now began to lose something of those attractions which the bloom of youth had once thrown around her: she even fell into an indifferent state of health, and became afflicted with some infirmities: circumstances likely to whisper in the ears even of a husband less self-indulgent than the king, that he had not done over wisely in marrying a wife six years older than himself. Under the disappointment and irritation that he felt, Henry's mind naturally recurred to those censures upon his marriage which he had heard so solemnly passed in boyhood. He now suspected that his connexion with the queen was sinful, and that the hand of Providence had cut off his male progeny as a judicial punishment."¹

Whether we are to ascribe to the inconstancy, the superstition, or the scruples of Henry, or to these and other causes combined, the *first suggestion of a divorce*, it is not easy to determine. The following account of Henry's dispositions is extracted from Mackintosh,² and seems to me very near the truth. "Whether Henry really felt any scruple respecting the validity of his marriage during the first eighteen years of his reign, may be reasonably doubted. No trace of such doubts can be discovered in his public conduct till the year 1527. Catharine had then passed the middle age: personal infirmities are mentioned, which might have widened the alienation. About the same time, Anne Boleyn, a damsel of the court, at the age of twenty-two, in the flower of youthful beauty, and full of graces and accomplishments, touched the fierce, but not unsusceptible heart of the king. One of her ancestors had been lord mayor of London, in the reign of Henry VII.; her family had since been connected with the noblest houses of the kingdom; her mother was the sister of the Duke of Norfolk."

On another occasion the same writer observes:³ "The light that shone from Anne Boleyn's eyes might have awakened or revived Henry's doubts of the legitimacy of his long union with

been consummated, seems probable, if not certain, 1st, From the appeals of the queen, during her trial before the Legate, to Henry, in assertion of the fact, and from Henry's silence. 2dly, Henry acknowledged the truth of the assertion, to her nephew, the emperor. "Tu ipse hoc fassus es, virginem te accepisse, et Cæsari fassus es," &c., *Pole, Pro unit. eccl.*

¹ Soame, vol. i. p. 177.

² History of England, p. 149.

³ Ibid. p. 151.

the faithful and blameless Catharine. His licentious passions, by a singular operation, recalled his mind to his theological studies, and especially to the question relating to the Papal power of dispensing with the Levitical law, which must have been the subject of conversation at the time of his unusual, if not unprecedented espousal of his brother's widow. Scruples at which he had once cursorily glanced as themes of discussion, now borrowed life and warmth from his passions. In the course of examining the question, his assent was likely at last to be allured into the service of desire."

Thus did Henry first begin to urge a divorce from Catharine, whom, with the consent of his council, he had married, though every objection to the union was known to him, though six years had elapsed between the reception of the Papal bull of dispensation and the marriage, and though, during more than seventeen years, he had lived with Catharine without an acknowledged scruple as to the lawfulness of the contract.

Every man that has a heart will acknowledge that, under these circumstances, Henry's wishes should have led him to desire the continuance, and not the dissolution of that contract, and that, if a doubt existed, his wife of eighteen years, and the mother of his children, should have the benefit of it, and not be cast upon the world as degraded by an unwarrantable union, and her children branded as illegitimate. Conscience and honour required this at least from Henry in the conduct of the divorce. But do his actions show that these were his feelings? Or rather do they not prove, that whatever veil of conscience and religious scruple he may have wished to throw over his real and baser views, the covering was so thin, that at every turn in the progress of the question, it was evident that passion, and not conscience, was his prompter.

His motives, then, we will test by his actions. We will view him in confidential intercourse with his different agents, examine the nature of the services they were evidently expected to perform, the counsels and the means recommended for their guidance and use; in all which there will be seen a determination, notwithstanding his public professions of a wish for justice and tenderness towards his queen, to divorce himself, right or wrong, justly or unjustly, from Catharine, in favour of her more youthful rival. We shall see him alternately employing promises and threats, bribes and menaces: now rewarding the friends to the divorce, and now punishing and murdering its opponents, as his personal enemies; canvassing every corner of Europe, and squandering the public money to obtain opinions against the validity of his marriage; now moving earth, now appealing to heaven, and forced at all to the basest and bloodiest acts, by his violence, or the palpable injustice of his cause. Finally, we shall see that, unable to bribe or threaten an unjust decision from the

head of that church to whose decision he had submitted himself, he assumes to himself an authority in spiritual matters greater than ever was, or can be exercised, in this, or any other country, by the most ambitious pontiff; and, by an act of the blackest treachery, under the ban of an unjust *præmunire*, forces the clergy in convocation, and the Commons in Parliament, either to forfeit every farthing of their fortunes as traitors, or sign their belief in the justice and necessity of a divorce, and in his claim to be, by God's appointment, the spiritual head of the English Church. Now, if these be facts, to which history gives her clearest testimony, was it the Spirit of God, or of the devil, that prompted to the denial of the supremacy of the Pope, and the consequent separation of this island from the rest of Christian Europe? At all events, these things will show clearly that the change was not the result of scriptural examination, or of conscientious conviction, but rather was engendered in lust, fostered by hypocrisy and revenge, and brought to maturity by rapine, sacrilege, and murder.

And here would be the place, were these Lectures controversial and not historical, to expose the folly, or the blasphemy of the pretext (for it deserves no better name) made use of by those who, unable, or unwilling to shut their eyes to the clear light of historical truth, admit the scandalous and unchristian motives which led to, and the sinful means which were used to bring about the change of religion, called the Reformation. These men, reduced either to admit the sinfulness of the change, or to assert that, despite the above abandonment of every principle of religion, it happened that the truth was hit upon, have chosen the latter alternative. They would tell you that, like the prophets of old, they have been sharers of the councils of God, and that from the midst of this darkness he has drawn light. Now, to drive an adversary to an assertion like this, to a supposition opposed to every experience of the past providence of God in the communication of truth, or the discovery of error, for these, and these only, are the cases in point, is equivalent, for every purpose, to an acknowledgment that he is willing, but unable to reply. It is the answer of an enthusiast, and not of a reasoner. Let us test the argument by one of the clear and recognised changes of God's right hand; for instance, the Christian Revelation.

Had the errors of Paganism been opposed by a system, the author of which was proved guilty of lust, rapine, and murder; had the agents of its founder been seduced by bribes, and cowed by threats; had the sword been held over this land, and money been scattered over that, would your notions of Christianity be what they are? Would you admit these as its evidences? or would it be sufficient proof of its divine origin, that a mighty monarch, by such means and with such appliances, should have succeeded in overturning a system which opposed itself to his passions and his interests?

But enough on this subject ; and to return from controversy to plain facts of history. I will now bring one by one before you the various actors in this tragedy, and show you that to each Henry, by degrees, shows his real objects, wishes, and resolutions, and throws off the thin robe of hypocrisy with which he dressed himself out before the public.

I. To begin with the rival of the queen, Anne Boleyn. We have evidence to show that, prior to any avowal of his scruples, Henry had formed in his own mind, if not a resolution of marriage with, at least an improper attachment to Anne.

1. "On her first arrival at court, Anne was welcomed with the homage and adulation which her youth, her loveliness, and her accomplishments inspired ; and there seems some ground for believing that Henry became enamoured of her almost immediately. But he concealed, it is even said he struggled with, his incipient passion ; and Wolsey, whose penetration it was no easy matter to defeat, did not for some time become aware of the sentiments of his sovereign. Meanwhile, Lord Percy, the eldest son of the Earl of Northumberland, professed an honourable attachment to the fair Boleyn, and was looked on with no unfavourable eye ; but, as soon as the king was informed of the circumstance, both parties received orders to absent themselves from court, and it was intimated to the earl that he must seek another alliance for his son."¹ "Whether this engagement was serious or frivolous, and how far binding in honour or in law, are questions which we are unable to determine."² From this fact we learn that Henry's passion for Anne existed long before he confessed any scruples of the lawfulness of his union with Catharine, since the death of the Earl of Northumberland occurred in the year 1526.

2. His private letters to Anne will show his real intentions. "Vanity had at first made him an author, and a correspondence in letters which, during the continuance of his work, he carried on with Anne Boleyn, clearly proves that he resumed his pen under the operation of lower and more selfish motives. One of these epistles, in which he alludes to his book, will sufficiently establish this assertion ;—"Mine own sweetheart,—This shall be to advertise you of the great ailingness that I find here since your departing now last, than I was wont to do for a whole fortnight. I think your kindness and my fervency of love caused it, for otherwise, I could not have thought it possible that, for so little a while, it should have grieved me. But now that I am coming towards you, me thinketh my pain half-relieved ; and also I am right well comforted, insomuch that my book maketh substantially for my matter, in writing whereof I have spent above eleven hours this day, which causeth me now to write the shorter letter

¹ Tytler, p. 242.

² Mackintosh, p. 150. This assertion of the historian will be examined when we come to treat of the divorce from Anne.

to you now at this time, because of some pain in my head.' His majesty, whose controversial labours and fervency of love had given him a headache, now proceeds to express himself in terms too indelicate for transcription; after which, he concludes with a declaration that *he was, and is, and shall be, Anne Boleyn's, by his will!*"¹

3. During the prosecution of the divorce, "the monarch, whose mind and conscience, according to his own account, were in so grievous a state of disquietude, kept his Christmas at his palace at Greenwich, and indulged in every kind of diversion. Jousts, tourneys, banquets, masques, and disguisings, filled up the day and much of the night, and the two legates were received at court with great magnificence. Anne Boleyn, whom it was now evident that Henry at all risks had resolved to raise to the throne, shone in the midst of these gorgeous scenes, and began to evince the powers and favouritism which belonged to so high a destiny."² At length "the beautiful favourite was recalled to court; his queen was enjoined to absent herself, and to occupy the palace at Greenwich; a splendid establishment was appointed for Anne in apartments contiguous to those of the sovereign, and Henry commanded his courtiers to attend her levees with the same ceremony in which they presented themselves at those of her majesty."³

II. In his transactions with *Pope Clement*, we find the same transparent hypocrisy, and the same real eagerness to obtain a decision, by bribes and threats, favourable to the divorce.

1. All historians observe that Clement was in such a situation that he had the strongest motives to embrace every opportunity of gratifying the English monarch.⁴

2. "From the first, Clement had felt the difficulties of his situation with regard to the divorce, and had adopted the policy of extreme caution and delay. Relying on the opinion of his best canonists, he knew that, whatever previous steps might be taken, the final decision would rest with himself; and he was instructed by the same advisers, that his ultimate judgment must be unfavourable to the English monarch. On the one hand, Henry unequivocally warned him, that such a determination would be followed by his throwing off all allegiance to the Roman See; on the other, Charles did not hesitate to declare, that any conclusion against Catharine would be visited by no measured portion of his resentment. Delay, therefore, afforded a hope that some event might occur to render it unnecessary for the Pope to expose himself to the wrath of either the one or the other of these powerful princes. To gain time, Campegio, on his leaving Italy, had been instructed to travel slowly; on his arrival in England, to

¹ Tytler, p. 244.

² Tytler, p. 258.

³ Tytler, p. 260.

⁴ Hume, ch. xxx. Mackintosh, vol. ii. p. 152.

protract his proceedings by every possible means,—to endeavour to reconcile the parties, if he failed to prevail on the queen to enter a monastery,—and above all, not to pronounce a final sentence without first communicating with Rome. These injunctions the legate punctually fulfilled.”¹

3. “After the Pope made his escape to Orvieto, in December, access to him was somewhat more free. English emissaries, well furnished with money, repaired to Italy. Clement yielded so far to the English ministers as to grant a commission to legates, to hear and determine the validity of the marriage, and a pollicitation (or written and solemn promise) not to recall the commission, or to do any act which should annul the judgment, or prevent the progress of the trial.”² “This last, however, was given into the care of Campeggio, under the express injunction that it was to be shown to the king and Wolsey alone,—a condition which, notwithstanding an earnest entreaty that it might be perused by the privy-council, was scrupulously observed.”³ Henry subsequently despatched Brian and Vannes, two new agents, to Rome. They were ordered to withdraw the Pontiff from his connexion with the emperor; to offer him a body-guard of two thousand men to be paid by the Kings of England and France. In addition, they had received instructions to retain the ablest canonists in Rome as counsel for the king: and to require with due secrecy, their opinions on the following questions; 1. Whether, if a wife were to make a vow of chastity, and enter a convent, the Pope could not, of the plenitude of his power, authorize the husband to marry again: 2. Whether, if the husband were to enter a religious order, that he might induce his wife to do the same, he might not be afterwards released from his vow, and at liberty to marry: 3. And whether, for reasons of state, the Pope could not license a prince to have, like the ancient patriarchs, two wives, of whom one only should be publicly acknowledged and enjoy the honours of loyalty.⁴

These threats, bribes, and promises, these cases secretly proposed, especially, show Henry’s utter profligacy, and his complete readiness to use any means to gain his ends.

Foiled in his hopes from more secret means, Henry, as a last resource, resolved to attempt to terrify the Pontiff, by showing him the readiness with which a portion of the hierarchy and of his nobility would second even violent measures against the Holy See. “A strong symptom of the king’s growing determination,” says Mackintosh, “appeared in June, 1530, in a letter to the Pope from two archbishops, two dukes, two marquises, thirteen earls, five bishops, twenty-five barons, twenty-two mitred abbots, and eleven knights and doctors, beseeching his holiness to bring the

¹ Tytler, p. 260, 261.

³ Tytler, p. 251.

² Mackintosh, p. 155.

⁴ Apud Collier, ii. 29, 30.

king's suit to a speedy determination; and at the same time intimating, in very intelligible and significant language, that if he should delay to do justice, he would find that desperate remedies may at length be tried in desperate distempers."¹

III. We will now pass through the same ordeal his conduct with his favourite, the ill-fated Cardinal Wolsey.

1. Wolsey, it is certain, "was as earnest in the king's cause, as ever he was in any, as appears by his importunacy with the Pope."² That he saw reason to doubt of the lawfulness of his wish, is evident from his commission to Gardiner to make out a case, and consult some of the best canonists in Rome, whether he could or could not, with a safe conscience, pronounce sentence in favour of the divorce.³ He took the opportunity of declaring to the king, that though he was bound in gratitude, and was ready "to spend his goods, blood, and life" in the service of his highness, yet he was under greater obligations to God, and was, therefore, determined to show the king no more favour than justice required; and if he found the dispensation sufficient in law "so to pronounce it, whatever might be the consequence." Henry, at the moment, suppressed his feelings, but, in a short time, gave way to his anger in language the most opprobrious and alarming.⁴

2. Temporizing and scrupulous as Wolsey may be represented, his conscience was not pliant enough for Henry. "It is manifest that as Henry approached a final determination to set at naught the papal authority, he must have perceived that Wolsey was an unsuitable instrument for that high strain of daring policy. The church and court of Rome had too many holds on the cardinal. As their political schemes diverged, the ties of habit and friendship were gradually loosed between the king and the cardinal; perhaps at last a touch from the hand of Anne Boleyn brought him to the ground, to clear the field for counsellors more irreconcilable to the supreme Pontiff."⁵

3. On his death-bed Wolsey discloses his real opinion of Henry's motives, and of his own share in promoting the divorce. "Master Kyngston," said he, in these well-known words, "I pray you have me commended to his majesty: and beseech him on my behalf to call to mind all things that have passed between us, especially respecting good Queen Catharine and himself; then shall his grace's conscience know whether I have offended him or not. He is a prince of most royal courage; rather than miss any part of his will, he will endanger one-half of his kingdom: and I do assure you, I have often kneeled before him, sometimes for three hours together, to persuade him from his appetite, and

¹ History of England, p. 167, 168.

² Strype, Eccl. Memorials, vol. i. p. 137.

³ Ibid. vol. i. App. 82.

⁴ The Bishop of Bayonne calls them "de terribles termes." Le Grand, iii. 164.

⁵ Mackintosh, p. 167.

could not prevail. And, Master Kyngston, had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs. But this is my just reward for my pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only my duty to my prince."¹

IV. From Wolsey we will now turn to his associate in the legatine authority, Cardinal Campeggio.

No prelate of the Roman court could be expected to show greater favour to Henry than this cardinal. By him he had been presented to the opulent bishopric of Salisbury, with a palace at Rome;² his son received the honour of knighthood,³ and to himself an offer was made of the rich bishopric of Durham; but notwithstanding these gifts and promises, and the king's flattering visits, and recourse to threats, no decision, at the expense of justice, could be obtained from the aged bishop. What Henry expected at his hands is evident from his first interview with the legate.

2. "The king having retired to hold a private conference with the two legates, was struck with astonishment and indignation when Campeggio, instead of proposing, as he had expected, an immediate decision of the cause, began to dissuade its further prosecution in the most earnest terms. To this, however, his royal auditor would not listen for a moment. He replied in an angry and determined tone, that he had been deceived by the Pope: and it was with difficulty that the legate appeased his wrath by exhibiting the decretal bull, taking the precaution, however, to hold it firmly all the time in his own hands, and refusing to intrust it for a moment either to the monarch or the other cardinal."⁴

3. "On the 23d of July the legatine court met for the last time, and as it was generally expected by those ignorant of the intrigues at Rome, that a decision would be pronounced for the king, the hall was crowded. Henry himself was present, but concealed behind the hangings, where he could hear all that passed. When the cardinals had taken their seats, his majesty's counsel demanded judgment; upon which Campeggio replied, that the case was too high and notable to be determined before he should have made the Pope acquainted with all the proceedings. 'I have not,'

¹ Cavendish, p. 535. One of Wolsey's letters to Campeggio is still preserved, the conclusion of it is thus worded: "I hope all things shall be done according to the will of God, the desire of the king, the quiet of the kingdom, to our honour, and *with a good conscience.*" The words in Italics are crossed out by the cardinal. Thomson's Memoirs of Henry VIII., vol. ii., p. 86.

² Soames, p. 199.

³ The Cardinal brought with him his second son, Ridolfo; whence Burnet, who was ignorant that Campeggio had been formerly married, takes occasion to represent the young man as a bastard, and the father as a person of immoral character. Burnet, i., p. 69.

⁴ Tytler, p. 252.

said he, 'come so far to please any man for fear, meed, or favour, be he king or any other potentate. I am an old man, sick, decayed, and looking daily for death. What should it then avail me to put my soul in danger of God's displeasure, to my utter damnation, for the favour of any prince or high estate in this world. Forasmuch, then, that I understand the truth in this case is very difficult to be known, and that the defendant will make no answer thereunto, but hath appealed from our judgment; therefore, to avoid all injustice and obscure doubts, I intend to proceed no farther in this matter until I have the opinion of the Pope, and such others of his council as have more experience and learning. For this purpose,' he concluded, rising from his chair, 'I adjourn the cause till the commencement of the next term, in the beginning of October.'"¹

V. The nation, it must not be supposed, looked on these proceedings with an indifferent eye. "The sense of the nation was evidently against the divorce, and the people hesitated not to declare, that whosoever should marry the Princess Mary, Catherine's daughter, would become the rightful King of England on the demise of Henry: the nobles, says Le Grand, thought the same, if they were silent on the subject."² "Considerable apprehensions of a rebellion were entertained,"³ nor was the dissatisfaction of his subjects, including councillors and nobles, unknown to the king, who, having summoned to his palace at Bridewell the judges, with the lord mayor, the members of the common council, and other persons of inferior note, addressed to them a laboured speech, in which he attempted to justify his conduct, and the reasonableness of his proceedings. The religious hypocrisy and disregard of truth in this speech of the king are truly lamentable. At the time when he pronounced it, he was violently in love with Anne Boleyn; he had determined to make her his queen, and he had commanded it to be privately intimated to the Pope, that he was unalterably resolved never more to share the bed of Catherine, as well on account of some incurable distempers by which she was afflicted, as from the scruples which troubled his conscience. This, however, was the "acceptable and most pleasant companion, whom, were he to marry again, he would choose above all others."⁴

VI. Henry's sincerity was tested, during the progress of his matrimonial case, by that mysterious visitation, the sweating-sickness, which, during the lifetime of his father, had been followed with such fearful mortality. "During the prevalence of the plague, which had reached the court and attacked some of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber, Henry had sent Anne Boleyn to the seat of her father in Kent, and, shutting himself up from

¹ Tytler, p. 252.

³ Thomson's Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 91.

² Thomson's Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 91.

⁴ Tytler, p. 255.

the world, had with much apparent earnestness, joined his consort in her devotional exercises. Surrounded on all sides by images of mortality, a solemn impression seems to have been made upon his mind; he confessed regularly, and on every Sunday and festival communicated at the altar. But, as the danger passed away, these feelings disappeared; it became evident that such compunctious visitings were the offspring of terror, not of true religion; that the king was a coward, not a penitent; and as soon as the immediate fear of death was removed, his passion resumed its ascendancy. The beautiful favourite was recalled to court; his queen was enjoined to absent herself, and to occupy the palace at Greenwich."¹

VII. Henry, notwithstanding his long enmity with the Emperor Charles, the nephew of Catherine, commissioned his agents, amongst whom was Thomas Cranmer, a clergyman attached to the Boleyn family, and afterwards the well-known Archbishop of Canterbury, to tempt the avarice of Charles by the most liberal offers. As the price of his consent, the ambassadors offered him the sum of three hundred thousand crowns, the restoration of the marriage portion paid with Catherine, and security for a maintenance suitable to her birth during life. But he replied, that he was not a merchant to sell the honour of his aunt. The cause was before the proper tribunal. If the Pope should decide against her, he would be silent: if in her favour, he would support her cause with all the means which God had placed at his disposal.²

VIII. During the time that Wolsey ruled the royal counsels, an attempt had been ineffectually made to obtain opinions from learned individuals and bodies, in favour of the divorce. "Sir Thomas More, the most illustrious Englishman of his time, when applied to, not being convinced by the king's reasons, declined the support of his divorce."³ "More, foresaw the difficulty of obtaining from any of the prelates, or members of the privy-council, a perfectly unbiassed report, and in an interview with the king, besought him to consult such as neither in respect to their own worldly commodity, nor for fear of his princely authority, would be inclined to deceive him. Henry inquired whom he meant, and was somewhat displeased when, instead of any living authorities, he was referred to Jerome, Augustine, and the fathers."⁴ Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, acted with the like hazardous integrity.⁵ Few prelates and divines, Le Grand tells us,⁶ could be induced to pronounce in favour of the king. But Wolsey, undaunted by ordinary difficulties, sought for opinions at a distance, and commissioned Gardiner to consult the best canonists in Rome;⁷ a labour which was extended, after the arrival of Cam-

¹ Tytler, 259, 260.² Le Grand, iii., 401, 454.³ Mackintosh, p. 154.⁴ Tytler, p. 247.⁵ Mackintosh, *ubi supra*.⁶ Le Grand, iii., 205.⁷ Strype, i., App. 82.

peggio, to canonists and divines of various parts of Europe. An opinion, amongst the rest, was obtained from the Bishop of Bayonne, the French ambassador at the English court, and the most urgent solicitations, were addressed to the French monarch to procure others with caution and secrecy.¹

The ministers who had occasioned, or profited by Wolsey's downfall, did not, in the king's present emergency, disdain to adopt his plans. It was resolved, as a last effort, and as the best substitute that the times seemed to offer for a general council, to consult the English and foreign universities, and the opinions of the learned throughout Europe. As the methods by which the subscriptions of the few universities, favourable to the divorce, were obtained, are variously represented, it will be necessary to place before you a few facts by which your judgment may be guided. And first as to the English universities.

From a letter preserved by Burnet,² and written by Gardiner and Fox, who had been deputed, in February, 1530, to *Cambridge*, we learn these particulars, that for two days all was confusion in the assembly "of doctors, bachelors of divinity, and masters of art, being in number almost two hundred, they answered severally as their affections led them, *et res erat in multu confusione*. At length they were content answer should be made to the questions by indifferent men : but then they came to exceptions against the abbot of St. Benets, *and others*, who seemed to come for that purpose. Finally, the vice-chancellor, because the day was so much spent in these altercations, willed every man's mind to be known secretly, whether they would be content with such an order as he had conceived ; whereunto that night they would in nowise agree. And forasmuch as it was then dark night, the vice-chancellor continued the congregation till the next day at one of the clock," when it was proposed that the matter should be referred to a committee, in which the decision of two-thirds of the members should be taken for the decision of the whole body. This question was twice put and lost ; but on a third division, by "labour of friends to cause some to depart the house which were against it," it was at length carried. Of the twenty-nine members, sixteen had already promised their votes to the king, so that, "your highness may perceive by the notes, that we be already sure of as many as be requisite, wanting only three ; and we have good hope four ; of which four if we get two, and obtain of another to be absent, it is sufficient for our purpose."³ An answer favourable to the divorce was, by these means, obtained. Yet it disappointed the hopes of the king, for it embraced a condition which he had excluded from the question, and which was then thought to vitiate the whole value of the

¹ Le Grand, 205.

² i. Rec. B. iii., 32.

³ I have abridged the above particulars from a letter, addressed to the king by Fox and Gardiner, given in Burnet, i. Rec. xxxii. p. 125, 127, 8vo.

decision. Henry complained of this addition:¹ but Dr. Buckmaster, the vice-chancellor, assured him that it was so necessary to admit it, that without such admission they would have been left in a minority.²

2. At *Oxford* Henry met with even more opposition than at the sister university. In vain did Henry send messenger after messenger, and letter after letter, threatening them "that, provided they held on in their obstinacy, and gave their sovereign any farther trouble, they should quickly be made sensible of the ill consequence, and understand it was not their best to provoke a hornet's nest."³

Lord Herbert⁴ tells us, that "the king sent his confessor Longland to the university of Oxford. Henry enjoined entreaties and threats; the chancellor Warham advised them to follow the truth; here *seniores facile assenserunt regi*, but the younger sort of regent masters flatly denied. The king sent them more threats, but moves them not; so that at last the artists or regent masters, although by the statutes nothing could be done without them, are excluded, and the matter committed only to divines, who determined for the king, who punished the regents."

The historian of Oxford, Anthony Wood,⁵ complains of the king's management, and asserts that the privileges of the university were overruled, and that the excluding the masters from their right in voting, made the decree of no force; and that several members of the university not thinking themselves bound by this decision, preached openly against the divorce. Collier gives the same account as Wood, in the page already referred to, and a modern historian observes that, "though Burnet had laboured to show that everything was managed with strict impartiality; still, on a careful examination of his and Lord Herbert's account of the transaction, with the detailed and minute narrative of the historian of Oxford, the reader will probably come to the conclusion, that the decision could not be considered altogether unbiassed and impartial."⁶

"Thus, at neither of the English universities, was it found possible to obtain the expression of such an opinion as materially affected the question at issue; for it still remained to be consider-

¹ The condition added was: "If the widow had been carnally known by her former husband."

² Burnet, iii. Rec. 20. 24. Cavendish, a contemporary, and an attentive observer, tells us that "such as had any rule, or had the custody of their university seals, were choked by the commissioners with notable sums of money." P. 417.

³ Henry's letter, given by Collier, vol. ii., p. 53.

⁴ Herbert Collect. MS. in Jesus College Library.

⁵ Antiq. Univ. Ox., i. i., p. 255.

⁶ Tytler, p. 299. In the state-papers published by government, vol. i., p. 377, will be found an important letter on this subject, which confirms the opinion stated in the text; and also in the same volume, p. 398, Queen Catherine corroborates the story of Anthony Wood, as to the surreptitious manner in which the seal of the university was affixed to the decision, "that the seals of those universities were gotten out, she will not say by what strange subtil means."

ed, whether the admitted impediments to the king's marriage, were such as papal dispensation could not safely remove."¹

3. In Italy, Henry's agents consisted of Ghinucci, bishop of Worcester, Gregorio Cassali, Stokesly and Croke. Croke was the most active. Taking their stations in the principal cities from Venice to Rome, they obtained answers favourable to the king from the universities of Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara. The other universities were either silent, or opposed to the king. The agents claim to have used no unlawful means to obtain these opinions, but, after the conduct of the king towards the English universities, this will be with difficulty believed. We have, indeed, under their own hands, evidence sufficient to prove that all was not so conscientiously conducted as they would fain persuade the world. The following passages from a letter addressed by Croke to the king, dated July 1st, will show that the presents, as they were called, or bribes in ordinary language, were considered of serious influence. "Albeit, gracious lord, if that in time I had been sufficiently furnished with money, albeit, I have besides this seal (which cost me 100 crowns) procured unto your highness one hundred and ten subscriptions, yet had it been nothing in comparison of that that might easily and would have been done."² "I doubt not," says he, in another place in the same letter, "but all Christian universities, *if they be well handled*, will earnestly conclude with your highness." In another letter from the same agent to the king, we are introduced to the value of some of these opinions, as well as to the means by which they were obtained: "Please it your highness to be advertised, that since the 28th day of August, I delivered unto friar Thomas 23 crowns. Since which time he hath got your highness but 7 subscriptions, the which I sent by Harwell the 19th of October. And of them, two only except, there is not one worth thanks. I have, and do often call upon him, but he answereth me, that there are no more doctors to be had. The contrary whereof I know to be true. And his cause why he will make me no bill is, as he saith, fear lest his bill might be showed to your highness' adversaries. Of the which pretended fear I so much the more doubt, because I have taken him twice stiffly reasoning upon the queen's part, against your highness' conclusion with a friar of Florence, whom before this day he always assured to be of your highness' opinion. Friar Ambrose had of me for the getting of the determination of *Padua*, for his part only 20 crowns. Thomas hath had 47 crowns, Francis, for him and Dionysius, 77 crowns, as I can right well prove."³ Thus we have some knowledge by what means were procured the determination of Padua, and the subscriptions of private doctors, with the value set on them by those in the secret.

¹ Soames, vol. i., p. 251.

² Burnet, i. Rec. 2. xxxviii.

³ Strype, App. vol. v., p. 476.—479.

4. Bologna, from its being situated in the papal dominions was highly prized, as an authority, by Henry. But it must be known that the instrument had no date, was signed but by one name, that of Pallavicino, a Carmelite friar, and was ordered to be kept a profound secret. The secret, however, transpired, when it appeared that it was composed by Pallavicino himself, was approved by four other friars, and was signed by the former on the 10th of June. And yet this instrument professes to be the unanimous decision of the university: "*omnes doctores convenimus.*"¹

5. At Ferrara, Croke consulted separately the faculties of theology and law. The theologians were divided. One party gave a favourable answer, but their opponents carried off the instrument, which was recovered by open force, and duly transmitted to England.

The civilians and canonists were opposed to the divorce. Croke offered them one hundred crowns, and was told that the sum was not worth their acceptance: the next morning he raised the bribe to one hundred and fifty; but the faculty had resolved not to interfere in so delicate a question.

6. France, with her fourteen universities, was expected, from the friendship supposed to exist between Francis and Henry, to afford valuable aid. The Bishop of Bayonne was employed, during several months, in canvassing the leading members of the different faculties. Francis seemed resolved to profit, by the king's eagerness, for his own ends. He pretended that he feared to offend the emperor, as long as his two sons remained prisoners in Spain; nor could they be liberated according to the treaty, till he had paid 2,000,000 of crowns to the emperor, 500,000 to the King of England, and had redeemed, in favour of Charles, the lily of diamonds, which Philip of Burgundy had formerly pawned to Henry VII., for the sum of 50,000 crowns. The impatience of the king swallowed the bait; he forgave the debt, made a present of the pledge, and added to it a loan of 400,000 crowns.²

Having obtained, or bribed the good will of Francis, he was rewarded with opinions favourable to his divorce, from Orleans and Toulouse, from the theologians of Bourges, and the civilians of Angiers, though the theologians of the last city pronounced in favour of the existing marriage.³ Either the other universities were not consulted, or their answers were suppressed. That some judgment may be formed of the value of these opinions, as the deliberate and unbought sentiments of learned bodies, I will enter into a few particulars with respect to the decision of the university of Paris, which had long possessed the greatest

¹ Rymer, xiv. 393, 395, 397.

² Rymer, xiv. 328, 358, 360, 364, 378, 384. Le Grand, iii. 428, 446.

³ Le Grand, iii. 507.

reputation and authority of all the learned societies in Europe. From the letters published by Le Grand, we learn that the first meeting broke up, after passing a resolution not to vote at all upon the question; that Francis compelled the members to re-assemble, and made a promise to Henry that out of sixty-three voices, he should have a majority of fifty-six. On a division it appeared that he had only a minority of twenty-two against thirty-six. Complaints were sent to the French cabinet; frequent assemblies were held, and in one of these the king obtained fifty-three votes against thirty-six. The faculty assembled next day to rescind these proceedings, but the Bishop of Senlis had carried away the register; it was therefore impossible to erase the decree, but a resolution was passed forbidding any member to give an opinion in favour of Henry.

Francis ordered a judicial inquiry into this proceeding, but the president of parliament advised him to let the matter rest, for if all the particulars were made public, the inquiry would prove to the prejudice of Henry.¹ The learned civilian, Charles Du Moulin, after examining the statement laid by the president before Francis, declares it evident, that the votes given for Henry had been purchased with English gold, and that the real opinion of the university was against the divorce.²

7. In Germany, where Cranmer was one of Henry's agents, the king was completely unsuccessful. Not a single Catholic university declared in his favour, nor would the Lutherans, as a body, anxious as they were for opportunities of lessening the papal authority, pronounce in his behalf.³ Luther declared that "he would rather allow the king, after the example of the patriarchs, two wives, than sanction the divorce."⁴ Melancthon was of the same opinion;⁵ and further replied to the king's agents; "We believe the law of not marrying a brother's wife may be dispensed with, although we do not believe it to be abolished."⁶

We are now able to form a judgment of Henry's sincerity. You have seen his conduct and letters to Anne; his promises and threats to the Pope; his sentiments revealed to Wolsey; his behaviour to the legate Campeggio; his offer to Charles; his tampering with the universities; his fears under illness; in a word,

¹ Le Grand, iii. 458, 491. "Ladite information pourrait par aventure plus nuire audit roy d'Angleterre que profiter."

² Molin. not. ad consult. Dec. p. 602.

³ "All Lutherans be utterly against your highness in this cause." Burnet, App. Rec. ii. 33.

⁴ Antequam tale repudium probarem, potius regi permitterem alteram reginam quoque ducere, et exemplo patrum et regum duas simul uxores seu reginas habere. Lutheri Epist. Hald. 1717. p. 290.

⁵ Epist. ad Camer. 90. Luther and Melancthon, with other reformers, acted on this opinion, and allowed their patron, the Landgrave of Hesse, to have two wives at the same time. For some account of this, see my Examination, &c., p. 76; or the Edinburgh Review, No. cxxi., p. 226.

⁶ Lib. iv., ep. 185.

you have viewed his acts, and by them have tested his professions, and can now decide whether I was justified in asserting that "no one who investigates facts, with a mind free from preconceived opinions, can come to any other conclusion than that which pronounces his conduct at this moment to have been marked by hypocrisy, selfishness, and a fixed determination to gratify his passions."¹

Hitherto, indeed, appearances have been, to a certain extent, preserved by the king; there has been no *public* violation of decorum, or *scandalous* impropriety in the means employed, whatever abuses secretly tainted them, but now we shall see vice throw off its mask by degrees; till it appear in its native deformity. We shall see him pass from the character of the dissolute hypocrite, to that of the rapacious, revengeful, and bloody tyrant, with the power and the will to compass his ends, as he could not by fair, by any means that offered.

We shall see him choose councillors, with consciences pliant as his own, to whom his will is law, and the "defender of the faith" become its adversary, sacrificing to his passion for Anne Boleyn, that unity of faith which had linked this country, during so many great and glorious ages, to the rest of Christian Europe.

Thus, by one of those strange events in the revolutions of this world, the unbridled passions of one man, lawfully resisted, shook to its foundations, in this country, the structure of a church which had stood the shock of every change during at least one thousand years. Neither learning, nor increased light, nor conviction of the errors of the Church of our fathers, nor the study of the Scriptures, nor any of those moral causes to which the change is wished to be ascribed, and to which, no doubt, in your minds you had assigned the denial of papal supremacy, and the consequent separation of this country from the Catholic church, had any effect on Henry's resolution, but a vile passion disappointed of its object, which, like Aaron's rod, had swallowed every other feeling, drove him, heedless of consequences, to deny that spiritual authority, in the Pope, which throughout had been the great obstacle to his passion. From Henry's conduct, both previous and subsequent to the divorce, it is evident that no change of religion would have been for a moment tolerated during his reign, could he but have gratified his passion. That passion was the first and main spring of the Reformation.

Such is the first part of this eventful history. The second will introduce us to fresh agents, and the accomplishment of Henry's wishes by the denial of the papal supremacy, extorted from the fears of the clergy, and the avarice of the nobles, confirmed by the pillage of monasteries, hospitals, schools, and the charitable institutions of the land, and bathed in the noblest and best blood of England's prelates and citizens.

¹ Tytler, p. 242.

LECTURE II.

A. D. 1530—1543.

§ 1.

Henry's disappointments.—Cromwell made privy-councillor.—His scheme and its success.—The English clergy and the Commons.—The Court of Rome.—Queen Catherine, at Greenwich, writes to the Pope.—The annates, &c.—Henry privately married to Anne Boleyn.—Parliament of 1534.—The holy Maid of Kent.—Fate of the Bishop of Rochester.—Of Sir Thomas More.—Sensation produced by their execution throughout Europe.—Scene at the Carthusian Priory.—Other victims.

“EVERY expedient to procure the dissolution of his marriage had now been, by the king, exhausted. It was found impossible to remove the opposition of the emperor,—it was equally vain to expect the consent of the Pope. The opinions of the learned, and the judgment of the universities, even could they be quoted as impartial, all proceeded on the assumption of a fact which he could not establish by proof. Henry thought, therefore, that his difficulties were insurmountable; he had brought himself into a dilemma from which there appeared no escape, unless he triumphed over a passion which had become a part of himself; he became abstracted, pensive, and unhappy; he complained to his confidential servants that he had been deceived by those who had assured him the papal approbation might easily be obtained; and it began to be whispered in public, that the project for a divorce was about to be abandoned forever.”

“It was at this time of uncertainty, when dismay was seen in the countenances of the powerful ministerial faction, who derived their chief strength from the prospect of a divorce, that the advice of an extraordinary man gave a new turn to events, and led the way to the entire separation of England from its dependence upon the See of Rome. This person was Thomas Cromwell, a servant of the fallen Wolsey, and his chief assistant in the dissolution of the smaller monasteries.”¹

As Cromwell was the most important agent, Cranmer not excepted, in the fresh line of policy adopted by the king, it will be useful to examine into his character and principles, that we may thereby form a judgment whether conscience or unscrupulousness were likely to sway the counsels over which he presided. “The son of a fuller near London, he had served in the wars of Italy, and as a clerk at the desk of a merchant at Venice. On his return to England he studied the law, but was taken into the service

¹ Tytler, p. 304.

of Wolsey. His various experience, his shrewdness and boldness recommended him to Henry, who required a minister more remarkable for the vigour of his mind than the delicacy of his scruples."¹ With Machiavelli, whose works he recommended as the textbook of a courtier,² he professed to believe that vice and virtue were but names, and that the great art of the politician was, in his judgment, to penetrate through the disguise which sovereigns may deem it prudent to throw over their real intentions, and to devise the most speedy expedients by which they may gratify their appetites without appearing to outrage morality or religion.³ So desperate and so odious was his character that, after the fall of Wolsey, it was currently believed that the sycophant was imprisoned, and would meet the fate which his vices merited.⁴ Even Henry, when his name was mentioned, shrunk from the use of such an instrument,⁵ but at the earnest recommendation of the Earl of Bedford, the king's repugnance was overcome; the earl significantly remarking, that "for as much as now his majesty had to doe with the Pope, his great enemy, there was, he thought, in all England none so apt for the king's purpose, which could say or doe more in that matter, than could Thomas Cromwell; and partly he gave the king to understand wherein."⁶

Such was the character of the man, who now stepped forward as the reformer of faith and morals, and to whose bold and unscrupulous counsels, Henry was driven to resort, in the failure of ordinary expedients.

Whatever was the nature of the service which the earl had recommended Cromwell to the king as likely to perform, Henry was impatient to converse with the adventurer. Cromwell posted to court, resolved, to use his own words to Cavendish, "either to make or mar before he came back again."⁷ and at once demanded and obtained an audience. "The state of the royal mind, wavering between its wishes and its fears, was not unknown to him; and it can scarcely be doubted, that this able and artful man, when he declared to Cavendish his resolution to advance or to hazard his fortunes upon a cast, had the project in his head which at once brought him into notice."⁸ "He felt, he said, his boldness in presuming to advise and his inability to become a councillor; but the sight of his sovereign's anxiety, and his affection as well as duty, compelled him to address him. He acknowledged that the question regarding the divorce was not without its diffi-

¹ Mackintosh, p. 171, 172.

² Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biography*, vol. ii., p. 274; *Epist. Reg. Poli Card.* vol. i., p. 133—138.

³ *Ibid.* p. 127.

⁴ "Hoc enim affirmare possum, qui Londini tum adfui, et voces audivi adeo etiam ut per civitatem universam rumor circumferretur, eum in carcerem fuisse detrusum, et propediem productum iri ad supplicium." *Ubi supra.*

⁵ Fox's *Acts and Mon.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Cavendish, by Singer, vol. i., p. 194.

⁸ Tytler, p. 307.

culties; but, in his opinion, the embarrassment arose principally out of the timidity of his majesty's ministers, who were deceived by appearances, and misled by vulgar opinion. Already the universities and the most learned divines had given an opinion in favour of the divorce,—nothing was wanting but the confirmation of the Pope. And with what object was the papal approbation so anxiously desired? It might indeed have some beneficial effect in moderating the indignation of the emperor; but was it so imperatively necessary that, if refused, Henry ought silently to submit and surrender his right? The princes of Germany had thrown off the yoke of Rome. Why then might not the king of England, strengthened by the authority of his own Parliament, declare himself the head of the Church within his own realm? At this moment England was little else than a monster with two heads”¹ “which, said he, was derogatory to the crown, and utterly prejudicial to the common laws of the realm; that his majesty might by this accumulate to himself great riches, so much as all the clergy in his realm was worth, if it so pleased him to take the occasion now offered. The clergy would then become obsequious to his will, when they were placed on an exact level with the king's other subjects.”²

“In this bold address, it will be seen that Cromwell brought before the king two ideas which were entirely new to him. The first, a project for claiming the supremacy; the second, a design for placing the whole body of the clergy within his power. When he had done, the monarch pondered for a few moments, and regarding the speaker with a piercing look, demanded if he could prove what he had last said. Cromwell drew from his pocket a copy of the oath administered to the bishops at their consecration, read it over, explained the manner in which the clergy had brought themselves within a charge of treason, and demonstrated that by the statutory law their lives and possessions were at the mercy of the king. Henry was convinced and delighted; his mind seized on the new ideas suggested by his able and unscrupulous adviser, with its characteristic impetuosity and vigour; he warmly thanked Cromwell, took him into his service, promoted him to the seat of a privy-councillor, and determined to follow out his suggestions.

“It may be necessary to inform the reader, that when that legal enactment, which was entitled the statute against provisors, was passed, a power of dispensing with its operations was conferred on the crown, which had frequently been exercised in favour of individuals, who procured letters of protection and license from the king, permitting them to act contrary to the statute; and thus, to use the technical language, saving them from incurring a *præmunire*. Thus Wolsey, before he ventured to exercise the legatine authority, took the precaution of procuring

¹ Tytler, p. 307—308. ² Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* vol. ii., 288; Tytler, p. 308.

a permission under the great seal by which he was empowered to do so; and, had he acted with the spirit and courage of an innocent man, he ought undoubtedly to have stood upon his defence.¹ But his pusillanimity induced him to plead guilty;² and it was now argued by Cromwell, that, on the ground of his conviction, the clergy were brought under the same statute, for they had acknowledged his authority as legate, and by so doing they had become his abettors, and were clearly liable to the same penalties.

“The hardship, not to say the tyranny of subjecting men to a judicial process, for acquiescing under an authority which few probably knew to be illegal, and which none could resist, was intolerable. But the clergy had become obnoxious to the king, because they were generally unfavourable to his divorce.”³

Such was Cromwell’s advice, and these the means which he recommended to his sovereign. Henry saw within his grasp that divorce for which he had so long panted, and wasted the public treasure; the clergy must either consent or starve, the Commons were in the same dilemma, for they too had placed themselves within the operation of the same statute; and he now might revenge himself on the pontiff whose justice or obstinacy had been so long an obstacle to his wishes. Ambition, avarice, and revenge, pleaded loudly in favour of Cromwell’s scheme, and Henry’s was not the conscience to resist the temptation. From this advice, by these means, and from these motives, did Henry, assuming to himself the unheard of title in any temporal king, of “head of the Church,” separate the believers of this nation from communion with the rest of the Christian world. We will now see how Cromwell’s scheme was carried into effect.

“When the king had once adopted an idea, he was never slow in following it with decision. The attorney-general received orders to file an information in the King’s Bench against the whole body of the clergy; and Henry, taking his ring or private signet from his finger, presented it to Cromwell, and commanded him to attend the convocation, and inform them of the proceedings which were in contemplation against them. After taking his seat among the bishops, and stating to them by whose command he was sent, this artful minister expounded the prerogative of the sovereign, enlarged upon their duty as subjects, and, to their astonishment, concluded by pronouncing them to have heinously

¹ Nothing could be more iniquitous than to condemn Wolsey under the statute of Richard II., commonly called the statute of *præmunire*. It was doubtful whether the legatine court could be legally brought within the operation of the statute; it was certain that the cardinal could produce the royal licence under the great seal, the sanction of parliament, and the immemorial usage of the kingdom, all authorizing him to sit as legate.” Tytler, p. 274.

² The king’s treachery compelled him to plead guilty, as his coffers, in which was his justification, under the king’s hand, were withheld from him

³ Soames, vol. i., p. 279.

offended both against one and the other; they had consented to Wolsey's legatine authority; they had sworn to the Pope, contrary to their allegiance; and, being guilty of treason, had forfeited their entire possessions to the crown. It was in vain that the prelates explained, remonstrated, and entreated, the cause was brought on in the King's Bench; their defence was not listened to for a moment; and judgment was only postponed, from the idea that they would be induced to purchase a pardon by such concessions as their master was willing to receive.

"Henry was not slow to perceive the advantage he had gained, and determined to act upon it. His first object was to procure the judgment of the clergy in his favour on the subject of the divorce; his second, to render it unnecessary that this sentence should be confirmed by the Pope, by placing the supremacy of the Church in his own person, and procuring the consent of the bishops to this extraordinary measure."¹

"The prospect of being thus laid wholly at the feet of their now alienated sovereign, justly filled the clerical body with the utmost uneasiness; and when its representatives met in convocation, at the beginning of the year 1531, they were prepared by their fears, to display no common subserviency to the views of the court."² "To the convocation two questions were sent for determination;—the first, whether it was forbidden by the law of God, to marry a brother's widow? and secondly, whether there was sufficient evidence of the consummation of Prince Arthur's marriage with the Princess Catharine? at the same time it was suggested to them, that they would do well to deliberate upon the amount of the sum which they were willing to pay to the king, should he be inclined to exempt them from the penalties of a præmunire. On the 7th of February, the convocation decided both questions as to the divorce, in the affirmative. After some discussion, they offered £100,000 for a free pardon, and little doubt was entertained that their troubles had ceased, and that no further difficulties remained; but to their consternation the monarch refused their offer, unless a clause were introduced into the grant, by which they recognised him as the sole protector and supreme head of the Church of England. The king's designs were now plain, and the clergy found themselves in a perilous dilemma. A discussion of three days ensued. Many violently opposed the insertion of a title, which they contended, was subversive of one of the first and best established principles of the Catholic faith; others, intimidated by the situation to which they saw themselves reduced, were disposed to admit the words with an amendment or explanation; consultations were held with Cromwell, the prime agitator in the whole matter, and for a while Henry would hear of no alteration. At length he relented. The words, "Protector and Supreme Head,

¹ Tytler, p. 310.

² Soames, tom. i., p. 280.

as far as the law of Christ will allow,' were substituted instead of the insulated and obnoxious title; and to this qualified acknowledgment of supremacy, the upper and lower convocation assented.¹ Although the king at last agreed to the qualification, he was at first highly offended with the additions; and calling those before him whom he had deputed to manage the matter in convocation, abused them for permitting themselves to be overreached by the bishops. 'Mother of God!' said he, with that violence and irreverence which marked his fits of passion, "you have played me a shrewd turn. I thought to have made fools of those prelates, and now you have so ordered the business that they are likely to make a fool of me, as they have done of you already. Go to them again, and let me have the business passed without any quantum or tantum." Even with this salve the matter did not pass without much opposition and several protests. Of these, the most remarkable was that of Tonsal, Bishop of Durham, a man eminent as one of the chief restorers of classical learning in England, and whose talents were highly appreciated by the king. This prelate had recently succeeded to his diocese, and, undeterred by the fate of Wolsey, had procured a bull of translation and provision, in direct breach of the statute of Richard II., and of a late enactment forbidding English subjects to procure from Rome any papal documents contrary to the royal prerogative. These misdemeanours rendered him liable to instant prosecution, and he could scarcely expect that his denial of the royal supremacy would be passed over; yet he escaped; no proceedings were instituted against him, and he appears to have continued in favour,—a proof that the king's mind was yet in a state of irresolution, and that, probably, at this moment, his purpose was rather to *intimidate*, than absolutely to separate from the Roman See."

"Having attained his object, Henry signed a bill which pardoned the clergy their alleged treason:"² and thus, by working on their fears, he found himself recognised by an influential portion of his clerical subjects, as the possessor of some undefined authority over the English Church.

The king now turned the same weapon against the Parliament, which he had wielded with such effect against the clergy. "When the king's pardon for the clergy was brought into the House of Commons, they were much troubled not to find themselves included in it; for by the statute of *provisors* many of them were also liable, and they apprehended that either they might be brought in trouble, or at least it might be made use of, to draw a subsidy from them: so they sent their speaker, with some of their members, to represent to the king, the great grief of his Commons

¹ The convocation of the province of York purchased the king's pardon by a grant of £18,840. Burnet, vol. i., p. 177.

² Tytler, p. 313.

to find themselves out of his favour, which they concluded from the pardon of the pains of *præmunire* to his spiritual subjects, in which they were not included, and therefore prayed the king that they might be comprehended within it. But the king answered them: that they must not restrain his mercy, nor yet force it; it was free to him either to execute or to mitigate the severity of the law; that he might well grant his pardon by his great seal without their assent, but he would be well advised before he pardoned them, because he would not seem to be compelled to it. So they went away, and the House was in some trouble,"¹ but, to their satisfaction, a pardon was soon after brought by Hales, the attorney-general.²

Although the Convocation and the Parliament had been intimidated into his views, by the threats of being placed "out of the protection of the laws; their lands, goods and chattels forfeited, and their persons at the mercy of the king," it may well be doubted, whether the bulk of the people were not yet as unprepared as their sovereign, for a total revolution in doctrine and worship. "There was no previous example of success in an attempt so extensive. Henry and his subjects seemed, at the period of the divorce, to be ready only to reform ecclesiastical abuses, and to confine the pontifical authority within due limits."³

With the clergy and Commons ready to do his bidding, "it was thought expedient to make a last attempt to shake the decision of the queen. Accordingly, some lords of the council waited upon Catherine at Greenwich, informed her of the determination of the universities, and earnestly exhorted her to depart from her appeal to the Pope, and submit the question to the decision of four temporal, and four spiritual peers. Her reply to this was given meekly, but with resolution and dignity. 'You affirm, my lords,' said she, 'that, for quietness to the king's conscience, I should commit the cause to eight persons of this realm. I pray God his grace may have a quiet conscience; but for me, this shall be my answer—I say I am his lawful wife, and to him lawfully married by the order of holy church. To him I was espoused as his true wife, and in that state I will abide, until the court of Rome, which was privy to the beginning, shall thereof have made an end.' Henry had hitherto lived with his queen although apart from her intimate society. From that moment he never saw her again; and his mind, irritated by opposition, and inflamed by the violence of his passions, assumed a darker and more cruel character."⁴

"Catherine addressed a pathetic letter to the Pontiff, in which she informed him of her banishment from court, and implored his protection. Clement replied by an epistle to the English monarch, wherein, for the last time, he attempted to

¹ Burnet, Hist. of the Ref., vol. i., p. 178.

² Parl. History, vol. iii., p. 80.

³ Mackintosh, vol. ii., p. 169.

⁴ Tytler, p. 315.

awaken in him some sense of justice, and feelings of penitence.”¹ It was, however, too late for a letter of this nature to produce any favourable effect, and Henry condescended to reply in no other manner than by precipitating his measures against the popedom: and by fresh endeavours to intimidate the Pontiff.

1. On the 15th of January, in the year 1532, the Parliament was assembled after a prorogation: the most important act, passed by the legislature at this time, was that to restrain the payment of annates. It was set forth in this statute, “that under the title of annates, or first-fruits, great sums of money had been conveyed out of the kingdom, which the court of Rome extorted by withholding bulls and other writs: that these payments were founded on no law, and were only recoverable from the incumbents of sees by threats of withholding the usual bulls: that not less than one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling had been transmitted to the papal exchequer since the second year of King Henry VIII., and more might be expected to become demandable shortly, on account of the advanced ages to which several of the prelates had attained: therefore it was enacted, that these payments do from henceforth cease, except so far as an allowance of five *per cent.* upon the net annual produce of a bishopric, as a compensation for preparing and sealing of the usual bulls. “A clause, however, in the act gave it the air of *intimidation*. It was enacted, that the king be empowered at any time before Easter, 1533, or before the next session of Parliament, to declare, by letters patent, whether any, or what of the provisions of this act should be carried into effect. None who considered this clause, could doubt that the king’s principal object in procuring its insertion, was to overawe the court of Rome by means of the discretionary powers left in his hands.”²

This step was taken, not to save this money to the nation, for Henry would have purchased the papal consent at any price, and the very impost here denounced was subsequently added to the king’s purse, as some remuneration for the “increased labour attached to his office of head of the church,” nor was it from any conscientious conviction of the uselessness of applying to Rome for the customary bulls, since he still allowed five *per cent.* on the amount of the annual income of each fresh appointment, but solely with a view to influence the decision of the Pontiff by motives of interest.

2. By the advice of Cromwell, Henry next aimed a blow at the independence of the church, which, whilst it proved to the clergy that the title bestowed upon the king was not meant to be an idle honour, might serve as a warning to the See of Rome of more decisive measures against its spiritual supremacy. An address was procured from the Commons, complaining of the acts and canons of the ecclesiastical convocations as “against the royal

¹ Tytler, p. 317.

² Soames, *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. i., p. 290—295.

prerogative, and very burthensome to the Commons." This address was forwarded by Henry to the convocation, and was followed by a requisition "to forbear any more to make ordinances, or constitutions, or to put them in execution, but with the king's royal assent and license." To this the convocation of the province of Canterbury assented, but the lower house required the introduction of certain provisos limiting the concession to the period of the king's natural life, and in as far as it was conformable "to the laws of Almighty God and holy church, and this realm." But the king was not satisfied. In vain did the clergy appeal to the precedents of centuries, in vain assert that "the prelates of the church have a spiritual jurisdiction and judicial power to rule and govern, in faith and good manners, the flocks unto their care committed, so that before God there needeth not of necessity any temporal power to concur with the same by way of authority; that this power of making laws is right well founded in many places of holy Scripture, and with most vehement and inexpugnable reasons and authorities, defended by his highness in his book most excellently written against Martin Luther. Henry remained obstinately bent on crushing the power of the church, which at length was surrendered into his hands, because, as it was said, of their knowledge of his superior learning and piety.¹ Thus was destroyed the independent authority of the church in questions affecting faith, morals, and discipline, a power which in past ages had been so often successfully exercised as a salutary check on royal tyranny and vice.

"It was now five years since Henry had separated himself from the society of his queen and solicited a divorce; and for three years he had lived in such familiar intercourse with Anne Boleyn, that no doubt could be entertained regarding the nature of the connexion between them. The situation of the Marchioness of Pembroke at length confirmed this in the most unequivocal manner; and the king, becoming alarmed for the legitimacy of his expected offspring, determined to make her his wife. The marriage was conducted in so private and obscure a manner, that the date of its occurrence has been much disputed. According to an account which has been questioned by Burnet, but apparently on insufficient grounds, the ceremony took place two months before the consecration of Cranmer, on the 25th of January, 1533. On the morning of that day, before light, Dr. Roland Lee, one of the royal chaplains, was summoned to celebrate mass, in a remote attic chamber of the palace of Whitehall. On entering, he found the king, attended solely by Norris and Heneage, two of the grooms of his bedchamber, and Anne Boleyn, with her train-bearer, Mistress Savage, afterwards the Lady Berkley. The chaplain, on being commanded to celebrate the marriage, betrayed some scruples; upon which Henry informed

¹ Strype, Eccl. Mem. p. 204—210.

him, that the cause of the divorce had at length been heard at Rome,—a decision, he said, had been pronounced in his favour, and the papal instrument which permitted him to marry a second time, was at that moment in his possession. This unfounded assertion quieted the conscience of the chaplain; the marriage was performed without further question; the parties separated as quietly as they had assembled, and Viscount Rochfort was despatched to communicate the event to the King of France, and to request him to send a confidential minister to England.”

“In a conference with Langey, the French envoy, to whom this affair was intrusted, Henry agreed to conceal his nuptials till May, by which time it was expected the intended interview between France and the Pope, would have taken place; but some delay occurred; it was found impossible to have any further postponement, and on the 12th of April he publicly celebrated his marriage, and commanded her to receive the honours of queen.”¹

Thus was the papal authority at length set completely at defiance by the passions of the king. Cromwell’s cunning or abilities had silenced the opposition of the clergy, had rendered them and the Commons mere tools in the hands of the king, and the concurrence of the nobles had been secured, or bribed, by promises of the honours, and the wealth of the prostrate ecclesiastics.²

It is now time to pass to the second of Henry’s new councillors and agents, Thomas Cranmer, a man extolled by one party as a saint and martyr, and represented by another, as throughout an ambitious, time-serving, and unscrupulous prelate, and, finally, a profligate, perjured, and condemned traitor. With the private and early life of Cranmer we have no concern, but it will be useful to mention a few particulars of his career, which may affect our judgment on the motives which led him to the conduct which we shall soon see him steadily, though timidly, pursue.

1. It is almost needless to observe that, as a fellow of Cambridge, he was incapacitated from marrying, but “being maister of art, and fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, it chanced him to marry a gentleman’s daughter,” which violation of the statutes of the university being discovered, he lost his fellowship there, and subsequently became reader in Buckingham College.³

2. During the discussion of the question of divorce, Cranmer took an active part, wrote in favour of it at the king’s request, was despatched by him to Rome to forward the king’s suit, where, though married contrary to the canons, and now, as a priest, contrary to his promise at ordination, he so far imposed upon the

¹ Tytler, p. 327, 328.

² *La fantaisie de ces seigneurs est que, lui mort ou ruiné, ils deferrent incontinent icy l'estat de l'église, et prendront tous leurs biens.* L'Évêque de B. 374.

³ Wordsworth’s *Ecc. Biog.* vol. iii., p. 432.

pontiff as a clergyman in every way regular and worthy, that he was gratified with the office of penitentiary,¹ as a mark of papal favour and approval.

3. Subsequently the king employed him in Germany as his agent in collecting opinions favourable, if possible, to the king's wishes. In this we have seen, in the first Lecture, that he was completely unsuccessful; but is supposed to have imbibed Lutheran principles from the reformers amongst whom his mission principally lay; and it is certain that smitten with the charms of a relative of Osiander, he married her privately, but left her in Germany, on his recall to England, from fear of Henry's well-known determination to enforce, with the stake and the halter, the observance of the solemn promise of clerical celibacy.²

4. "About the same time that More relinquished the seals, and retired to a life of study and contemplation, the See of Canterbury became vacant by the death of the learned and venerable Warham; and Henry immediately selected Cranmer to fill the primacy."³ Warham had been no less distinguished for his love of letters, than for his zeal for the Catholic doctrines, and submission to the papal authority;⁴ his successor was known to have imbibed different sentiments; to have written and argued in favour of the divorce; and as the friend, chaplain, and adviser of the Boleyn family, to be a prelate suited, in every respect, to the wishes of Henry. At his trial he is reproached with having entered into an unbecoming compact with the king, to pronounce the sentence of divorce on condition of being rewarded with the primacy, an accusation supported by the testimony of Pole in his letter to the archbishop, but repelled indignantly by the prelate.⁵ Be this as it may, events soon showed that in Cranmer, Henry had found a ready and able seconder in his views, whether of sensuality, pillage, or aggrandisement.

Whatever were the archbishop's real sentiments, he declined with becoming humility the proffered honour, as exposing its possessor to great spiritual dangers and responsibilities, and we

¹ Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* vol. iii., p. 443.

² *Ibid.* p. 474. *Uxore jamdudum orbatus, quam adolescens duxerat, puellæ cujusdam amore irretitus tenebatur, (hæc erat neptis uxoris Osiandri) quam etiam sibi secundo connubio jungere omnimodis decreverat.* Godwin, p. 49.

³ Tytler, p. 324.

⁴ "Warham, on his death-bed, called his nephew to him and desired him never to serve or obey the Thomas who would succeed him, and who would by his wicked heresies injure the Church more than it had ever been benefitted by the blessed St. Thomas." Thomson's *Mem. of H. VIII.*, p. 253.

⁵ "Equis autem ignorat, te, ob hanc unam causam archiepiscopum esse factum? Quis ambigat te, non per ostium, sed per fenestram, vel potius per cuniculos, tanquam furem et latronem intrasse." *Poli ep. ad Tho. Cran. inter MSS. Harl.* In a MS. History of the Reformation in the same collection, we also read that the king offered the archbishopric to "divers reverend persons" upon the "impious condition" of obtaining from them a divorce; and that, being repulsed, he had recourse to Cranmer, who "made no bones to accept it upon this simoniacal condition." That this was the common belief in Cranmer's lifetime is clear from the account of his trial. *Foxe*, 1703.

may suppose that some misgivings arose in his mind from the knowledge of Henry's abhorrence of marriage in the clergy, in violation of the canons; an objection not likely to be lessened by the liberties he had allowed himself in contravention of their prohibitions.

At length all delays and difficulties, real or feigned, being overcome, Cranmer was appointed to the archiepiscopal See of Canterbury, "a station for which he is said¹ to have been fitted by his abilities and virtues, but which was, in fact, the unsuitable reward of diplomatic activity for a very ambiguous purpose." But from whom was he to receive that appointment and the jurisdiction which it conveyed? If from the Pope, he incurred the penalties of the law, and acted in opposition to the asserted convictions of his conscience; if from the king, would the divorce and subsequent acts be recognised as valid by the rest of Europe? In this dilemma, he is asserted to have thus addressed the monarch: "If I am to accept this place, I must, like my predecessors, receive it from the hands of the Pope, and this my conscience will not permit me to do. I am convinced that your majesty is the only supreme Head and Governor of the Church of England, as well in causes ecclesiastical as temporal." Henry had recourse to the advice of Dr. Oliver, an eminent civilian, who proposed to remove the difficulty, by sending a person to take the oath to the Pope in the name of the new primate, whilst he himself was permitted to ratify it under protestation. To this equivocal salvo for his conscience, Cranmer agreed. The Pope confirmed his nomination to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and his consecration took place on the 30th March, 1533."²

As this is the first of that long series of acts of duplicity or subserviency which disgrace the name of this prelate beyond that of any other occupier of so high a dignity, it may be useful to enter into a few more details connected with this transaction.

Though Cranmer had suffered his agent to take the customary oath to the Pontiff, and had contented himself with protesting against it, it became incumbent on him to consider in what way a similar difficulty was to be evaded or overcome at his consecration. On that occasion it had been customary to take an oath of canonical obedience to the reigning Pope. Should he refuse that oath, neither the divorce, nor the legitimacy of Henry's offspring by Anne was secured, and to take it, he had declared, "his conscience would not permit him." On the day of his consecration, he retired into the chapter-house, attached to the chapel of St. Stephen, and in the presence of four, or according to another account, of five witnesses, protested that by the oath of obedience

¹ Mackintosh, vol. ii., p. 162.

² Tytler, p. 325. Strype, Mem. of Cranmer, p. 16. Soames, vol. i., p. 360. Cranmer's explanation at his trial is this: "He received a certain bull of the Pope, which he delivered unto the king, and was archbishop by him." Foxe, 1704.

to the Pope, which he was about to take, "whatever might be the seeming meaning of the words employed," he did not intend to bind himself to any thing contrary to the law of God, prejudicial to the rights and prerogatives of the king, or prohibitory of such reforms in the Church of England as he might deem useful.¹ "This protestation being made and attested, the archbishop elect proceeded to the chapel for the purpose of consecration. By the high altar there sat ready to officiate, John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, pontifically habited; with whom were associated, as assistants, John Voisey, Bishop of Exeter, and Henry Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph."² Before his consecration, and on the reception of the pallium, Cranmer took the usual pontifical oath, and the ceremonies were throughout conducted according to the usual rites, which of course involved the customary promises to "receive with submission the traditions of the fathers, and the constitutions of the Holy See apostolic, to render obedience to St. Peter in the person of his vicar the Pope and his successors, according to canonical authority; to observe chastity, which imported celibacy, as is well known, notwithstanding he was at the moment actually married. As some few Protestant writers have endeavoured to vindicate or palliate, though the majority honestly condemn the conduct of the archbishop on the above occasion, it may be well to draw your attention to the leading facts of the question.

In *public* Cranmer swore³ "to be thenceforward, as heretofore,

¹ The following is a copy of Cranmer's protest, transcribed from his register by Mr. Strype, and printed in his Memorials of the archbishop. (Appendix, 683.) "In Dei nomine, amen. Coram vobis autentica persona et testibus fide dignis, hic presentibus, Ego Thomas in Cant. Archiepiscopum electus dico, allego, et in his scriptis, palam, publice, et expresse protestor; Quod cum juramentum, sive juramenta ab electis in Cant. Archiepiscopis præstari solita, me ante meam consecrationem, aut tempore ejusdem *pro forma potius quam pro esse*, aut re obligatoria ad illam obtinendam oporteat; non est, nec erit meæ voluntatis aut intentionis per hujusmodi juramentum vel juramenta, qualitercunque verba in ipsis posita sonare videbuntur, me obligare ad aliquod ratione eorundem posthac dicend. faciend. aut attemptand. quod erit aut esse videbitur contra legem Dei, vel contra illustriss. regem nostrum Angliæ, aut remp. hujus sui regni Angliæ, legesve aut prærogativas ejusdem. Et quod non intendo per hujusmodi juramentum aut juramenta, quovis modo me obligare quominus libere loqui, consulere, et consentire valeam, in omnibus et singulis, reformationem religionis christianæ, gubernationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, aut prærogativam coronæ ejusdem, reipublicæve commoditatem, quoquomodo concernentibus, et ea ubique exequi et reformare, quæ mihi in Ecclesia Anglicana reformanda videbuntur. Et secundum hanc interpretationem et intellectum hunc et non aliter, neque alio modo, dicta juramenta me præstiturum protestor et profiteor. Protestorque insuper quodcumque juramentum sit, quod meus procurator summo pontifici meo nomine antehac præstitit, quod non erat intentionis aut voluntatis meæ sibi aliquam dare potestatem, cujus vigore aliquod juramentum meo nomine præstare potuerit contrarium aut repugnans juramento per me præstito aut imposterum præstando illustriss. Angliæ regi. Et casu quod aliquod tale contrarium aut repugnans juramentum meo nomine præstitit, protestor quod illud me insicio, et absque mea autoritate præstitum, pro nullo et invalido esse volo. A quibus per aliquod meum factum vel dictum quovismodo recedere non intendo, nec recedam. Sed eas mihi semper salvas esse volo.

² Soames, vol. i., p. 372.

³ It has been asserted that Cranmer on these two occasions either repeated his protest, or at least said that he took the oath in the sense of that protest. "But," says

faithful and obedient to the Holy Apostolic Roman Church, and to Pope Clement VIII., and to his successors entering upon their office in a canonical manner.” In his protest he asserts, that “notwithstanding what may seem to be the obvious meaning of the words of this oath, he would not thereby be restrained from asserting, or vindicating whatever might *seem to him* opposed to the divine law, the laws and prerogatives of the king and kingdom, or from whatever changes in the religion, or government of the Church might appear to him a reformation.” On the one hand he admits the primacy in spiritual matters as vested in the Pontiff, and on the other denies his claims, and asserts the total independence of the Anglican Church on the See of Rome.

Nor is it to be omitted, in forming a judgment on the conduct of the archbishop, that the meaning of the oath had, during several centuries been clearly and practically ascertained; that he swore to observe it in the manner in which it had been previously observed, that the intention of the Pontiff in imposing the oath, was in no manner doubtful, and that the distinction between the spiritual authority of the Pontiff, and the temporal and supreme power of the king, was, and had been, clearly understood, and their respective jurisdictions, on many occasions, not only been the subject of serious discussion, but of angry menace and resistance, when either authority trespassed within the acknowledged limits. As an assertion then of the king’s independent power in all temporal cases, the protest was useless, as a denial of the Pope’s spiritual supremacy, it was in direct opposition to the subsequent submission sworn; unheard of in the Church of England, and an act of duplicity, which cannot be defended without destroying every received principle on which oaths are looked upon as a solemn and firm security and obligation. Either the protest or the oath was an act of perjury, but whether delibe-

the author of No. iv., in the appendix to the 3d vol. of Burnet, “I wish it could be proved. I have two letters (MSS. Latin) of Cardinal Pole to the Archbishop Cranmer, in which he charges him with having done it only in a private manner, and brands his proceeding therein with such expressions as I am unwilling to transcribe.” Burnet, iii., p. 401.

The following is a copy of Cranmer’s oath to the Pope, as transcribed from his register. Ego Thomas electus Cantuariensis ab hac hora, ut antea; fidelis et obediens ero B. Petro, Sanctæ Apos. Rom. Ecclesiæ, et Dom. meo D. Clementi VIII. suisq. successoribus canonice intransitibus. Non ero in consilio aut consensu vel facto, ut vitam perdant vel membrum, seu capiantur mala captione. Consilium vero quod mihi credituri sint per se aut nuncios, ad eorum damnum, me sciente, nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum et regalia S. Petri adjutor eis ero ad defendendum, salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum sedis apostolicæ in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo; vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditio. Apostolorum limina Romana curia, existente citra alpes singulis annis, ultra vero montes singulis bienniis, visitabo, aut per me, aut per meum nuntium, nisi apostolica absolvat licentia. Possessiones vero ad mensam mei archiepiscopatus pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, neque impignerabo, neque de novo infeudabo, neque aliquo modo alienabo, inconsulto R. Pontifice. Sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta Dei Evangelia. (Strype, Mem. Cran. app. 684.)

rate, or the effect of an erroneous conscience, no human judgment can decide.

2. In the oath he swears "to assist the papal legates in maintaining against all men the *Roman Papacy*, and the *regalia* or royalties of St. Peter, though without prejudice to the rights of his order, to appear at Rome either in person or by deputy, every second year, and under no pretext whatever, to alienate the possessions of his see without consulting the Roman Pontiff." In his declaration to Henry, previous to his consecration, he asserted that he was convinced that Henry, and not the Pope, was the supreme Head and Governor of the Church of England, as well in causes ecclesiastical as temporal, and that to the king, and not the Pontiff, belonged the right of conferring or confirming him in the authority attached to his high office.

3. Oaths are to be taken in the obvious meaning of the words, and he to whom the oath is taken being the party principally interested, it is clear that no protest unknown to him, by which the plain sense of the oath is attempted to be evaded, can destroy the obligation of the oath, or have any other effect than to aggravate the guilt of false swearing by an act of deliberate duplicity. To admit that a protest, whether taken in secret,¹ or before a few individuals whom interest or want of conscience may render easily satisfied with any salvo by which the wished for end may be attained, and the scruples, real or affected, of an individual necessary for their purposes may be quieted, would be to destroy all the efficacy of oaths, and to render them not merely useless, but prejudicial to all those ends for which they are administered.

It soon became evident what services were expected from the new archbishop. The first in order was the divorce of Henry from Catherine, the object of so much useless diplomatic effort, and waste of treasure. "Archbishop Cranmer held an ecclesiastical convocation, for the purpose of determining the long debated controversy, upon the lawfulness of the first union with Catherine. The members of the court were divided into two classes, theologians, and canonists; and it was required of them to deliver their opinion, on the validity of the papal dispensation, and the fact of consummation between Arthur and the Spanish princess. On both points their decision was in favour of the

¹ There is much dispute amongst various writers, whether Cranmer's protest was public or private. Whether pronounced before four or forty, or repeated at the hour of his consecration, can it be called anything but a *private* act when it was kept a *secret* from the Pope? If repeated before his consecration, the bishops may have neglected their duty in continuing the ceremony, but their facility cannot vindicate Cranmer's perjury; if not repeated the protest was in every sense secret, when confided but to four, or at most five picked tools of Henry's policy. Had the protest been known to him to whom alone the oath was taken, and who, therefore, alone could admit of any modification of its meaning, Cranmer would never have been consecrated with the Pope's consent.

king.”¹ By a preconcerted arrangement between Henry and the archbishop,² the primate next requested the royal licence to examine and pronounce final sentence in the cause of the divorce. This was accordingly granted. Catherine was cited to appear before the archbishop, but it was anxiously concealed from her that there was any intention of proceeding to a final judgment in the cause.”

The cause of this anxiety shows Cranmer's zeal for the king, whatever may be thought of it as a test of his sincerity as a judge. “It was desirable to crown the new queen before the birth of her expected infant; and it was obvious that, if before that time, she was to sustain an arduous part in a public ceremony, delay might prove extremely embarrassing. Hence Cranmer, towards the termination of the evidence, appears to have become uneasy, lest some vexatious opposition should unexpectedly protract the business of the court. Accordingly, in a letter to Cromwell, informing him of the time when a decision upon the case might be reasonably expected, the archbishop entreated him to abstain from publicly mentioning this day, for fear that Catherine or her friends should be impelled by the news into throwing some impediment in the way of that sentence, which it had become so desirable to pass without further loss of time. However, no difficulty arose on Catherine's part; and therefore, on the 23d of May, Henry's marriage was pronounced null and void from the beginning, as being contrary to God's law, and consequently such as can derive validity from no human authority whatever.”³ Thus was dissolved a marriage which had subsisted without dispute during seventeen years, had been contracted with full knowledge and examination of all its difficulties on the part of Henry, had been pronounced valid by the voice of all Christendom, with the exception of the bribed and imperfect decisions of a few universities; which was at length only effected at the sacrifice of all spiritual communion with the rest of Christians, disgraced by unseemly precipitancy, by a judge flagrantly partial, and with the outrage offered to public morality and decency, in a pregnant queen, secretly married to a husband, still fettered in the bonds of at least a doubtful wedlock.⁴

The divorce was quickly followed by another but more revolting farce enacted between the primate and Henry. The archbi-

¹ Tytler, p. 328.

² “It is evident the whole matter relative to the request of Cranmer, had been previously concerted between the archbishop and the king.” Tytler, note to p. 229.

³ Soames's Reformation, p. 338.

⁴ Henry was aware of the irregularity in marrying Anne before a divorce from Catherine; but he justified his conduct by declaring, that he had examined the cause in “the court of his own conscience, which was enlightened and directed by the spirit of God, who possesseth and directeth the hearts of princes;” and as he was convinced that “he was at liberty to exercise and enjoy the benefit of God for the procreation of children in the lawful use of matrimony, no man ought to inveigh at his doing.” Burn. iii., Rec. 64.

shop with all gravity acquaints the king with the sentence of divorce, warns him of the sinfulness of living with Catherine, and conjures him to put her away,¹ if he wishes to avoid the censures of the Church and the anger of the Almighty. "On his return to Lambeth, Cranmer by another judgment, of which he did not assign the grounds, bearing date on the 28th of May, 1533, confirmed the marriage of the king with the Lady Anne, which had been privately solemnized by Dr. Lee, afterwards Bishop of Litchfield, about St. Paul's day. She was crowned on the first of June. As the archbishop had long before publicly avowed his conviction of the invalidity of Catherine's marriage, there was no greater fault than indecorum in his share of these proceedings; for the sentence of nullity only declared the invalidity of a contract which had from the beginning been void. But it must be owned that Cranmer, who knew of the private marriage about a fortnight after it was solemnized,² is exposed to a just imputation of insincerity, throughout his subsequent judicial trial of the question, on which the legitimacy of that ceremony depended."³

It is worthy of remark that the archbishop, after all his solemn declaration that the Pope had no claim to spiritual authority in these realms, did not scruple to call himself, in the sentence of divorce, the legate of the apostolic see, though the law of provisors had recently brought Wolsey, the clergy, and the Commons under the penalties of *præmunire* for exercising or acknowledging any such power in this kingdom; and though, so far from any such title or authority having been delegated to Cranmer, the Pope had expressly evoked the question from England, to the court of Rome.⁴

To those who have attentively listened to the preceding narrative, and have followed Henry in the various measures which led to the consummation of his desires, the infamy of the means used, and the unscrupulousness of his agents, will appear revolting and of monstrous depravity, whatever opinions may be entertained on the speculative question of the lawfulness of his union with Catherine. Sensuality the most prurient, disguised as religious scruple; the most venerated courts of human judicature degraded by bribery and intimidation; the decision of the clergy extorted by a fraud, and an act of flagrant tyranny; the holiest of unions effected by unmanly duplicity; a second marriage con-

¹ "Quid vere," writes Pole to Cranmer, "an non te cum ipse ridebas, cum tanquam severus iudex regi minas intentares?" *Poli epist. de sac. Euch.* p. 6. Cremonæ, 1584.

² Cranmer in a letter to his friend Hawkins, ambassador at the Spanish court, observes; "But nowe, Sir, you may nott ymagyne that this coronacion was before her mariage, for she was married much about Sainte Paul's day laste, as the condicion thereof dothe well appere by reason she ys nowe somewhat bigge with chylde. Notwithstanding yt hath byn reported thorowte a great parte of the realme that I married her, which was plainly false: for I myself knew not thereof a fortnyght after yt was donne." *Archæol.* xviii. 81.

³ Mackintosh, vol. ii., p. 170.

⁴ Burnet, *Reformation*, vol. i., p. 207.

tracted before the first had been dissolved ; and the very sanctity of the episcopacy defiled and rendered vile by a partial and hurried judgment aggravated in iniquity by the affectation of holiness and solemnity, which the station or hypocrisy of the judge threw around it ; these and similar enormities compassed that revolution in religion which posterity has been taught to bless as a deliverance from error, and a glorious reformation. Whatever may be your opinions of the change, all must grant that the means employed were not suggested by the Spirit of God, and that if a reformation was effected, they who compassed it were not reformed. Had the characters of those who first taught Christianity been such as those of these men who are said to have restored it, it may be doubted whether its evidences, or their testimony, could very satisfactorily be appealed to.

I shall now give a rapid sketch of the steps taken to secure, palliate, or justify the divorce, in those quarters where its effects were at once seriously felt.

“ After the proceedings at Dunstable were concluded, William Blunt, Lord Mountjoy, was commissioned to wait upon the divorced queen, and to deliver into her hands a formal report of what had been done. In reading this, whenever her eye rested upon a passage in which she was designated as Princess Dowager of Wales, she immediately dashed a pen through the obnoxious title. Nor in spite of the mixture of menace and persuasion addressed to her by Mountjoy, would she consent to discontinue the style and title of Queen. When Henry’s pleasure in this respect was first communicated to her, she replied with her accustomed dignity and firmness : “ I will not damn my soul, and submit to such an infamy. I am his highness’s lawful wife, and will never allow myself to be called by any other name, be the consequences of my refusal what they may : at all events not until the Pope shall have determined that my right to be so considered is of no validity.”¹ “ Against which, though the king used all the endeavours he could, not without both threatening and violence to some of the servants, yet he could never drive her from it ; and what he did in that was thought far below that height of mind which appeared in his other actings ; for, since he had stripped her of her real greatness of a queen, it seemed too much, to vex her for keeping up the pageantry of it.”²

“ The news of the divorce made great impression elsewhere. The emperor received the king’s justification very coolly, and said he would consider what he would do upon it, which was looked on as a declaration of war. The French king, though he expressed still great friendship for the king, yet was now resolved to link himself to the Pope.”³ Even in England, Henry was compelled to silence the remonstrances of his subjects by im-

¹ Soames, *Reformation*, vol. i., p. 389.

² Burnet, *Hist. Refor.*, vol. i., p. 209.

³ *Ibid.*

prisoning the most forward. At Rome, Clement was importuned by his own councillors to vindicate his slighted authority, and by Charles and Ferdinand to do justice to their aunt. But the indecision of the Pontiff, and his affection for Henry induced him to listen to the French monarch, who counselled delay and more moderate measures. "Probably, also, the Pontiff cherished a hope that in his personal conferences with the King of France, some plan might be devised for healing the breach with England. He, therefore, confined his censures of Henry's late proceedings to a declaration, that the sentence pronounced by Cranmer was a nullity, and that the king would become liable to an excommunication, unless he should restore matters to their former state by the end of the following September."¹

The king's conduct was at this time of so wavering a character that, on the recal of the Duke of Norfolk from the French court, at which he had been ambassador, four individuals of distinction, Bishop Gardiner, Sir John Wallop, Sir Francis Bryan, and Dr. Edmund Bonner were despatched into France, at the request of the French king, for the purpose of being present at the intended interview between him and Clement. At that interview, to the surprise of Francis, it was now discovered that the ambassadors were not authorized to treat either with the Pontiff or himself, a disappointment which increased, when Bonner, on the part of Henry, appealed from the Pope to a general council.² Clement affected to be satisfied, and Francis, when his resentment had subsided, despatched the Bishop of Bayonne to England, to complain of Henry's duplicity and precipitation, and to request that he would consent to the renewal of the negotiation which had been begun with the sovereign Pontiff.³ To the bishop, who possessed the confidence of the English monarch, promises seem to have been made of a reconciliation with the Holy See; her services were accepted as agent for the king at the papal court, whilst the accredited English ministers at Rome were commissioned to propose that the king's cause should be tried in England, the judgment to be approved by the Pope, to whom Henry would in his turn again yield full and customary obedience; nay, that further concessions might be expected in proportion to Clement's readiness to serve him.⁴ But favourable as were these appearances they were delusive; of twenty-two cardinals, nineteen decided in favour of Henry's marriage with Catherine, and required him to take her back as his legitimate wife. Clement was alarmed at this almost unanimous decision, and endeavoured to discover means by which the anger of Henry might be soothed.⁵

But it mattered little in reality to what resolutions the con-

¹ Soames, *Reformation*, vol. i., p. 393.

³ Du Bellay's instructions, apud Le Grand, iii. 571.

⁴ Burnet, iii. 84.

² Ibid. p. 402.

Burnet, iii. 82, 84.

⁵ Burnet, *Refor.*, p. 226, 227.

sistory might come, as violent counsels, previous to that judgment, had begun to prevail in the English cabinet. Long before the decision of the papal council was known in England, act after act had rapidly passed through Parliament, by the industry or policy of Cromwell, and the friends of the new queen, destructive of the supremacy of the Pope, and of the communion of this kingdom with the other churches of the west.

The Parliament met on the 15th of January, 1533. It appears that only six bishops (with of course the Archbishop of Canterbury) and twelve abbots were present in the Upper House; "upon what pretences the rest excused their attendance I do not know; perhaps some made a difference between submitting to what was done, and being active and concurring to make the change. During the session a bishop preached every Sunday at Paul's cross, and declared to the people that the Pope had no authority at all in England."¹ It was in a session so remarkable for the scanty attendance of the spiritual lords, that the following acts were passed, by which the ecclesiastical polity, long established in England, was wholly overthrown. 1st. The submission of the clergy, which, during the previous years, had been extorted from their fears, was secured by statute. No canons or constitutions could be passed or enforced without first receiving the royal assent. A committee of thirty-two persons, consisting of sixteen lay members, chosen from the two houses of Parliament, and sixteen ecclesiastics appointed by the king, was empowered to abrogate or confirm, with the king's concurrence, any of the acts or constitutions of the clergy. A clause of some consequence was introduced: "that all such canons and ordinances as had been already made, and were not repugnant to the statutes and customs of the realm, or the prerogatives of the crown, should be used and enforced, till it should be otherwise determined according to the tenour and effect of the said act." "This proviso seemed to have a fair colour, that there might still be some canons in force to govern the church by; but since there was no day prefixed to the determination of the commission, this proviso made that the act never took effect; for now it lay in the prerogative, and in the judge's breast, to declare what canons were contrary to the laws, or the rights of the crown."² By virtue of this clause the spiritual courts have existed down to the present time. 2d. In the month of September, previous to the meeting of Parliament, Queen Anne Boleyn had been delivered of a female infant, who was christened Elizabeth, and became afterward the sovereign of that name; and in consequence of this event, which disappointed the king, who anxiously looked for a boy, a statute was brought in for the regulation of "the succession to the crown, the object and the bulwark of the ecclesiastical reformation." It confirmed the judgments of Cranmer,

¹ Burnet, Refor., p. 226, 227.

² Burnet, Refor., vol. i., p. 233.

which had pronounced the marriage with Catharine to be void, and that with Anne to be valid. It directed that the Lady Catherine should be henceforth called and reputed only dowager to Prince Arthur, and settled the crown on the heirs of the king by his lawful wife, Queen Anne. This succession was guarded by a clause, perhaps unmatched in the legislation of Tiberius, which enacted, "that if any person, by writing, print, deed, or act, do, or cause to be procured or done, anything to the slander, prejudice, disturbance, or derogation of the lawful matrimony between your majesty and the said Queen Anne; or as to the peril, slander, or dishersion of any of the issue of your highness, limited by this act to inherit the crown; such persons, and their aiders and abettors, shall be adjudged high traitors, and they shall suffer death as in cases of high treason." All the king's subjects were required to swear to the order of succession, under pain if they did not, of the consequence of misprision of treason.¹

3d. "The provisions of the statute, passed in the preceding Parliament, forbidding, in certain cases, all appeals to Rome were extended to all cases whatsoever."² But a tribunal was established, since called the court of delegates, which, in lieu of the right thus abolished, allowed of an appeal from the court of the archbishop to the king in chancery. 4th. All payments to the apostolic chamber were abolished; "and dispensations, with all other such indulgences not contrary to God's law, as had been usually obtained from Rome, were, in future, to be granted by the English archbishop."³ In case of refusal, an appeal in this case also was allowed to the king in chancery. 5th. In the same act by which the former statute against annates was confirmed, it was enacted, that "bishops should not be any more presented to the Bishop of Rome, or sue out any bulls there, but that all bishops should be presented to the archbishop, and archbishops to any archbishop in the king's dominions, or to any four bishops whom the king should name; and that when any see was vacant, the king was to grant a licence for a new election, with a letter missive, bearing the name of the person who was to be chosen, and twelve days after these were delivered, an election was to be returned by the dean and chapter, or prior and convent, under their seals,"⁴ under the penalty of forfeiting their right, which in that instance should devolve to the crown, that the prelate named or elected should first swear fealty; upon which a commission was to be issued out, for consecrating and investing him with the usual ceremonies; and the profits temporal and spiritual of his see, upon being sued for from the king, were at once to be placed in his power, by the commissioners by whom they had been held during the vacancy.

"Henry was now about to appear as the first great monarch,

¹ Mackintosh, *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. ii., p. 174.

² Soames, *Refor.*, vol. i., p. 432.

³ *Ibid.* p. 337.

⁴ Burnet, *Refor.*, vol. i., p. 233.

since the extinction of the race of Constantine, who had broken asunder the bonds of Christian communion. At the next step he might, perhaps, find no footing. He paused. He, as well as his contemporaries, doubtless felt misgivings that the example of this hitherto untried policy might not only eradicate religious faith, but shake the foundations of civil order, and perhaps doom human society to a long and barbarous anarchy.”¹ As a proof of this indecision, and of consciousness that to intimidate, and not to reform, was the real motives of these changes, it need only be remarked, that the statute which declared the king supreme head of the Church of England, “was qualified by a singular proviso, which suspended its execution till midsummer, and enabled the king on or before that day to repeal it; probably adopted with some remaining hope that it might have terrors enough to countervail those which were inspired by the imperial armies.”²

But in the next session of Parliament, in November, all these enactments were sanctioned and established by a brief but comprehensive act “concerning the king’s majesty to be supreme head upon earth of the Church of England, which granted him full power to correct and amend any errors, heresies, abuses, &c., which by any ecclesiastical jurisdiction might be reformed or redressed.”³ For “the augmentation of the royal estate and the maintenance of the supremacy,” the first-fruits of all benefices, offices, and spiritual dignities, and the tenths of the annual income of all livings, were granted to the king, and “commissioners were appointed to value the benefices, with a machinery afterwards so enlarged as to be instrumental in promoting rapine on a more extended scale.”⁴ “The clergy were easily prevailed on to consent to the putting down of the *annates*, paid to the court of Rome; for all men readily concur to take off any imposition, but at that time it had, perhaps, abated much of their heartiness, if they had imagined that these duties should have been still paid; therefore, that was kept up till they had done all that was to be done against Rome. And now, as the Commons and the secular lords would no doubt easily agree to lay a tax on the clergy, so the others, having no foreign support, were not in a condition to wrestle against it.”⁵ A provision was also made for the continuance of suffragan bishops; a new oath was tendered to the bishops, by which they not only abjured the supremacy of the Pope, and acknowledged that of the king, but also swore never to consent that the Bishop of Rome should have any authority within the realm, never to appeal, nor to suffer any other to appeal unto him, never to write nor send to him without the royal permission, and never to receive any message from him without communicating it immediately to the king.⁶

¹ Mackintosh, *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. ii., p. 173.

² *Ibid.* p. 174.

³ *Ibid.* vol. ii., p. 175.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Burnet, *Refor.*, vol. i., p. 247.

⁶ 26 Henry VIII., c. 2.

To prevent any recurrence of the artifice by which Cranmer had pretended to nullify his oath of obedience to the Pontiff, a full and formal renunciation was required from every prelate of every protest previously made, which might be deemed contrary to the tenour of the oath of supremacy.¹ To restrain by the fear of punishment the adversaries of these innovations, "it was made treason, among other things, in the thirteenth act, to deny to the king the dignity, title, or name, of his estate royal ; or to call him heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper."²

"Henry, acting under the dictates of his passions, listening to the advice of his confidential minister, the subtle and interested Cromwell, and occasionally employing the more temperate agency of Cranmer, had now attained the two great objects of his wishes. His love, if the feeling by which he was animated may be designated by so pure a name, had been fixed for the last six years upon Anne Boleyn. She was now his wife and his queen. His selfish and imperious temper had been thwarted during the same period by the opposition of the popedom ; he now saw himself the acknowledged head of an independent church, and amenable to no foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction. But the possession of these objects was attended with the worst effects. Unlimited indulgence and despotic power are calculated to pervert even the best disposition ; and, at an early period of his royal career, all the fair promises of his youth were seen to wither under their influence, though it was not till the moment at which we have now arrived that his character assumed its fiercer and more sanguinary complexion."³ He was tremblingly alive to every rumour, his jealousy magnified the least hint of disapprobation into a crime against the state ; and scarce a year elapsed, under the supremacy of this new head of the church, which was not stained with the blood of many, and often noble and innocent victims. All liberty of belief was at an end ; the property of the church became the reward or plunder of every needy or unscrupulous adventurer ; the poor saw with dismay their daily bread torn from their lips under the pretence of reformation ; schools suppressed, hospitals confiscated ; the accumulated charities of nine centuries pillaged ; treasons before unheard of loading the statute book ; the highest dignitary in the church made a pander to the king's lust ; these and similar enormities, we shall see, were the immediate effects of that revolution which subserviency, or participation in crime designated a reformation ; but by the fruits of which in universal rapine, legalised immorality, and the pliant hypocrisy of its fautors, the real character of the change was made manifest to every unprejudiced mind, by the plainest principles of reason, experience, and revelation.

The sessions of Parliament, the acts of which we have been

¹ 26 Henry VIII., Wilk. Conc., iii. 782.

² Burnet, Refor., vol. i., p. 247.

³ Tytler, p. 341.

examining, were held in the spring and autumn of the year 1534; during the intervening summer an event had occurred which derives importance from being the first of those bloody scenes which soon became so frequent, and from being connected with the fate of Fisher, the venerable Bishop of Rochester, and that of Sir Thomas More, the illustrious ex-chancellor of England.

“Elizabeth Barton, (the holy maid of Kent,) was at this time a nun, profest in the priory of St. Sepulchre at Canterbury. She had for years been held in reverence among the adherents of the ancient faith, for her spotless life, and the more than usual ardour of her devotional feelings. She believed herself (for what could be her motive for fraud?) to be divinely endowed with the powers of working miracles, in which was comprehended that of foretelling future events, in order that by a timely manifestation of such mighty powers wielded by a feeble virgin, an evil and corrupt generation might be recalled from that universal apostacy to which they were hastening. Several gentlemen and clergymen in Kent believed in her mission.”¹ Had her visions and prophecies not regarded the state and the mighty changes that were pending, she might have continued her manifestations unnoticed, but she ventured to threaten first Wolsey, and then his imperial master. “Henry seems at first to have tried her and her associates, only in the star-chamber, when it was thought sufficient to punish them by standing at Paul’s cross during the sermon, and by reading on that occasion, a public confession of their imposture.”² From the cross they were reconducted to prison, and as Henry had outlived the period of her prediction, it seemed unlikely that any further notice would be taken of the deluded or foolish prophetess; but this would have been mercy or justice, virtues which Henry never henceforward exercised towards the object of his anger. She and her abettors were attainted for high treason, inasmuch, as “she,” says the statute, “declared that she had knowledge by revelation from God, that God was highly displeased with our said sovereign lord, and that, if he proceeded in the said divorce and separation, and married again, he should no longer be king of this realm; and that in the estimation of Almighty God, he should not be a king one hour, and that he should die a villain’s death.”³ She was executed at Tyburn, with five others, her accomplices, Brocking, Masters, Deering, Gold, and Risby;⁴ and a bill of misprision of treason was passed against six others who had known, but concealed her predictions. “Upon the scaffold, she addressed the people, and acknowledged the justice of her condemnation. She lamented her having brought others to share the same fate, but pleaded ignorance in extenuation of her offence; and affirmed that the

¹ Mackintosh, *Hist. of England*, vol. ii., p. 176.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 177.

⁴ Rich’s name is in the act of attainder, but his life seems to have been spared as the reward of his disclosures.

learned men who suffered with her, might easily have seen through the delusion, and discovered her to have been a counterfeit. She hinted, however, that they were willing to be deceived, because the predictions she uttered coincided with their wishes, and were supported by their preconceived opinions."¹

Thus was executed this unfortunate woman, "for misfortunes which ignorance and superstition regarded as crimes; for the incoherent language and dark visions of a disturbed if not alienated mind."² Perhaps less can be said in favour of her abettors, if our opinions and the fate of the prophetess are fair standards of judgment, but be this as it may, to describe the conduct of her five associates as a plot of the Catholic body, as have some recent historians,³ is one among many lamentable instances of unscrupulous bigotry and misrepresentation.

Her fate derives further importance from being connected with that of the two most illustrious men of their day, Fisher and More. They had both rendered themselves obnoxious to the king by their steady refusal to further his project of divorce, and Fisher more especially, by appearing as the advocate of Catherine. More had resigned the seals on the first clear indications of the unscrupulous counsels which began to direct the measures of the government. More's opinions of Barton's pretended prophecies had been asked by the king, and his answer was such as might be expected from his prudence and judgment.⁴ Notwithstanding, however, his explicit denial of all belief in her inspiration, he with some difficulty escaped from being involved in a misprision of treason by the same obsequious Parliament which had signed the death warrant of the unhappy fanatic and her associates.

Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was less fortunate. He had more deeply incurred the unsparing hatred of the king. His age, he was nearly eighty; his learning and virtue, which had, in Henry's better days, justified his boast, that not a prince in Europe possessed a prelate equal to the saintly and learned Fisher of Rochester;⁵ his long-trying services, he was the last survivor of his father's councillors, and the prelate to whose care the Countess of Richmond had recommended Henry's youth and inexperience; these considerations could not counterbalance, in the monarch's mind, the opposition to his divorce and his revengeful encroachments on the settled ecclesiastical authority, which Fisher had deemed it his duty to exert. It was asserted that he had con-

¹ Tytler, p. 339.

² Mackintosh, vol. ii., p. 177.

³ See Soames, *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. i., p. 409.

⁴ "I told him," says More, "that in good faith I found nothing in these words that I could regard or esteem. For seeing that some part fell in rhythm, and that, God wot, full rude also, for any reason that I saw therein, a right simple woman might in my mind, speak it of her own wit well enough." More's letter to Cromwell, apud Burnet, ii. Rec., p. 286.

⁵ Phillip's *Life of Pole*, vol. i., p. 38.

cealed from the king the prophecies and threats of Elizabeth Barton, and was therefore to be looked upon as a partaker in her guilt. In vain did he reply to Cromwell, that by no statute of the land was it treason to believe on the testimony of good and credible witnesses, that Barton was a virtuous woman; nor could he be condemned for not discovering to the king her threats, since he was assured that his majesty had been, from other quarters, made fully acquainted with them, nay that she had declared that in the conference, which it was well known she had held with the king, she had named those dangers to the king himself; 'dangers arising not from any treasonable violence, but from the ordinary visitations of Providence.

"He knew not, as he would answer before the throne of Christ, of any malice or evil that was intended by her or by any other earthly creature unto the king's highness." He was condemned as "guilty of misprision of treason, and his sentence was imprisonment for life, and the forfeiture of all his estate to the crown."² He eventually compounded for his personalties by the payment of a fine of three hundred pounds.

This severity Henry was willing to hope might intimidate the prelate, or prepare him and More for the king's utmost revenge in case they persevered in opposing his views. The experiment was not long delayed. About a fortnight after the attainder of Barton and her accomplices, they were summoned before the council at Lambeth, and required to take the oath of succession. In it was contained not merely a promise to maintain the succession as by law established, but a clause was artfully inserted acknowledging the lawfulness of Henry's marriage with Anne, and the invalidity of his union with Catherine. "Both More and Fisher proposed their readiness to swear that they would support the succession to the crown as established by Parliament; but they declined to take that oath, if it were understood to involve an affirmation of the facts recited in the preamble of the statute, as the premises from which the statute infers the practical conclusion respecting the legitimacy of the succession. They abstained thereby from affirming or denying, first, that Henry's marriage with Catherine was invalid; or, secondly, that his marriage with Anne was valid; and, thirdly, they refused to disclaim all foreign authority in the kingdom, the disclaimer extending to spiritual authority, although that is in its own nature no more than a decisive ascendant over the minds of those who spontaneously submit to it."³ On their refusal they were flung into prison, where they languished during a whole year before being brought to trial. "The cruelty which they experienced, and the manner in which Henry treated the victims of his resentment, may be seen from the following pathetic passage in a letter which

¹ Burnet, *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. i., p. 242.

² Tytler, *Life of Hen. VIII.*, p. 340.

³ Mackintosh, *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. ii., p. 178.

Fisher addressed to Cromwell:—"Furthermore, I beseech you, be good master to me in my necessity. For I have neither shirt nor suit, nor any other clothes that are necessary for me to wear, but that be ragged and rent too shamefully; notwithstanding, I might easily suffer that, if they would keep my body warm. But, my diet, also, God knoweth how slender it is at many times. And now, in mine age, my stomach may not away but with a few kinds of meats; which, if I want, I decay forthwith, and fall into crases and diseases of my body, and cannot keep myself in health. And also, I beseech you, that it may please you, by your high wisdom, to move the king's highness to take me into his gracious favour again, and to restore me to my liberty out of this cold and painful imprisonment, whereby ye shall bind me to be your poor bedesman for ever unto Almighty God, who ever have you in his protection and custody. Other twain things I must desire upon you. The one is, it may please you that I may take some priest with me in the Tower, to hear my confession against this holy time. The other is, that I may borrow some books to say my devotion more effectually these holy days, for the comfort of my soul. This I beseech you to grant me of your charity. And thus our Lord God send you a merry Christmas and a comfortable, to your heart's desire. At the Tower, the 22d December, by your poor bedesman."¹

"That this affecting letter had any effect in mollifying the rigour of his imprisonment, there is no proof. He continued a year after it in the Tower, and it appeared probable, considering his advanced age, and the treatment he received, that death would in a little time put a period to his sufferings, when an unseasonable honour paid him by Paul the Third, in creating him a cardinal, hastened his destruction. As soon as intelligence of this promotion reached England, the king gave the strictest orders that none should be permitted to bring the hat into his dominions, and immediately despatched Secretary Cromwell to the Tower to examine the old man. After some introductory conference, Cromwell asked him—"my lord of Rochester, what would you say if the Pope should send you a cardinal's hat,—would you accept it?" The bishop replied, 'Sir, I know myself to be so far unworthy of any such dignity, that I think of nothing less; but if any such thing should happen, assure yourself, I should improve that favour to the best advantage that I could, in assisting the Holy Catholic Church of Christ, and in that respect I would receive it upon my knees.'² When this answer was reported to him, the king could not restrain his passion. 'Yea,' said he, 'is he yet so lusty? well, let the Pope send him a hat

¹ Tytler, *Mem. of Hen. VIII.*, p. 343.

² A somewhat different account is given by Fuller, who makes Fisher reply:—"If the red hat were lying at my feet, I would not stoop to pick it up."—Fuller, 201.

when he will. Mother of God ! he shall wear it on his shoulders then, for I will leave him never a head to set it on.'

"From that moment his destruction was determined; and nothing could be more base and cruel than the mode that Henry contrived to get him into his power. Rich, the solicitor-general, a man of a fawning and crafty disposition, came to the Tower with a message from the king. He informed him, that his majesty, for the better satisfaction of his own conscience, had sent to him in this secret manner, to know his opinion respecting the supremacy; and in order to encourage him to make a disclosure of his mind, Rich added, that the king assured him, on his honour, that whatever he should say unto him, he should abide no danger or peril for it, nor should any advantage be taken of the opinions thus confidentially communicated. Trusting to this promise, and unsuspecting of the snare, which, by royal ingenuity, had been laid for him, the bishop inconsiderately declared, 'that as to the business of the supremacy, he must needs tell his majesty, as he had often told him before, and would so tell were he to die that very hour, that it was utterly unlawful, and that the king should beware of taking such title upon him as he valued his own soul, and the good of his posterity.'"¹

On this evidence, which furnishes a clear proof of his great caution and moderation, and the king's opinion of his integrity, was he brought to trial on the 17th of June, found guilty, and condemned to die as a traitor.

"His execution followed on the 22d of the same month, and he met his fate with all the cheerfulness to be expected from one weary of worldly troubles, and conscious of integrity. Much to his servant's surprise, he caused himself to be dressed on the last morning of his life, with a care that had long been unusual with him. 'My lord,' said the man, 'surely you forget that after the short space of some hours, you must strip off these things, and never wear them more.' 'What of that,' replied the prisoner, 'dost thou not mark that this is my wedding day?' Thus gladdened by the prospect of a speedy termination to his sufferings, he was carried in a chair to the place of execution. In his hand he held a New Testament; upon which, turning his eye, he prayed rather superstitiously, that in opening it at random, he might light upon a passage suited to his present circumstances. The success of his prayer was remarkable. The following text was the one which presented itself to his notice: 'And this is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. I have glorified thee on earth; I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do.' When he had read these words, he shut the book with this observation: 'Here is learning enough for me to my life's end.' On his reaching the fatal spot, his infirmities appeared to forsake him,

¹ Tytler, p. 344, 345.

and he ascended the steps of the scaffold without any help. Before he laid his head upon the block, he declared, in a short address to the spectators, that he came to die for the faith of Christ's holy Catholic Church. Then, after a brief interval of devotion, he meekly submitted to the executioner, who severed his head from the body by a single blow of the axe. Bishop Fisher is a martyr to their cause of whom the Roman Catholics have good reason to be proud."² "Such was the fate of a prelate, who, whatever may have been his errors, was a pious minister of extreme simplicity of life and sweetness of temper, and, as an indefatigable and enthusiastic restorer of learning,³ worthy to be had in all honourable remembrance."⁴

"The next of his deeds of blood has doomed his name to everlasting remembrance. The fate of Sir Thomas More was unequalled by any scene which Europe had witnessed since the destruction of the best and wisest of the Romans by those hideous monsters who wielded the imperial sceptre of the west. It will be difficult indeed to point out any man like More since the death of Boethius, the last sage of the ancient world. He was the first Englishman who signalized himself as an orator, the first writer of a prose which is still intelligible, and probably the first layman since the beginning of authentic history who was chancellor of England."⁵

But we must turn from his merits, his rank, and his fame, to the contemplation of his last days. He had, like Fisher, been imprisoned for about twelve months, and apparently on the same plea, for his refusal to subscribe to the obnoxious clauses artfully introduced into the oath of succession. Unavailing attempts had been constantly made to entrap him into an imprudent opposition to the recent changes, or to shake his constancy, by asserting that Fisher had yielded; a deception attempted in turn on the aged prelate. His cautious silence was not allowed to protect him; by a monstrous act of injustice, it was pronounced malicious, and mentioned among the accusations brought against him."⁶ "He was brought to trial on the 7th of May, 1535, before Lord Audley, the chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, the chief justice, and six judges, of whom Spelman and Fitzherbert were lawyers of considerable note. The accusation against him was high treason, grounded, if on any legal pretext, on the monstrous clause of the recent act,⁷ which made it treason "to do any thing by writing

Soames, like others of his charitable clerical brethren, always uses a nickname in designating the Catholic body, which I choose to change into the title attributed to us in all modern legal and parliamentary documents.

² Soames, *Hist. of Refor.*, vol. ii., p. 32—36.

³ It was owing to his counsels that Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, founded Christ's and St. John's Colleges at Cambridge, together with a professorship of divinity still distinguished by her name, in each of the universities.

⁴ Mackintosh, vol. ii., p. 177—179.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Soames, *Hist. of Refor.*, vol. ii., p. 36.

⁷ 25 Hen. VIII., c. 22, s. 5.

or act which was to the slander, disturbance, or prejudice of the marriage with the lady Anne; or to the disherison or disturbance of the king's heirs by her." More was so enfeebled by his imprisonment that his limbs tottered when he came into the court, and he supported himself with difficulty in coming forward by a staff. The commissioners had sufficient pity on their late illustrious colleague to allow him the indulgence of a chair. His countenance was pale and wan, yet composed and cheerful. His faculties were undisturbed, and the mild dignity of his character did not forsake him. The first witnesses against him were the privy-councillors, who had at various times examined him during his imprisonment. Their testimony amounted only to his repeated declaration, "that being loth to aggravate the king's displeasure, he would say no more than that the statute was a two-edged sword; for if he spoke against it, he should be the cause of the death of his body; and if he assented to it, he should purchase the death of his soul." The court were driven to the very odious measure of examining a law officer of the crown, concerning the real or pretended language of Sir Thomas More in a private conversation, in which Sir Robert Rich, after protesting that he came there without authority, which rendered the communication confidential, he asked More whether, if the Parliament had enacted that Rich should be king, and that it should be treason to deny it, what offence it would be to contravene the act? More, it was said, owned in answer, that he was bound to obey such a statute; because a Parliament can make a king, and depose him; and that every Parliament man may give his consent thereunto; but asked, whether, if it were enacted by Parliament that God was not God, it would be an offence to say according to such an enactment; that More concluded by observing, that the Parliament might submit to the king as head; but, that the other churches of Christendom would not follow their example or hold communion with them.

"On hearing this testimony, Sir Thomas More said, 'If I were a man, my lords, that had no regard to my oath, I had no need to be now here; and if this oath which Mr. Rich have taken be true, I pray I may never see God's face, which, were it otherwise, is an imprecation I would not be guilty of to gain the whole world.' This speech touched the reputation of Rich to the quick. The truth or falsehood of Rich's account of a confidential conversation very little affects the degree of his baseness. But its falsehood, which is much the more probable supposition, throws a darker shade on the character of the triers who convicted More, and of the judges who condemned him. After his condemnation he avowed, as he said then, (when there was no temptation to suppress truth,) for the first time, that he had studied the question for seven years, and could not escape from the conclusion that the king's marriage with Catherine was valid. Audley, the

chancellor, incautiously pressed him with the weight of authority. 'Would you,' says Audley, 'be esteemed wiser, or of purer conscience, than all the bishops, doctors, nobility, and commons in this land?' 'For one bishop,' answered More, 'on your side, I can produce a hundred holy and catholic bishops on mine; and against one realm, the consent of Christendom for a thousand years.' He was sentenced to die the death of a traitor; but Henry mercifully changed it to beheading, and he suffered that punishment on the 7th day of July, 1535, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

"On his return from his arraignment at Westminster, Margaret Roper, his first-born child, waited on the Tower wharf, where he landed, to see her father, as she feared, for the last time; and after he had stretched out his arms in token of a blessing, while she knelt at some distance to implore and receive it, 'she, hastening toward him, without consideration or care of herself, pressing in amongst the throng, and the arms of the guard, that with halberds and bills went around him, ran to him, and openly, in presence of them all, embraced him, took him about the neck and kissed him. He, well liking her most natural and dear daughterly affection, gave her again his fatherly blessing.'¹ In his answer to her on the last day of his life, he expressed himself thus touchingly, in characters traced with a coal,² the only means of writing which was left within his reach: 'Dear Meggy, I never liked your manner better towards me as when you kissed me last. For I like when daughterly love, and dear charity have no leisure to look to worldly courtesy.' On the morning of his execution he entreated that his darling daughter might be allowed to attend his funeral. His friend, Sir Thomas Pope, who was sent to announce to More his doom, informed him that the king was content that his wife, children, and other friends might be present at his burial." Pope, on taking his leave, could not refrain from weeping; More comforted him: "I trust that we shall once in heaven see each other full merrily, where we shall be sure to live and love together in joyful bliss." When going up the scaffold, which was so weak that it seemed ready to fall, he said to the lieutenant, "I pray you, Mr. Lieutenant, see me safe up; and as to coming down, let me shift for myself." Observing some signs of shame in the executioner, he said, "Pluck up thy spirits, man, my neck is very short; take heed, therefore, of a stroke awry, by which you will lose your credit." On kneeling to receive the fatal stroke, he said to the executioner, "My beard has not offended the king, let me put it aside." That the whole of his deportment in his dying moments, thus full of tenderness and pleasantry, of natural affection, of benevolent religion, came

¹ Roper's More, 91, Singer's edition.

² Rich, the solicitor, was sent to take away his books. He found him engaged in drawing up a treatise on the passion of our Lord, and, unmoved by this circumstance, not only removed all his volumes, but carried away his instruments of writing.

without effort from the heart, is apparent from the perfect simplicity with which he conducted his own defence, in every part of which he avoided all approaches to theatrical menace, or ostentatious defiance; and instead of provoking his judges to violence, seemed by his example willing to teach them the decorum and mildness of the judgment-seat. He used all the just means of defence which law or fact afforded, as calmly as if he expected justice. Throughout his sufferings he betrayed no need of the base aids from pride and passion, which often bestow counterfeit fortitude on a public death."¹

"The love of Margaret Roper continued to display itself in those outwardly unavailing tokens of tenderness to his remains, by which affection seeks to perpetuate itself; ineffectually, indeed, for the object, but very effectually for softening the heart and exalting the soul. She procured his head to be taken down from London bridge, where more odious passions had struggled in pursuit of a species of infernal immortality by placing it. She kept it during her life as a sacred relic, and was buried with that object of fondness in her arms, nine years after she was separated from her father. Erasmus called her the ornament of her Britain, and the flower of the learned matrons of England, at a time when education consisted only of the revived study of ancient learning. He survived More only a few months, but composed a beautiful account of his martyrdom, though with his wonted fearfulness, under an imaginary name."² Perhaps the death of no individual ever produced, merely by his personal qualities, so much sorrow and horror as that of Sir Thomas More. A general cry sounded over Europe. The just fame of the sufferer, the eloquent pen of his friend Erasmus, the excusable pride of the Roman Catholic Church in so glorious a martyr, and the atrocious effrontery of the means used to compass his destruction, contributed to spread indignation and abhorrence. Perhaps the more considerate part of men began to pause at the first sight of the illustrious blood spilt on the scaffold, in these religious divisions, which already threatened some part of the horrors, of which they soon after became the occasion or the pretext. Giovio, an Italian historian, compared the tyranny of Henry with that preternatural wickedness which the Grecian legends had embodied under the appellation of Phalaris. Cardinal Pole, an exiled prince of the royal family of England, lashed the frenzy of his kinsman with vehement eloquence, and bewail-

¹ Soames, at p. 38, by a refinement of the most sickening bigotry, finds fault with More's behaviour, and has the audacity, or the infamy, to designate More's conscientious objections to the oath denying the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, a "prejudice which had blinded him to the difference between religious and political duties." Fisher, he acknowledges, died a martyr to his faith; More was executed under the same statute, and for the same causes as that prelate. Addison's beautiful and well-known remarks on More's death, contrast admirably with the virulence of the churchman.

² Conrad Nucerinus, *Epist. de morte T. Mori.*

ed the fate of this martyr in the most affecting strains of oratory. Englishmen employed abroad almost everywhere found their country the object of dread and of execration. The Emperor Charles V., on the arrival of these tidings, sent for Sir Thomas Elliott, the English ambassador, and said to him, "My lord, we understand that the king, your master, has put his faithful servant and wise counsellor, Sir Thomas More, to death." Elliott answered, "I understand nothing thereof." "But," replied Charles, "it is too true; and had we been master of such a servant, we would rather have lost the best city in our dominions than such a counsellor."¹ "Even Henry himself appears to have been touched with compunction on the occasion. We are informed, that when an account of the last scene was brought him, being at that time playing at tables with the queen, he cast his eyes upon her, and said, "Thou art the cause of this man's death!" after which, rising up, he immediately left his play, and shut himself up in his chamber in great perturbation of mind."²

But these, though the noblest, were not the only victims sacrificed in the reign of terror, which the change of religion ushered into this country. Several of the higher clergy had shown themselves unwilling to encounter the king's anger, and had subscribed a form of oath denying the papal supremacy; but the lower clergy, especially the religious orders who had taken vows of poverty, had not the same temptations to induce them to reject the faith of their forefathers, and to separate themselves from the rest of Christendom. They could not persuade themselves that Henry or his counsellors were men likely to receive any special supernatural lights for the discovery of error, or believe gratified passion, thirst for revenge, or the love of power, the best guides to truth. To use the language, and to copy the description of what was passing in the religious houses of this kingdom, from the account given of the Carthusians by a modern historian, which, whilst it bears an unwilling testimony to the zeal, piety, and sincerity of the martyred champions of our faith, is a foul defence, timid and conscience-stricken indeed, but still a defence of bloody persecution or murder, these men had worked themselves up into a belief, that an admission of the papal supremacy was necessary to salvation; and this pernicious folly they had instilled into the minds of those who came to them as penitents. Not contented with thus secretly contravening the measures of the government, the infatuated Carthusians proceeded to wind up their fanaticism to a pitch which could hardly fail of rendering it the object of public attention. John Haughton, the prior, addressed his brethren in a very pathetic strain, for the purpose of inducing them to suffer martyrdom, rather than renounce the Pope. His harangue produced all the effect which such lan-

¹ Mackintosh, *Hist., of Eng.* vol. ii., p. 186.

² Tytler, p. 354.

guage, addressed to such an auditory, might naturally be expected to work. The unhappy monks began, without delay, that course of penitence and devotion, which seemed proper to prepare them for death. On the following day, the prior preached from the first fifteen verses of the fifty-ninth psalm. The brethren then severally confessed their sins, and asked pardon of each other, on their knees, for the offences of which they might severally have to complain. This day of penitence was succeeded by one in which was celebrated a mass of the Holy Ghost. Upon this occasion, it is said, that the excited devotees fancied themselves to be favoured with a sensible manifestation of the Spirit. During the elevation of the consecrated wafer, a small hissing wind was believed to have been heard, and a sweet calm was immediately spread over the minds of the worshippers. After they retired from mass, they employed themselves in earnest devotion both day and night.

“Upon the purity of motive by which these misguided enthusiasts were actuated, no doubt need be cast. Nor are rulers ever placed under more painful circumstances than when, from a due regard to the public peace, and to their own security, they are obliged to visit honest but dangerous men with the penalties of the law. In the case of the Carthusians, the government evidently had no option. Not only was a convent adjoining the metropolis, a house of which the inmates were justly respected by the people around them, organizing a spirit of resistance to the legislature; but also there was no reason to doubt, that, if this opposition were not speedily crushed, it would rapidly spread itself through the country. Already two other priors had taken up their quarters, and made a common cause with the London Carthusians. As these men could not be allowed to form confederacies at their leisure for the purpose of setting the law at defiance, they were committed to prison, and shortly after brought to trial in Westminster Hall.¹ The three priors, a monk of Sion, and two others, one of whom was a secular priest, were then charged with high treason, on the 15th of April.”² The remainder of their history being not merely distorted, but misrepresented by the preceding writer, shall be given in the words of Strype,

¹ Soames writes in the above passage, as if the Carthusians were guilty of conspiring against the state, the real fact, however, is, as his own authority, Strype, vol. i., p. 310, acknowledges, that no other reason whatever, not even as a pretence, was ever assigned for their death, but their refusal to reject the spiritual supremacy of the Pope and to admit that of the king. They had, after sundry difficulties, sufferings, and delays, been induced to take the oath required of every subject from sixteen years old and upwards, affirming the validity of Henry's marriage with Ann, with this condition, however, as far as it was lawful. This was done May 4th, 1534. There was only one further submission required of them to be allowed to continue in the privacy of their monastery, and that was to reject an article of faith, believed by every Catholic, but the admission of which, if Soames be correct, authorizes every government in putting every Catholic subject to death.

² Soames, *Hist. of Refor.*, vol. ii., p. 26-28

the authority whom he professes to follow. Before their imprisonment, the three priors "went to Crumwel, desiring him that they might be exempted from this act, or obtain some mitigation from the rigour thereof in taking the oath. But Crumwel sent them to the Tower as rebels. And within a week after, he, with several others of the council, came to them, demanding their oaths to the king. The fathers answered, they would consent to all things which, and as far as, the divine law would allow. But Crumwel would not allow of any exception. Then these urged that the catholick church did always hold and teach otherwise, and against that, because of the fear of God, they dared not to go, nor to forsake the catholick church.

"In fine, being brought to their trials afterward, they said, they would by no means go contrary to the law of God, and the doctrine and consent of holy mother church, in the least matter. But it seems the jury had such a reverence for these three fathers, that they deferred their verdict till the next day. To whom Crumwel sent to know what made them so long; and what they intended to do. They sent this answer back, that they could not bring in such holy persons guilty as malefactors. Which when Crumwel heard, as saith their above mentioned historian, he sent them word immediately, that, if they found them not guilty, they should suffer the death of malefactors themselves. But they still persisting in their former judgment, notwithstanding Crumwel's threatening, he came to them himself, and so overawed them with his threats, that they at last brought them in guilty of treason. And five days after, they were executed at Tyburn, being May the 4th." They were drawn to the place of execution on hurdles, hung, and before the bodies had ceased to struggle, were cut down and quartered. Their dismembered joints were parboiled and hung up in various quarters of the city. Prior Houghton was assured of pardon even at the last moment as he stood on the fatal ladder, "if he then would obey the king and the Parliament's decree;" he replied, "I call the omnipotent God to witness, and all the good people, and beseech you all to attest the same for me in the terrible day of judgment, that here being to die, I publicly profess, that it is not out of obstinate malice, or a mind of rebellion, that I do disobey the king; but only for the fear of God, that I offend not the supreme Majesty. Because our holy mother, the church, hath decreed and appointed otherwise than the king and Parliament hath ordained. And I am here ready to endure this, and all other torments that can be suffered, rather than oppose the doctrine of the church. Pray for me, and pity my brethren, of whom I was the unworthy prior." It was said that, after he was cut down, he spake these words, "Most holy Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me in this hour." And then when the executioner pulled out his heart, he said, "Good Jesus! what will ye do with my heart?" And

being quartered, one of his arms was set upon the house where he was prior."¹

"The 19th of June, three more of the aforesaid house of Carthusians, London, being found guilty of high treason, for denying to take the oath of supremacy, were executed, after a fortnight's imprisonment."² "Nine or ten of those belonging to the same house were put into such close confinement, that it proved fatal to all but one of the number; and he was executed in August."³ In addition to these atrocious barbarities, perpetrated under the pretext of reformation, "two seculars were set over the house, who handled the friars hardly, cutting them short in their commons, but pampering themselves."⁴ "At York, also, two Carthusians met with the same fate, and upon the same grounds."⁵ Some of these victims of the new system, begged in vain to be allowed the last consolations of religion; all of them were suspended, were cut down alive, emboweled and dismembered.

The blood of the Carthusians seemed to whet Henry's appetite for murder. The Briggittins and Observants, sometimes called the reformed Franciscans, had deeply incurred the hatred of the tyrant by the zeal or imprudence of Peyto and Elston, two of the latter order, who had ventured to reprimand the royal licentiousness in no measured terms. Cromwell, when he threatened them with punishment, received for answer: "Threaten such things to rich and dainty folk, which are clothed in purple, fare daintily, and have their chiefest hopes in this world. We esteem them not. We are joyful that for the discharge of our duty we are driven hence. With thanks to God, we know that the way to heaven is as short by water as by land, and therefore care not which way we go."⁶ It was soon discovered that similar sentiments animated the whole body, which was accordingly doomed to destruction. The houses of the Observants, all of which had been founded by Henry VII. at Greenwich, Canterbury, Richmond, Newark, and Newcastle, were suppressed and Augustinians placed in their stead. Of the ejected friars, about fifty perished from the rigour of their imprisonment, the rest, at the suggestion of Wriothesly, their secret friend and patron, were banished to France and Scotland.

The sword, you will perhaps be surprised to learn, was not merely extended over the heads of those who adhered to the faith of their baptism and of their fathers, but smote as severely

¹ Strype, *Eccles. Mem.*, vol. i., p. 314. Their names were Humphrey Middlemore, vicar of the charter house, William Exmew, procurator, and Sebastian Newdigate, priest and monk. Whilst in prison they were horribly tortured, being each fastened to an upright post by means of iron chains drawn tight round their necks and thighs, without being once loosened during the whole fortnight of their imprisonment.

² Strype, *Eccles. Mem.*, vol. i., p. 314.

³ Soames, vol. ii., p. 20.

⁴ Strype, *Eccles. Mem.*, vol. i., p. 318.

⁵ Soames, *ubi supra*,

⁶ Stow, 543. Soames, vol. i., p. 409.

the friends of the new learning, who ventured to extend their discoveries beyond the line traced by the new head of the church, and had sincerity and firmness enough openly to maintain their principles. Cranmer, though generally considered at that time favourable to innovation, and known to have been long connected with the reformers of Germany, by marriage and friendship, presents the singular spectacle of being the judge to condemn, as worthy of death, the very opinions which, when freed from his fears by Henry's oath, and raised to uncontrolled power under the boy Edward, he proclaimed to the world as the new gospel, and the faithful word of God. The first victims were John Fryth and Andrew Hewet, an account of whose opinions and condemnation I shall present to you in Cranmer's own words, because they will enable you to form some judgment of the praises bestowed on that prelate for mercy and moderation. "One Fryth, which was in the Tower in pryson, was appoynted by the kyng's grace to be examyned before me, my lorde of London, my lorde of Winchester, my lorde of Suffolk, my lorde chancellour, and my lorde of Wyltshire, whose opinion was so notably erroneouse, that we culde not dispatche hym; but was fayne to leve hym to the determynacion of his ordinarie, which ys the bishop of London. His said opynion ys of such nature, that he thoughte it not necessary to be beleved as an article of our faythe, that there ys the very corporall presence of Christe within the oste and sacramente of the alter; and holdeth of this poynte moste after the opynion of Oecolampadius. And suerly I myself sent for hym iiii or iiiii tymes to persuade him to leve that his imaginacion; but for all that we culd do therein he woulde not apply to any counsaile; notwithstanding he ys now at a fynall ende with all examinacions, for my lorde of London hathe gyven entance, and delyvered him to the secular power, where he looketh every day to go to the fyer. And ther ys condemned with hym one Andrewe a taylour of London for the said self-same opynion."¹

Nor were these the only followers of the new light that perished for daring to differ in opinion from the standard of orthodoxy raised by Henry and his counsellors. Bilney, Hitton, and others, shared the same fate;² but the horror of their deaths was soon aggravated, if possible, by a whole hetacomb of victims. A body of German anabaptists, consisting of nineteen men, and six women, were accused as heretics. Fourteen of this number, who refused to recant, were publicly burnt. Other missionaries of the same sect followed, and the king ordered Cranmer, with three other prelates, to convert or execute them. Four abjured their obnoxious tenets; one man and woman expiated their obstinacy at the stake.³ Latimer, and many, who in

¹ Letter to Hawkins, Archæol. XVIII., p. 81.

² Burnet, Hist. of Refor., vol. i., p. 256.

³ Stow, 570, 575. Collier, ii., Records, 46.

the subsequent reign attained great notoriety, when brought before the convocation escaped death by a real or feigned recantation.¹

Toleration was utterly unknown, by any of the various sects which now divided Europe. It was deemed not merely lawful, but a duty to use the sword in support of those opinions which prevailed in the state; hence intolerance and persecution became part of the law, in perhaps every nation of Christendom. The adherents to the ancient faith, as well as the reformers in their turn, wherever each acquired the ascendancy, fenced their respective creeds with fire and sword. Calvin urged the otherwise willing Somerset to light up the fires in which he had himself attempted to destroy the errors of Servetus.² Knox preached so openly rebellion and sedition, as lawful weapons against the opponents of the reformation, that Elizabeth never could be brought to tolerate his presence. In 1560, the Parliament at one and the same time decreed the establishment of Calvinism, and the punishment of death against the ancient religion. "With such indecent haste," says Robertson,³ "did the very persons who had just escaped ecclesiastical tyranny proceed to imitate the example." Latimer's and Cranmer's names were set to the death-warrant of the unfortunate woman, Joan Bocher, and her associate, Von Parr, whilst, under Elizabeth, the destruction of the adherents to the Catholic faith became almost a massacre, from the number of victims sacrificed to the Moloch of the reformation.

§ 2.

Consequences of Henry's Atrocities.—Conduct towards his Wives.—Last Days of Queen Catherine.—Fate of Anne Boleyn.—Tradition of Epping Forest.—Jane Seymour.—Cranmer's Baseness.—Subserviency of the Parliament.—Henry Head of the Church.—Cranmer and Latimer.—Lee and Gardiner.—Deputation to the German Protestant Princes at Smalcald.—Articles of Religion.—The "Bishops' Book."—Lambert, Forest, and others burned as Heretics.—Paul III.—Henry's Act for abolishing Diversity of Opinions.—Silence, Submission, or Death.—Law of Celibacy.—Cranmer's Dilemma.—Witty Reply of the Duchess of Milan.—Anne of Cleves.—Henry's "Neck in a Noose."—A Farce.—Catherine Howard Queen.—Henry's Impartiality as Head of the Church.—Burns Catholics and Protestants at the same Stake.—The Queen accused of high Treason and executed.—Cranmer.—The King's book.—Henry marries Catherine Parr.—Her narrow Escape.—The King's Will, the Law of the Land.

BUT, to return from this digression to the contemplation of the immediate consequences of Henry's atrocities in support of his

¹ Burnet, Hist. of Refor., vol. i., p. 260.

² Calvin in refut. Error. Mich. Serveti, p. 587, and in his letter to the Duke of Somerset. Merentur gladio ultore coerceri, quem tibi tradidit deus. Ep. Calvini Protect. Ang. p. 65.

³ Roberts. Hist. of Scotland. In 1596, the presbytery replied to the king and council, that "as the Catholic Earls of Huntley, Errol, &c. had been guilty of idolatry, a crime deserving of death, the civil power could not spare them."

newly-acquired spiritual supremacy. "On the death of Clement, whom he regarded with a rooted enmity, Henry appears to have made advances to his successor, Paul the Third; empowering Sir George de Casalis to confer with the new Pontiff on the cause so long under the consideration of the papal see. The application, it is probable, met with some favour; but when intelligence arrived in Italy of the extraordinary severities used to those who denied the king's supremacy, of the execution of several monks who had refused the oath, and, above all, of the death of Fisher and More, a sudden revolution took place in the sentiments of the Roman hierarchy. By a bull, dated August 30, Paul, in the severest language which could be employed, warned the king to repent of the grievous sins which he had committed in the divorce of Queen Catherine, the marriage with Anne Boleyn, and the promulgation of the laws against the papal authority. If he should refuse obedience, he cited him to appear at Rome within ninety days, and give his answer; and if he neglected this, he, by the same bull, declared him to be excommunicated, pronounced the kingdom to be under an interdict, declared the issue by Anne illegitimate, interdicted his subjects from paying him allegiance, forbade other states from engaging in commerce with England, set free all foreign princes from the leagues which bound them to that country, commanded the clergy to depart forth of the realm, and enjoined the nobility to take arms against their sovereign."¹ This singular document, which furnishes lamentable evidence of the imprudence, or the revenge, or the ambition of the Pontiff, was, however, not made public, but suffered to rest in the papal armoury as a weapon of offence for some future occasion, when it might be wielded with better chances of success, or the continued obstinacy of the king should have roused the papal indignation to more determined and uncompromising hostility. By thus concentrating into this bull all the violence of the ambitious or the misguided of his predecessors, Paul added the motive of self-defence to the king's previous causes of opposition to the papal supremacy, whilst the suppression of the sentence showed his consciousness of weakness, and increased the confidence of his enemies.

This was soon manifest in the seizure and suppression of the monasteries, an event of so much magnitude, importance, and interest, that I shall reserve it for another lecture, and proceed to whatever other events of this reign are connected with the ecclesiastical changes, or which may seem to illustrate the characters of the principal reformers, and thereby enable us to judge of their claims to holiness, sincerity, and religious zeal. It is with this view that I deem it useful to enter slightly into the conduct of the king towards his wives, which was, in fact, the hinge on which the whole machine, political and religious, turned during this

¹ Tytler, p. 355.

monarch's reign,—since the part which Cranmer and others, on whose characters that of the reformation mainly depends, seems to me so clearly unjust and unchristian, so steeped in hypocrisy and baseness, that the cause and religion which own such men as their authors, must at once lose every claim to purity of motive and origin, or to be reckoned as any thing but the work of men dead to conscience and almost to the feelings of humanity.

But first let us devote a moment's attention to the death-bed of the injured Catherine. "About this time, Queen Catherine, who resided at Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire, was seized with an alarming distemper, of which she died, in the fiftieth year of her age. During her illness, finding all hope of recovery gone, she addressed a request to the king, that he would permit her to see for once and for the last time, her dear child, from whom she had been so long separated, were it only to cast her eyes upon her and to give her her blessing. It is painful to think, that this tender request Henry had the tyranny and heartlessness to refuse; yet Catherine could forgive even this refinement of cruelty, and very shortly before her death she dictated this affecting letter to the king:—

"My most dear Lord, King, and Husband,—The hour of my death now approaching, I cannot choose, out of the love I bear you, but advise you of your soul's health, which you ought to prefer before all considerations of the world or flesh whatsoever. For which yet you have cast me into many calamities, and yourself into many troubles. But I forgive you all, and pray God to do so likewise. For the rest, I commend unto you Mary, our daughter, beseeching you to be a good father unto her, as I have heretofore desired. I must entreat you also to respect my maids, and give them in marriage, which is not much, they being but three; and to all my other servants, I solicit a year's pay, lest otherwise they should be unprovided for. Lastly, I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things."¹ What a contrast between the death-scene of the wife and of the husband!

"When the king received this last proof of Catherine's affection, he was moved even to tears. Indeed, he had little reason to remember the wife of his youth with any other sentiments than those of tenderness and regret."² He gave orders to his servants to wear mourning on the day of her burial;³ but Anne Boleyn clothed herself in yellow silk,⁴ and expressed herself with bitter exultation that now she was indeed a queen. But little did she foresee that three short months would hurry her to the scaffold, as a woman of degraded character, abandoned to the

Tytler, *Mem. of Henry VIII.*, p. 364.

² Soames, *Hist. of Refor.*, vol. ii., p. 91.

³ Herbert, 188.

⁴ "Anne Boleyn wore yellow for the mourning of Catherine of Aragon."—Halle. "*Cæterum Anna Bolena Catharinæ funebrem diem, non atrī sed flāvī coloris vestibus induta, celebravit.*" Sanders, 147.

fury of her relentless husband by her friends, and even by her own parent. "At this moment, when her enemies were removed, and her prospects were cloudless, a storm broke out against her in the breast of the monarch, who had a few months before sacrificed the best of his subjects to the honour of her bed and the legitimacy of her issue. We are still uncertain whether he was moved by jealousy, well or ill-founded, of her, or by passion for another, or by both these motives combined."¹ Rumours injurious to her honour had for some time been circulated in the court, and at length reached even the ears of the king, but "the whispering of her enemies," says Lord Herbert,² "could not divert the king's good opinion from her, though yet he was in his own nature more jealous than to be satisfied easily. The king had cast his affections on Jane Seymour, the daughter of Sir John Seymour, a young lady, then of the queen's bedchamber," as Anne herself had been in that of Catherine. The queen was not without her suspicions, which were rudely confirmed by accidentally discovering Seymour sitting on the king's knee. The sight is said so violently to have troubled her, as to cause the premature delivery of a male child, dead born, to the king's rage and disappointment. He is even said to have, in these circumstances, brutally reproached her for the loss of his boy. "Some words broke out from her heart, laying the fault to the king's unkindness,"³ and on his visible passion for Jane Seymour. Other equally credible accounts ascribe her abortion to the alarming intelligence of the king having been thrown from his horse while hunting; which, independent of affection or humanity, would have endangered her own greatness and the succession of her daughter. Both circumstances might have concurred."⁴

Though Henry had professed not to notice the suspicions against his queen's fidelity, "on the 24th of April, 1536, a royal commission was issued, which directed certain peers and judges to institute an inquiry into her conduct. This, however, was either kept profoundly secret, or, if suspected, did not prevent her from appearing in public, with the state and honours due to her rank. On May-day, a splendid joust was held in the Tilt-yard, at Greenwich, the queen being present, and in which the principal challengers were Viscount Rochfort, her brother, and Sir Henry Norris, one of the grooms of the stole. In the midst of this pageant, something occurred which suddenly exasperated the king, who, rising up abruptly, quitted the royal balcony; the queen did the same, the sports broke up, and soon after it was known that she was arrested in her apartment. Lord Rochfort, Norris, her alleged admirer, Sir Francis Weston, of the king's

¹ Mackintosh, *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. ii., p. 100.

² Ellis' *Letters*, vol. ii., *Second Series*, p. 76.

³ Wyatt. *Histoire de Anne Boleyn, par un Contemporain*, 178.

⁴ Mackintosh, vol. ii., p. 192.

privy chamber, William Brereton, and Mark Smeaton, a musician, were all seized at the same time and imprisoned. On the 2d of May, the Duke of Norfolk, her uncle, conducted the unfortunate lady to the Tower.”¹ There her fears seemed to have affected her reason; she fell from laughter to weeping, from hysterical convulsions to a trembling delirium.

It is not my intention to enter into the particulars of her trial, which ended in her condemnation, and that of five gentlemen of the privy chamber. Of these, four persisted in asserting their innocence; the fifth, Smeaton, pleaded guilty of the accusation. They were executed as traitors; but Henry was not content that her life was forfeit to the law; he prepared an additional degradation for her and her daughter. Cranmer, on the day of her arrest, had received a message from Henry, enjoining him not to leave his palace of Lambeth. This order very naturally excited the apprehensions of the prelate, who, on the succeeding morning, penned a letter to the king, of singular ingenuity, which, whilst it seemed to plead in favour of his benefactress, expressed his readiness to take whatever views the monarch might think proper to sanction. “He expressed his grief and astonishment on being informed of the proceedings against the queen. His former good opinion encouraged him, he declared, to think her innocent, and to him she had proved so singular a benefactor, that he trusted he might be allowed to wish and pray for the establishment of her innocence; yet, he added, that his knowledge of the king’s justice and prudence induced him to believe her guilty. He had loved her, he remarked, because he believed she loved the gospel; though, were she found guilty, he trusted his royal master would not permit any consideration of this kind to arrest that great work of reformation, which she had indeed favoured, but which he was convinced his sovereign had undertaken from his regard to the truth, and not from any affection for her. That this was a prudent letter, none will deny; but that it merits the high encomium bestowed on it by Burnet, may be questioned; nor was this precisely the moment which a judicious eulogist would have seized to commend the courage or chivalry of Cranmer.”

“This prelate had pronounced the divorce which separated Henry and Catherine; he had examined with the utmost care and judicial acumen the marriage between him and Anne; he had declared it valid, and solemnly sanctioned it by his authority as metropolitan and judge. The king now called upon him to weigh the proofs of his consort’s guilt, which would be laid before him, and to dissolve in due form this matrimonial union. No record remains of the evidence upon which he was commanded to act this strange part; nor has any letter or document been left by himself which might lead us to form even a conjec-

¹ Tytler, p. 369.

ture of its nature or sufficiency. Whatever it was, the archbishop appears not to have hesitated; and, with his knowledge of the tyrannical temper of the monarch, it is probable he considered doubt or delay as equivalent to ruin. He seems instantly to have sanctioned the objections to the validity of the marriage, and, transmitting copies to the king and queen, summoned them to appear in his court, and show cause why a sentence of divorce should not be passed. Henry selected Dr. Sampson to act as his proctor, while the queen appointed Dr. Wotton and Dr. Barbour to attend the ecclesiastical court in the same capacity upon her part. The objections were read, admitted on the one side, silently acquiesced in by the other, and judgment was demanded."¹ Thus was she forced to go through the forms of trial once more, in order that Cranmer, who must then have been either the most unhappy, or the most abject of men, might act the mockery of pronouncing the nullity of her marriage with the king. He pronounced it never to have been good, "but utterly void, in consequence of certain just and lawful impediments, unknown at the time of her pretended marriage; but confessed by the said Lady Anne, before the most reverend father in God sitting judicially."² The friends of Anne, as the great cause and supporter of the reformation, and of Cranmer as its author, are sadly perplexed to clear both their favourites. Anne, if we may believe them, was unjustly condemned; she had been, at most, proved guilty of slight indiscretions, the effects rather of her natural gayety, than of a profligate disposition, and to them "her death appears to have been as base a legal murder as ever disgraced a Christian country."³ But if the condemnation of the queen was a legal murder, then what is to be thought of a prelate, who could so far forget his character as to assert his belief in her guilt,⁴ and lend the sanction of his high authority and court to crush an innocent woman, and to bastardize her offspring! It is difficult, indeed, to decide, whether Henry or his agents displayed the greater profligacy, when we see Anne pronounced guilty of adultery, on the 15th, and declared two days afterwards by Cranmer, never to have been the king's wife, a sentence which, if unjust, becomes trebly horrible by the solemn appeal to the Deity, with which the archbishop prefaced his sentence, declaring that, "having previously invoked the name of Christ, and

¹ Tytler, p. 378.

² Mackintosh, vol. ii., p. 200.

³ Soames, vol. ii., p. 121.

⁴ Before Cranmer had despatched his letter to the king, respecting Anne, he had been summoned to the star-chamber, which caused him to subjoin a postscript to his letter, to this effect: "they (the commissioners) have declared unto me such things, as your grace's pleasure was they should make me privy unto; for the which I am most bounden unto your grace. And what communication we had together, I doubt not, but that they will make the true report thereof unto your grace. I am exceedingly sorry that such faults can be proved by the queen, as I heard of their relation: and I am and ever shall be your faithful subject."—Burnet, i. 20.

having God alone before his eyes, after a careful examination of the whole evidence," he pronounced her marriage with Henry from the beginning null and void. "Henry alone, it may be hoped, was capable of commanding his slaves to murder, on the scaffold, her whom he had lately cherished and adored, for whom he had braved the opinion of Europe, and in maintenance of whose honour he had spilled the purest blood of England; after she had produced one child who could lisp his name with tenderness, and when she was recovering from the languor of the unrequited pangs of a more sorrowful and fruitless childbirth. The last circumstance, which would have melted most beings in human form, is said to have peculiarly heightened his aversion. Such a deed is hardly capable of being aggravated by the considerations that, if she was seduced before her marriage, he had corrupted her; and if she was unfaithful at last, the edge of the sword that smote her, was sharpened by his impatience to make her bed empty for another woman. In a word, it may be truly said, that Henry, as if he had intended to levy war against every sort of natural virtue, proclaimed, by the executions of More and of Anne, that he henceforward bade defiance to compassion, affection, and veneration. A man without a good quality would, perhaps, be in the condition of a monster in the physical world, where distortion and deformity in every organ seem to be incompatible with life. But, in these two direful deeds, Henry, perhaps, approached as nearly to the ideal standard of perfect wickedness as the infirmities of human nature will allow."¹

Henry had wept at the death of Catherine, but on the execution of Anne he dressed himself in white as a token of rejoicing. "A tradition is yet preserved in Epping forest, which strikingly illustrates the king's impatience for her death. On the morning of the day which was to be her last, he went to hunt in that district; and, as he breakfasted, surrounded by his train and his hounds, under a spreading oak, which is still shown, he listened from time to time with a look of intense anxiety. At length the sound of a distant gun boomed through the wood. It was a preconcerted signal, and marked the moment when the execution was completed. 'Ah, ah! it is done,' said he, starting up, 'the business is done; uncouple the dogs, and let us follow the sport.' On the succeeding morning, he was married to Jane Seymour."²

"The impressions made by such tragedies on the Continent, was that of pity for the nation, abhorrence for the character of the king, and caution as to any transactions with so remorseless and capricious a tyrant. Melancthon and Bucer, being about to proceed to his court on a mission from the Protestant princes of Germany, who had entertained thoughts of placing him at the head of their league, relinquished all immediate intention of

¹ Mackintosh, vol. ii., p. 204.

² Tytler, p. 383.

their journey; and Erasmus¹ emphatically described the state of the country by remarking, that the most intimate friends were fearful of corresponding with each other.”²

“The Parliament soon after assembled, and evinced in every thing its complete subserviency to the wishes of the king; a former act concerning the succession to the crown was repealed, the issue of his two first marriages, namely, the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, were declared illegitimate, and the sentence against Anne Boleyn confirmed. All this might have been anticipated; but the next step denoted a sacrifice of independence which could scarcely have been expected. Power was committed to him to dispose of the kingdom, and declare his successor to the throne, either by his letters under the great seal, or by his last will. At the same time assembled the Convocation, which, though equally obsequious in all things to the views of the sovereign, directed its chief attention to the progress of the reformed opinions in the country.”³

“While Henry was thus spreading horror around him, his difference with Rome had not yet extended to doctrine, but was confined to the rejection of the papal jurisdiction, and to a consequent separation from the churches which maintained their allegiance to the Holy See. He was a schismatic or separatist, inasmuch as he had thrown off the ancient jurisdiction of the Roman patriarch over the church of England. He was not a heretic, inasmuch as he had affirmed no proposition contradictory to the doctrines of the Catholic church.

“On the other hand, the title of supreme head of the church of England was assumed by Henry with considerable wariness, in language which might be addressed to subjects in one sense, and defended against antagonists in another; which was capable of a larger meaning in prosperity, or of being contracted in a season of adverse fortune; and which was remarkable for the gross, but common fallacy of giving a false appearance of consistency to jarring reasons, by the use of the same words in different acceptations. These arts or artifices of policy, which discovered the extent and importance of the revolution only by slow degrees to the people, are observable in the statutes of the 25th and 26th of Henry VIII.”

The preamble to these statutes recites, “that the crown of England is independent, and that all classes of men, whether of the spirituality or temporality, owe obedience to it;”⁴ that the church of England has been accustomed to exercise jurisdiction in courts spiritual; and that the encroachments of the Bishop of Rome from ancient times, had been checked by the king’s renowned progenitors.” It is evident that the doctrine concerning the king’s supremacy, might well be reconciled with the papal au-

¹ Jortin’s *Life of Eras.*, vol. ii., p. 72.

² Tytler, p. 384.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ 24 Hen. VIII., c. 12. Stat. of the Realm.

thority, if the latter were confined to a strictly spiritual jurisdiction on the part of the Pope, and if the former were limited to civil and coercive powers on that of the king. It was intended, however, by such swelling novelties of expression to inure the minds of the people to unwonted modes of thinking on the relation between the papal jurisdiction and the regal powers. Willing to maintain the equipoise between ecclesiastical factions, he passed, in the year following, a statute for the punishment of heresy, in which he inscribed his adherence to orthodox doctrines in characters of blood, directing that "all persons convicted of heresy before the ordinary of the diocese, and refusing to abjure, or relapsing after abjuration, shall be committed to the lay power, to be burned in open places for the example of others;"¹ at the same time, providing "that no speaking against the Bishop of Rome's authority, made and given by human law, and not by holy scripture; or against such authority, where it is repugnant to the laws of this realm, shall be deemed to be heresy." The series of statutes on this head is closed by a short but comprehensive act of the Parliament which met in November, 1534, wherein it is enacted, that "the king of this realm shall be reputed to be the only supreme head of the church of England; that as such he shall enjoy all titles, jurisdiction, and honours to the said dignity appertaining; and that he shall have full authority to correct all errors and abuses which might lawfully be corrected by any spiritual jurisdiction, any usage, prescription, foreign laws, or foreign authority to the contrary notwithstanding."²

"It is obvious that the first provision, as it does not define the office to be vested in the king, would of itself confer nothing but a title; that the second provision contains a falsehood, as far as it intimates the previous existence of this office, or any knowledge of its rights; while, on the other side, it leaves without elucidation, whether it was intended to assert only, like the former acts, the identical proposition that the king is the sovereign of all classes of his subjects. It passes over the essential distinction between what the king may do out of Parliament by his royal prerogative, and what he can do only in Parliament, by the consent of the estates of the people of the realm. It may mean that the king and Parliament are dependent in no respect on foreign power, and that the legislature may change by new laws the arrangements of any institution, however respectable, which can owe its being and establishment only to law. It is under the cover of all this vague and loose language, which treats the headship of the church as if it were an ancient and well-known magistracy, that the unwary reader is betrayed into a notion (in which he could not otherwise have acquiesced) that this statute is declaratory, and that the power of a jurisdiction and amendment, in all cases where ecclesiastical superiors formerly exercised such powers, in spite of any usage, prescription, foreign law, or foreign custom to the contrary, was here

¹ 25 Hen. VIII., c. 14.

² 26 Hen. VIII., c. 1.

not so much granted to the crown as acknowledged to be a portion of the ancient prerogative. The jurisdiction of the Pope seemed to be thus totally superseded by the powers vested in the crown. But it was not till the Parliament of 1536, that it was universally disowned, inasmuch that the disclaimer of it upon oath was required from the most considerable part of his majesty's subjects."¹ The maintenance of the authority of the Pope was subjected to the formidable penalties of *premunire*; the refusal to take the oath abjuring his authority was visited with the pains of high treason.

"This memorable statute was the first which introduced into civil legislation the union of a promise of submission with a declaration of assent to opinions, which had been long known among ecclesiastics in the cases of submission to superiors, and of subscription to creeds. It treats the refusal to take the prescribed oath as a species of political heresy, the real existence of which is sufficiently proved by the refusal to swear. In the confusion of its savage haste, it punishes the refusal to abjure the Pope as a higher offence than acts in maintenance of his authority."²

"The next act of Henry, as head of the church, was to frame a creed, guarded by sanguinary penalties, for the species of neutral and intermediate religion which he had established. In 1536, the bishops were divided into two parties, of whom one, with Cranmer and Latimer at its head, inclined towards reformation, though professing to be of no denomination of Protestants; another, led by Lee and Gardiner, who, without professing any communion with the Pope, strongly leant to the papal system." The king's mind seemed to waver between both parties, who, in their turn, anxiously studied the inclinations of the monarch, and either had not the zeal or the firmness to control his wishes. Gardiner and Lee rejected the supremacy of the Pope, which, in their consciences, they still believed in, whilst Cranmer and his party preached doctrines and submitted to practices, and even led others to the stake for the denial of opinions, which, we have every reason to believe, they, in their hearts, repudiated.

When Henry was fearful of a species of holy alliance being organized against him by the policy or resentment of the Pontiff, he made near approaches to the German confederation, who seemed at one time willing to place him at the head of their league. The heads of the German confederacy "were now assembled at Smalcald. Thither he sent Dr. Fox, Bishop of Hereford, accompanied by Dr. Hethe, to whom was joined Dr. Barnes, that came into Germany before, who, after their message done from the king to them, exhorting them to unity in doctrine, wherein he offered his best assistances by conference with their divines, and warning them, that they were not to expect a free council of the Pope's calling; desired that they would appoint some, with whom they might hold a more private communication of

¹ Mackintosh, vol. ii., p. 205—208.

² Ibid.

these matters. And accordingly there were some appointed to confer with them."

"In the latter end of December were divers petitions made to the king, from the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, in the name of the confederates, in order to a league. The Lord Herbert contracts the articles into nine propositions: As, 1st. That the king would approve the Augustane confession. 2d. That he should defend it in a free council. 3d. That neither part should admit summons for a council without the others' consent. 4th. That they should protest against the Pope, if he should proceed otherwise. 5th. That the king should join unto their doctrine and league, and accept the title of patron and defender of it. 6th. That the opinion of the Pope's primacy should be forever rejected. 7th. That in case of invasion of either party, neither should yield to the invaders. 8th. That the king should pay an 100,000 crowns towards the defence of the league, and that if the war be long, 200,000. The remainder to be restored when the war was ended. 9th. That when the king had declared his mind, they should send an embassy of learned men to him."

"The Bishop of Winchester was now the king's ambassador in France. To him, being a privy councillor, (I suppose,) the secretary wrote for his opinion of these articles. To which, like a subtle underminer of the intended league with the German Protestant princes and states, he wrote an answer, utterly disapproving them, but upon plausible arguments; as, 'That hereby the king would be bound to the church of Germany, and might not do as God's word should direct, without their allowance. That as the king was head of the church of England, by the authority of Scripture, so, by the same authority, the emperor was head of the church of Germany; and that therefore the German princes, who were subject to the emperor, could not consent to any agreement with the king, without his consent. And if they should do it without him, it would derogate the king's cause of supremacy. That whereas they spake of sending their ambassadors hither about the controversies of religion, this looked contemptibly towards us, as though they were to teach and instruct us; not to sue to us, nor to learn of us, but to direct our church in its ceremonies.'"¹ These arguments had their influence with Henry, who, however, was unwilling to break at once with a power with which he had this community of feeling, at least, if not interest and self-defence, that they had both rejected the papal authority. The demand of a subsidy he consented to, but they, on their parts, were, previously to receiving it, to send some of their most learned men, who might settle with Henry the reformation on a solid basis.² Accordingly Melancthon, and several

¹ Strype, Eccles. Mem., vol. i., p. 360, 361.

² In a letter written by Cromwell on this occasion, he says, "The king knowing

assistant divines, were deputed to visit this country, but retraced their steps, as we have seen, when the news reached them of the fate of Anne Boleyn. In her they had confidently expected to find a powerful auxiliary; in Henry they placed no confidence, and were prepared to see negotiations soon opened between him and the Holy See.

Soon afterwards the lower house of convocation denounced to the higher fifty-nine propositions as pernicious doctrines. The convocation was opened by Cranmer, but "he was no longer allowed to preside in the assembly. Dr. Petre appeared on behalf of Cromwell, now created a baron, and appointed lord privy seal; and in his name, as vicar-general, demanded to be allowed a rank above that of any ecclesiastic present. The archbishop placed Petre on his side,¹ and then, for the first time in the history of the English church, was seen "the ugly sight of a layman presiding over and directing the councils of the national synod of the church."²

As a check to those innovations which the novelties alluded to showed might be expected to inundate the land, after the removal of one of the most effectual barriers to the ever-fluctuating changes of human fancy; Henry, or, according to other accounts, Henry assisted by Cranmer,³ compiled a book of articles, which was presented to the convocation by Cromwell, and subscribed by him and the other members. These articles of religion may be reduced to three heads, doctrines, sacraments, religious memorials, and ceremonies.

I. "All bishops and preachers must instruct the people to believe the whole Bible, and the three creeds; that made by the apostles, the Nicene, and the Athanasian, and interpret all things according to them, and in the very same words, and condemn all heresies contrary to them, particularly those condemned by the first four general councils."⁴

II. 1st. "Of baptism the people must be instructed, that it is a sacrament instituted by Christ, for the remission of sins, without which none could attain everlasting life; and that not only those of full age, but infants, may and must be baptized, for the pardon of original sin, and obtaining the gift of the Holy Ghost, by which they became the sons of God."⁵

himself to be the learnedest prince in Europe, he thought it became not him to submit to them, but he expected they should submit to him." Burnet, iii. 112.

¹ Soames, vol. ii., p. 156.

² "Deformi satis spectaculo, indocto laico cœtui presidente sacratorum Antistitum, omnium quos ante hæc tempora Anglia unquam habuisset doctissimorum." Godwin, Annal. 59.

³ These articles, as I gather out of our records, were devised by the king himself, and recommended afterwards to the convocation-house by Cromwell." Herbert, 202. However, Strype, in his Mem. of Cranmer, 57, says, "we have reason to attribute a great share therein to the archbishop." He quotes no authority.

⁴ Burnet, Hist. of Refor., vol. i., p. 333.

⁵ Ibid. The words used in the original text of adults receiving baptism are, that

2d. Concerning penance, they were to instruct the people that it was instituted by Christ, and was absolutely necessary to salvation. That it consisted of contrition, confession, and amendment of life, with exterior works of charity, which were the worthy fruits of penance. That contrition is an inward shame and sorrow for sin, because it is an offence of God. That confession to a priest is necessary, if it may be had, whose absolution was instituted by Christ, to apply the promises of God's grace to the penitent; therefore the people were to be taught, that the absolution is spoken by an authority given by Christ in the gospel to the priest, and must be believed, as if it were spoken by Christ himself, according to our Saviour's words; and therefore none were to condemn auricular confession, but use it for the comfort of their consciences."¹

3d. "As touching the sacrament of the altar, people were to be instructed, that under the forms of bread and wine, there was truly and substantially given the very same body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary."²

4th. Justification signifieth remission of sins, and acceptation into the favour of God; that is to say, a perfect renovation in Christ. To the attaining which were to be had contrition, faith, charity, which were both to concur in it, and follow it; and the good works necessary to salvation are not only outward, civil works, but the inward motions and grace of God's Holy Spirit, to dread, fear, and love him, to have firm confidence in God, to call upon him, and to have patience in all adversities, to hate sin, and have purposes and wills not to sin again; with such other motions and virtues, consenting and agreeable to the law of God."

III. 1st. Of images, the people were to be instructed, that the use of them is warranted by the Scriptures, and that they serve to represent to them good examples and to stir up devotion; and therefore it was meet that they should stand in their churches. But, that the people might not fall into such superstition as it was thought they had done in time past,³ they were to be taught to reform such abuses, lest idolatry might ensue.

such as are duly baptized are "newly regenerated and made the very children of God." The Augsburg confession of faith is equally explicit: "*De baptismo docent, quod necessarius sit ad salutem, tanquam ceremonia a Christo instituta, et quod infantes sint baptisandi: et quod infantes per baptismum Deo commendati, recipiantur in gratiam Dei, et fiant filii Dei.*"

¹ "Docent nostri retinendam esse in Ecclesiis privatam absolutionem, et ejus dignitatem, et potestatem clavium veris et amplissimis laudibus ornant—diligenter retinemus confessionem, sed ita ut doceamus enumerationem delictorum non esse necessariam jure divino." Conf. Aug.

² The Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation is too well known to require comment. By it they professed to believe that the Lord's body is truly present in the Eucharist, not indeed under the form or appearance of bread, but *with* the bread.

³ Such is Burnet's remark, from whom the above account of the articles is abbreviated. As it is a favourite subject of declamation with our modern adversaries to lament over the supposed idolatrous abuses of images prior to the reformation, I will subjoin a passage which may enlighten them on this subject, and remove, if they wish it, all their

2d. "It was to be taught that saints are to be honoured ; not, however, as if those things could be obtained from them, which are to be expected only from God ; but rather, because they are individuals now in glory, who exhibited while on earth a good example, especially in suffering persecution for the sake of religion."

3d. Although it was admitted that grace, remission of sins, and eternal life, came to men from God only, through Jesus Christ, who alone is a sufficient Mediator ; yet, it was added, that praying to saints is "very laudable," for the purpose of engaging them to pray for us and with us. It was also said, that the holidays in honour of particular saints ought still to be observed "unto God, in memory of him and his saints, except in such cases as the king or the ordinary should give directions to the contrary."

4th. The people were to be instructed that ceremonies were not to be condemned and rejected, but continued on account of their mystical signification, and of their utility in raising the minds of men to God ; that thus holy water reminds us of our baptism, and of the sprinkling of Christ's blood ; holy bread, of the sacramental elements, and of our union with the Saviour ; the procession of candle-bearers on Candlemas-day, of the spiritual light derived from Christ ; the giving of ashes on Ash Wednesday, of penance and of our mortality ; the carrying of palms on Palm Sunday, of our desire for the entrance of Christ into our hearts, as he once entered into Jerusalem ; the creeping to the

real or simulated horror. It is taken from a book entitled the *Festival*, reprinted in 1532, by Wynkyn de Worde. Strype, in his *Eccles. Mem.*, vol. i., p. 218, gives the following account of this production: "It was a famous church-book, used in the churches by the popish priests, and read on certain seasons to their parishioners ; being taken out of the Golden Legend, and giving an account of all the festivals of the year, with a sermon upon each festival. It seems to have been first made in King Henry the 7th's time, as I collect by the bedes there, where prayer is bid to be made for the lord prince. It was written for the assistance of ignorant priests, or, according to the phrase of the prologue writer, 'For the help of such clerks this book was drawn, to excuse them for default of books, and by simpleness of cunning.' In the *Quatuor Sermones*, where he is explaining the second commandment, concerning images there forbidden, thus we read: 'Men should learn by images, whom they should worship and follow in living. *To do God's worship to images every man is forboden.* Therefore, when thou comest to the church, first, behold God's body under the form of bread upon the altar ; and thank him that he vouchsafe every day to come from the holy heaven above, for the health of thy soul. Look thou upon the cross, and thereby have mind of the passion he suffered for thee. Then on the images of the holy saints ; not believing on them, but that by the sight of them thou mayest have mind on them, that be in heaven ; and so to follow their life as much as thou mayest.'" I will also sub-join Strype's remarks on the above passage, as a specimen, not merely of rancorous slandering, but as a remarkable instance of that veil of unbelief which seems to cover these men's eyes, that "seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand." "Where we may observe, says this writer, with some wonder, how no countenance is here given to worship images, the great practice of the popish church ; but the clear evidence of the second commandment struck some awe on the writer's mind, that he dared not, in the face of the commandment, exhort to that which was so plain a breach of it." — *Ubi supra*, p. 221.

cross, and the kissing it, with the setting up of the sepulchre on Good Friday, of our obligations to the passion and death of Christ. Besides these ceremonies, the people were to be taught still to respect exorcising, hallowing of fonts, and other such usages of the established church."

5th. "Forasmuch as it is charitable, brought to our notice by the book of Maccabees,¹ recommended by 'divers ancient doctors,' and 'an usage which hath continued in the church so many years, even from the beginning,' to pray for souls departed, no man ought to be grieved with the continuance of this practice, nor with seeing the dead recommended to the divine mercy by means of masses and exequies."²

These articles have been, every Catholic will be surprised to hear, considered as a partial rejection of the ancient faith. That they one and all are perfectly orthodox, I need scarcely observe; but it seemed requisite that a work, in which Cranmer and the reformers bore so prominent part, should have some manner of praise bestowed upon it. The vicar-general, on the completion of "the articles," presented them to the king, by whom, when amended and confirmed, they were ordered to be promulgated, "to maintain unity and concord in opinion." They were to be read in all churches without comment, and until Michaelmas ensuing, no clergyman was to presume to preach in public, unless he were a bishop, or spoke in the presence of a bishop, or were licensed to teach in the cathedral, at the peril of the bishop.³

Nor was this the only effort of the new head of the church to stem the torrent of innovation. For the better information of his subjects, he ordered the convocation "to set forth a plain and sincere exposition of doctrine." "All the prelates favourably disposed towards the reformation were employed in preparing the intended summary."⁴ But they dared not for their lives step beyond the boundary which Henry had traced for them. In Bishop Gardiner they had an associate who had the ability to detect and the will to expose the slightest novelty; so that the work which was entitled "The godly and pious Institution of a Christian Man," or, in familiar language, the *Bishop's Book*, was little more than an explanation of the articles. It was pronounced to

¹ Soames, vol. ii., p. 173, whom I am quoting in the above extracts, admits the force of the evidence from the Maccabees, but is quite certain, that he is, that the author of that book "misunderstood the act which he has described!" And no doubt the whole Jewish nation, which offers prayers for the dead, made the same mistake. What a pity that amongst that people there were not a few of the accurate observers and enlightened reasoners of the church by law established. They have long known our religion better than we do ourselves, and exercised their charity in explaining for us our prayer-books and doctrines, with the very laudable purpose of proving us idolaters without our ever suspecting such a thing; and it seems that they are equally capable of describing events which only happened about 2000 years since, better than they that witnessed them.

² Soames, vol. ii., p. 170—175.

³ Wilk. Conc., iii. 804—808, 817—823.

⁴ Soames, vol. ii., p. 236.

accord "in all things with the very true meaning of Scripture."¹ "Into it the five most important of the articles, those upon Justification, Baptism, the Eucharist, Penance, and Purgatory, were transferred without the slightest alteration."² "The whole work is divided into sections, treating respectively of the Creed, the Seven Sacraments, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, Justification, and Purgatory."³ Thus one of the omissions of "the articles" was supplied by the "Institution," and the received number of the sacraments remained unchanged. The book is merely remarkable for the violence with which the supremacy of the Pope is rejected, passive obedience to the king enforced, and salvation denied to all persons out of the pale of the Catholic Church.⁴

Cranmer had been disappointed in his wishes to introduce the German system of religion into England, but did not therefore despair. He was too prudent or too timorous to attempt to alter the recent articles, but what he dared not do in person, might be suggested by foreigners. A deputation of Germans, consisting of Burckhardt, Meyconius, and one or two others, arrived in England, and, during two months, endeavoured to show the superiority of the new over the old system, but the king's mind remained unchanged. They were dismissed with many compliments, but without any substantial success in the object of their mission.⁵

Nor would Henry allow the articles to remain a dead letter. "He had already written his title of supreme head of the church in letters of blood; he had commemorated his separation from the Roman see by the sacrifice of More and Fisher; he now determined to show that he was prepared to maintain his former style of Defender of the Faith, and that he reserved to himself the power of holding the balance between the two great religious parties which divided his kingdom. An individual named Lambert, who on a previous occasion had recanted, was summoned before the court of Archbishop Cranmer, for asserting the Eucharist to be only a pious rite appointed to commemorate the death of Christ. From Cranmer he appealed to the king, who eagerly seized the opportunity of exhibiting his theological attainments. The unfortunate accused was tried in Westminster Hall. To his reasoning Henry replied, then came Cranmer, and for five hours the disputation lasted."⁶ "The king's majesty," says Cromwell, "for the reverence of the holy sacrament, did sit and preside at the disputation process of the miserable heretic who was burned on the 24th November, 1537. It was a wonder to see

¹ Soames, vol. ii., p. 830.

² Ibid. 238.

³ Ibid. 239.

⁴ "The Catholic Church is defined to mean, a body of men maintaining the unity of faith, hope, and charity, and also possessing the right use and due administration of the sacraments."—Soames, vol. ii., p. 239.

⁵ Soames, vol. ii., p. 314.

⁶ Tytler, p. 396.

with how excellent majesty his highness executed the office of supreme head. How benignly he assayed to convert the miserable man; how strong his highness alleged against him!"¹ But neither the reasoning of the king or of the archbishop was attended with success, and sentence of death was passed against him. He was in a few days led to the stake, and burned with more than ordinary circumstances of cruelty in Smithfield. Forest, with sundry others, shared the same fate about this period, some for denying the king's supremacy, others for daring to extend their theological discoveries beyond those of the king. It is deserving of notice, that Taylor, Barnes, and Cranmer, who bore the most prominent part in these murders, all shared the same fate as their victims. Three years had elapsed since the Pope had prepared a bull, embodying, as we have seen, all the worst claims of the most ambitious or misguided of his predecessors. During that period hopes had been entertained of a reconciliation with Henry; but the dissolution of the monasteries, the pillage of the shrines, the indignities offered to the dead, the erasure of the Pope's name from the missals and prayer-books, with that of St. Thomas à Becket, and the canonized Bishops of Rome, roused the slumbering anger of the Pontiff. He fulminated the threatened bull, notwithstanding the predictions of some of his advisers that it would prove injurious to no one but himself. Of the injustice and the impolicy of this proceeding there can be no doubt, but, it may be observed, that modern writers have shown much ignorance or malice in representing the rupture between the two churches as the effect of Paul's precipitate zeal, while in reality the separation had been completed long prior to the fulmination of the papal writing.

Even this sentence did not shake the king's orthodoxy; neither, on the other hand, did "the articles" or executions produce that uniformity of belief which Henry was resolved if possible to re-establish. A week after the opening of Parliament, the Lord Chancellor Audley brought down to the House a royal message, requiring the appointment of a committee for the establishment of unanimity of opinion. "To this the lords agreed; and named for a committee, Cromwell, the vicegerent, the two archbishops, the Bishops of Duresme, Bath and Wells, Ely, Bangor, Carlisle, and Worcester. But they could come to no agreement; for the Archbishop of Canterbury, having the Bishops of Ely and Worcester to second him, and being favoured by Cromwell, the other five could carry nothing against them; nor would either party yield to the other, so that eleven days passed in their debates."² The patience of the king was exhausted, and the Duke of Norfolk was directed to propose to the consideration of the whole House six questions respecting the eucharist, communion under one kind, the celibacy of the priesthood, vows of charity,

¹ Nott's Surrey, ii., p. 328.

² Burnet, Hist. of Refor., vol. i., p. 396.

and auricular confession.¹ Against the views entertained by Roman Catholics, respecting the last five of these questions, Cranmer argued with great learning and earnestness during three successive days."² "For the first, he was then in his opinion a Lutheran, so he was not like to say much against it."³ The debate was confined to the spiritual peers. On the second day, the king himself descended into the arena of controversy. The martyr's fate probably awaited any too violent opponent, and as Cranmer, especially, neither then, nor on any other occasion evinced much firmness, fear of the royal polemic, if not the force of his arguments, speedily subdued the opposition of the archbishop; or, as his submission has been described by a modern writer: "Even Cranmer appears to have thought it unbecoming of him to dispute publicly with his sovereign."⁴

After a brief recess, Henry commissioned the lord chancellor to communicate to the House his wish that the articles agreed upon should be enforced by penalties against all who should dare to preach against them. Two committees were appointed, one consisting of three of the prelates to whom those articles were known to have been obnoxious, even if they were then sincere converts to them, Canterbury, Ely, and St. David's; and the other of the acknowledged leaders of the old learning, York, Durham, and Winchester. Each committee was to draw up a bill suitable to the wishes of the king, who was pleased to select that of the Catholic prelates, which there is some reason to suspect had been privately prepared by his own hand.⁵ It was approved of by the convocation, passed in both Houses of Parliament, and at once received the royal assent.⁶

The title of the bill was, "An Act for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning Christian religion." It is said in the preamble, "That the king, considering the blessed effects of union, and the mischief of discord, had called this Par-

¹ Burnet, Hist. of Refor., vol. i., p. 397.

² Soames, vol. ii., p. 366.

³ Burnet, vol. i., p. 397. Strype also is of opinion, that Cranmer at this time had adopted the Lutheran opinion respecting the Eucharist. There is no clear evidence what was his real belief on this question: that it differed from that of the orthodox party may be perhaps concluded, from his letter to Vadianus, in which he expresses a wish that the point may not be mooted; because "*dici non potest quantum hæc tam cruenta, controversia—maxime apud nos bene currenti verbo evangelii obstiterit.*" Strype's Cran. App. p. 47. Anno 1537.

⁴ Soames, vol. ii., p. 368. Fox asserts that Cranmer persevered in his opposition to the last, but this statement seems opposed to the journals, and is expressly contradicted by one of the lords present. "Notwithstanding my lord of Canterbury, my lord of Ely, my lord of Salisbury, my lord of Worcester, Rochester, and St. Davyes, defended the contrary a long time, yet finally his highness confounded them all with goodlie learning. York, Durham, Winchester, London, Chichester, Norwiche, and Carlisle have shewed themselves honest and well learned men. We of the temporality have been all of one opinion; and my lord chancellor, (Audley,) and my lord privy seal, (Cromwell,) as good as we can devise. My lord of Canterbury and all his bishops have given their opinions, and *have come in to us*, save Salisbury, who yet continueth a lewd fool." Cleop. E. v., p. 128.

⁵ Burnet, Hist. of Refor., vol. i., p. 399.

⁶ Soames, vol. ii., p. 369.

liament and a synod at the same time, for removing these differences, when six articles were proposed, and long debated by the clergy; and the king himself had come in person to the Parliament and council, and opened many things of high learning and great knowledge about them; and that he, with the assent of both Houses of Parliament, had agreed on the following articles: 1st. That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remained no substance of bread and wine, but under these forms the natural body and blood of Christ were present. 2d. That communion in both kinds was not necessary to salvation to all persons by the law of God. 3d. That priests, after the order of priesthood, might not marry by the law of God. 4th. That vows of chastity ought to be observed by the law of God. 5th. That the use of private masses ought to be continued. 6th. That auricular confession was expedient and necessary. The Parliament thanked the king for the pains he had taken in these articles; and enacted, That if any, after the 12th of July, did speak, preach, or write against the first article, they were to be judged heretics, and to be burned without any abjuration, and to forfeit their real and personal estates to the king. And those who preached, or obstinately disputed against the other articles, were to be judged felons, and to suffer death as felons, without benefit of clergy; and those who, either in word or writing, spake against them, were to be prisoners during the king's pleasure, and forfeit their goods and chattels to the king, for the first time; and if they offended the second time, they were to suffer as felons. All the marriages of priests are declared void; and if any priest did still keep any such woman, whom he had so married, and lived familiarly with her, as with his wife, he was to be judged a felon; and if a priest lived carnally with any other woman, he was, upon the first conviction, to forfeit his benefices, goods, and chattels, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure; and upon the second conviction, was to suffer as a felon. Those who contemned or abstained from confession, or the sacrament, at the accustomed times, for the first offence were to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be imprisoned; and for the second were to be adjudged of felony."¹

Thus, from the timidity of the reformers and the subserviency or hostility to innovation of the opposite party, was Henry enabled to pass, in his character of head of the church, an act hitherto unsurpassed in atrocity and barbarity. Silence, submission, or death awaited the teachers of the new doctrines. But few hazarded the latter alternative. If it terrified Cranmer's party, it cut *him* to the quick. It will be recollected that when in Germany he had taken, as his second wife, a relative of Osiander. She had ventured to follow him to England, and had borne him

¹ Burnet, Hist. of Refor., vol. i., p. 400, 401.

several children; where, notwithstanding his endeavours to preserve the secret, his conduct soon became notorious, and found some imitators. His ingenuity suggested sundry expedients to avert if possible the blow which threatened him. At first he ventured humbly to reason with Henry on the law of celibacy; next suggested that the question should be left in abeyance; then that it should be discussed before the universities; and, as a last resource, availed himself of the pen of his friend Melancthon, who, in a long and declamatory letter, endeavoured to overcome the objections of the royal polemic. But Henry remained unmoved, and the archbishop, "no longer to retain his wife, even privately, as he had hitherto," bent as usual before the threatened danger, sent her away to her friends in Germany;¹ and hastened to apologize to the king, for having presumed to differ from him in opinion. Henry also expressed himself satisfied, and is said to have passed sundry compliments in return on the learning and wisdom of the archbishop. Latimer and Shaxton, less pliant than Cranmer, resigned their respective sees. They were committed to the Tower, where Latimer languished until Henry's death, but Shaxton deemed it prudent or right to return to his former faith.²

It need scarcely be observed that the supporters of the new opinions used their best endeavours to regain the ascendancy. For this purpose "Cromwell used all his influence to bring about a marriage between the king and some Protestant princess. It was sufficiently notorious that Henry had allowed himself to be a good deal swayed by his wives; and the reformers had found many occasions to regret the loss of such domestic counsellors as the last two queens."³ Jane Seymour had died in child-bed of Edward VI., on the 13th of October, 1537. Two years had elapsed since that event, and Henry remained still unmarried. "It has been erroneously supposed that the king evinced his love for Jane Seymour by a two years' constancy to her memory; for the king, during this interval, made several attempts to marry. He sent a proposal to the Duchess-dowager of Milan, who facetiously replied, that if she had two heads, one should be at the service of his majesty; whereas, having but one, she preferred to lead a single life. He next made overtures to the Duchess of Guise, whom he found already betrothed to James the Fifth of Scotland, his nephew. Disappointed in this, he entreated Francis to bring to Calais his two sisters, that he might make his choice; but the French monarch declined the coarse commission. At length Cromwell proposed a marriage between his master and the Princess Anne, second daughter to John, Duke of Cleves, one of the princes of the Germanic confederacy."⁴ The king was flattered into a persuasion of her beauty by a miniature, executed

¹ Soames, vol. ii., p. 374. Tytler, p. 403.

³ Soames, vol. ii., p. 388.

² Antiq. Brit. 333.

⁴ Tytler, p. 417.

by Hans Holbein, and by the interesting accounts of those instructed by the vicar-general,¹ and the hopes of the reformers were excited by the king's consent to marry the foreign Protestant princess. He hastened in disguise to meet her on her landing at Rochester, but his expectations were rudely disappointed. Anne is represented as a coarse, plain woman, and the king was, at the first view, "marvaillesly astonied and abashed." It was evident to all present, that hope had in a moment changed into disgust. "Yet, he so far did violence to his feelings, that he embraced and kissed her; the present, however, which he had prepared, he would not himself deliver. The interview did not last above the speaking of twenty words, and next morning he sent his gift by Sir Anthony Brown, with a cold message." But Henry feared to incur the hostility of almost his only remaining friends, the princes of Germany, who had, like himself, rejected the supremacy of the Pope. The marriage was solemnized, as, to use his own language, "he must needs, against his will, put his neck into the noose."² Matters however grew worse after the solemnization, and within a few months he became impatient and enraged. He upbraided the vicar-general with having deceived him, and commanded him to invent some method by which he might be forever separated from so unlovely a companion."³

"The common pretext of pre-contract, in this case alleged to be with a prince of Lorraine, was at first suggested. It was at last resolved to accomplish the purpose by means still more undisguised. Cromwell had lost the confidence or affections of the king, and now felt his rage. He was arrested and executed as a traitor, but the particulars of his fate and death will find a more suitable place after the description of his atrocities in the suppression of the monasteries. Cranmer, in such matters, had been the king's most pliant instrument. He had dissolved his marriage with his wife of twenty years, the blameless Catherine of Aragon; had confirmed by his episcopal authority the king's union with Anne, and by the same authority had declared it void; and he now was called upon to act a leading part in separating Henry from Anne of Cleves. He felt that to hesitate was ruin, or even death, as his late opposition to, and well-known contravention of the six articles placed him at the mercy of the king. Nor had he overlooked the lesson which had been read him in the fate of Cromwell. Accordingly the archbishop, the chancellor, and four other peers argued before the House of Lords, that the matrimonial alliance was null, inasmuch as her person had been incorrectly described, and from the want of consent to the marriage on the king's part, both at the solemnization of, and after the nuptials. The evils of a succession which might be disputed in consequence of these doubts were represented to the assembled peers; who, to

¹ Tytler, p. 417.² Strype's Eccl. Mem., p. 455.³ Tytler, p. 419.

carry on the farce,¹ implored of the king to allow the question to be decided by the judgment of his clergy. In this petition the Commons concurred, and Henry submitted, with much solemnity, assuring his faithful Parliament that he was persuaded they would make no proposal to him which was either unreasonable or unjust. In two short days, a committee of the convocation, consisting of Cranmer and Lee, four bishops, and eight divines, decided the question, of course in favour of the king. The queen on the first intelligence of the projected divorce was overwhelmed with anxiety, and fainted, but her compliance was at length insured by a liberal income of £3,000 a year, and she lived for sixteen years in England, with the title of Princess Anne of Cleves. As a consummation of this iniquitous judgment, it was made treason to assert that his marriage with the princess had been lawful and valid. "Henry lost no time in availing himself of his recovered liberty; and having privately espoused Catherine Howard, he, on the 8th of August, acknowledged her in public as his queen. Thus in a few weeks did Henry accomplish a divorce, which had cost him years of useless labour to effect, before he had removed the powerful and sole restraint upon his tyranny and voluptuousness. It would be unprofitable to describe minutely all the barbarous executions which, between this period and the king's death, terrified his Catholic as well as his Protestant subjects.² "During the sitting of Parliament, three persons, named Abel, Powel, and Featherstone, had been attainted for a denial of the supremacy; whilst three others, Barnes, Garret, and Jerome, were condemned for the dissemination of heretical opinions. To exhibit his impartiality as head of the church, the king commanded them to be placed together in pairs, Catholic and Lutheran on the same hurdle, and thus dragged from the Tower to Smithfield, where the assertors of the papal authority were hanged as traitors, and their companions consumed at the stake as heretics."³

But we must hurry to the concluding scenes of this tragical reign. Henry had lived about a year in harmony with his queen, through whom the ascendancy of the Catholic party seemed firmly established. "The king was so much taken with his queen, that on All Saints day, when he received the sacrament, he openly gave God thanks for the good life he led, and trusted still to lead with her."⁴ While this feeling subsisted, the reformers could not hope to gain the confidence or assistance of the monarch. Cranmer, in this emergency, obtained information from a servant which blighted his sovereign's happiness, and shortly

¹ The whole of the parts are described just as they were to be acted, in a letter from the council to Clarke, dated July 3, three days before the discussion took place.

² Fox reckons ten Protestants; Dodd, fourteen Catholics, who suffered during that period.

³ Tytler, p. 428.

⁴ Burnet, Hist. Refor., vol. i., p. 481.

led another queen to the scaffold. He accused her to the king of incontinencies committed before her marriage.¹ When the king read the accusation, he seemed much perplexed; but loved the queen so tenderly, that he looked on it as a forgery. And now the archbishop was in extreme danger; for if full evidence had not been brought, it had been certainly turned on him to his ruin."² Derham, the accused, confessed the fact, and the queen herself, though she at first denied it, on being examined by the archbishop and some other counsellors, "confessed all, and set it under her hand."³ But a divorce could not on such grounds be effected, nor could she be removed under the plea of high treason. Further evidence was sought for subsequent to her marriage. It was discovered that her former paramour had been received into her service, and that an individual, named Culpepper, was, by the Lady Rochfort's means, brought into the queen's chamber at eleven o'clock in the night, and stayed there till four in the morning."⁴

"From a letter which has lately been published, it appears that Henry employed Cranmer to obtain from the queen a complete disclosure of her guilt, under an express promise, that although her life had been forfeited by the law, the king had determined to extend unto her his 'most gracious mercy.' This communication was accordingly made by the archbishop to the unhappy woman, who received it with deep thankfulness. One object contemplated by Henry in thus promising her life to the queen, was to obtain full information from her own lips regarding an alleged pre-contract of marriage between her and Derham. She accordingly imparted to Cranmer all that had passed between her and Derham upon the subject of their intended marriage; and this, under the circumstances that afterwards occurred, the archbishop thought enough to establish a pre-contract. These particulars, which are now in the domestic history of this monarch, although they do not in any degree exculpate the queen, place Cranmer and his sovereign in a situation that requires explanation. The promise of mercy and of life, once solemnly given, ought to have been sacredly kept; yet, on the 16th of January, Catherine Howard was attainted in Parliament of high treason, and on the 13th of February, she and her accomplice, Lady Rochfort, were executed within the Tower. Familiarized as were the people with blood, it was not without some feelings of national abasement that they beheld another queen ignominiously led to the scaffold."⁵ To the last she persisted in denying any violation of her nuptial vow; nor was any evidence adduced during her trial sufficient to throw any doubt on her assertion. That she was sacrificed to Henry's revenge, all admit; nor can it be denied that her well-known attachment to the an-

¹ Burnet, Hist. of Refor., vol. i., p. 481.

² Ibid., p. 482.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Tytler, p. 434, 435.

cient faith was an obstacle in the path of the reforming party, which they showed themselves ready to remove even at the expense of justice and good faith. Her fate, like that of two of his preceding consorts, threw another blot on the servile character of Cranmer.

"Some anticipated that the disgrace of the queen, nearly connected as she was with the most powerful family in the kingdom, would be productive of a change in the royal mind favourable to the Protestants; but the event did not fulfil their expectations. An act was brought into Parliament, of which the object was declared to be the advancement of true religion, and the abolishment of the contrary. For this end, it declared that a certain formulary should be immediately published as a standard of belief; and with this view a treatise soon after appeared, by authority of the king and convocation, entitled 'A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man,'¹ which was generally called the 'King's Book,' probably on account of the interest which Henry took in its publication. It is more full than the Bishops' Book, though it teaches the same doctrine, with the addition of transubstantiation and the sufficiency of communion under one kind. By the archbishop it was ordered to be published in every diocese, and studied and followed by every preacher. From that period till the ascension of Edward it continued the standard of English orthodoxy." By the same Parliament the first restraint was put on the reading of the sacred Scriptures; but as I purpose entering somewhat in detail into the history of the translation and circulation of the holy volume during these periods, I shall explain the particulars of this law in the next lecture.

The evidence of the king's continued adherence to the ancient faith, prepared a dangerous trial for the constancy of Cranmer. "The prebendaries of Canterbury preferred a voluminous accusation against him, the substance of which was, that he discouraged orthodox preachers, and protected the heretical; that under him the law of the six articles was unexecuted, and that he had a constant correspondence with the heretics of Germany. The conduct of Cranmer had been wary, and the king showed a friendship for the primate which the uniform compliance of the latter had too well earned. He escaped, however, from the conspiracy of his clergy."² "He acknowledged that, as to the act of the six articles, he remained of the same opinion as when he opposed it; but observed, that since it had passed, he had done nothing against it. The king, alluding to his marriage, then asked

¹ Tytler, p. 439. As if to test the sincerity of the prelates supposed to be favourable to the new doctrines, the chapters on Transubstantiation and Communion under one kind were subjected to the revision of the archbishop and of four other bishops, three of whom were reformers. On these questions the book was "*per ipsos exposita, examinata, et recognita.*"

² Mackintosh, *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. ii., p. 232.

him 'if his grace's bedchamber could stand the scrutiny?' to which he replied, 'It could; for, although he had taken a wife previous to the act, he had sent her into Germany when it became law.'"¹ Thus did Cranmer acknowledge that he outwardly professed what he inwardly rejected; celebrated mass, and a service which his conscience repudiated, and required promises of celibacy and the oath asserting acquiescence in the articles, which he himself in his heart believed to be unwarranted by the law of God. On the 10th of July, 1543, Henry wedded Catherine Parr, the widow of Lord Latimer, a lady of mature age, who showed the same favourable disposition to the reformation with all his English wives, except Catherine Howard. Catherine had read Lutheran books;² and even presumed to enter into theological controversy with her imperious lord. Wriothesley and Gardiner were directed to give orders for her imprisonment, and to prepare articles of impeachment against her. Hearing this intelligence, she fell into a succession of fits, in consequence of which he was carried to her apartment, (for he was now too unwieldy to walk,) when he said, "Kate, you are a doctor."—"No," said she, "sir, I only wished to divest you from your pain by an argument, in which you so much shine."—"Is it so, sweetheart?" said he, "then we are friends again." By this stratagem did she escape the vengeance of the royal polemic, which, during the remainder of her life, she never again ventured to provoke.³

We have now arrived at the conclusion of the eventful scenes in this monarch's life, connected with the ecclesiastical revolution of his reign. The king's death will be an apt conclusion, with that of Cromwell, to the sacrilegious pillage and devastation of every thing sacred, which it will be my duty to describe in the ensuing lecture. To those who have listened attentively to the preceding narrative, it will be needless to observe, that the will of the king was the religion of the land. How that tyranny was brought about, it is not difficult to discover. The union of temporal and spiritual supremacy in one man, before that power had been limited, placed the lives or consciences of the king's subjects completely at the disposal of an imperious master like Henry. The friends of the rival systems, eager to acquire or maintain his favour, stooped to the lowest arts of flattery. He was the image of God; to disobey him was to offend the Almighty; and though he might err in his judgment, prayer was the only weapon which ought to be opposed to his injustice, whilst opposition was a crime. Such is the doctrine of the "Institution," and of the "Erudition of a Christian Man;" what wonder that Henry

¹ Tytler, p. 440.

² These works had been introduced by the agency of two females, Anne Bourchier, and Anne Askew. They were both sentenced to the stake as heretics by Cranmer in the next reign.

³ Mackintosh, vol. ii., p. 232, 233.

should have readily received a principle so pleasing to his pride, and which, preached from every pulpit, acknowledged by parties otherwise so irreconcilable, had become and continued during nearly a century to be a leading trait in the orthodox creed. Asserting a passive obedience like this, we could look for nothing but subservient pliancy in the leaders of the two great parties. Cromwell, the hypocritical enemy of a church, which at his death he proclaimed himself never to have abandoned; Cranmer, at every turn ready to tie or untie the most sacred of unions, asserting boldly to-day opinions for which he tortured others on the morrow; living in secret wedlock, lending himself to be the ready tool of Henry's voluptuousness or revenge; when such were the leaders, what religion could be expected in the followers? Are these the traits that characterize a man raised up by the Almighty to reform a corrupted church? Is this the spirit of heavenly or of worldly wisdom? But I have already extended my remarks far beyond the limits of an ordinary lecture, and must reserve, for the next occasion, a more careful summary of these important events.

LECTURE III.

A. D. 1536—1547.

§ 1.

Suppression of religious Houses.—Opinions of Hume, Collier, Heylin.—Remarkable Testimony of Sir William Dugdale.—The greater and lesser Abbeys.—Henry and the Commons.—Rapine, Sacrilege, and Bloodshed, the Foundation of the Reformation.

IN the two preceding lectures we have traced the history of the religious revolution effected under Henry VIII. We have seen the causes of its origin, and the men and counsels that established it. How different, alas! from what we venerate in the evidences and teachers of the Christian faith. But there is one subject which I have severed from the chain of events, as deserving special examination, from its own importance, the enormity of the injustice it involved, and the clear proof which it furnishes that the Reformation, so far from enlightening, as it is pretended, and benefiting the nation, actually overthrew in its course the only schools and asylums for the ignorant, the poor, and the afflicted. Had not other causes been in operation, such as a revived spirit for ancient learning, produced by the recent discovery of printing, the change of religion would have left this country destitute of schools, hospitals, and even churches; for it is against institutions so sacred, the fruits of the piety and charity of ages, that the reformers directed their revenge, or gratified their love of plunder by the accumulated treasures which had there been dedicated to the glory of God, or to the good of man.

Cromwell, you are aware, had, on his first introduction to Henry, promised the king not only to secure to him the great object of his wishes, a divorce from Catherine, but also to render the entire body of the clergy perfectly subservient to his wishes, and to place their wealth at his disposal. That promise he had in a great measure fulfilled. The divorce had been effected; by acknowledging the king's spiritual supremacy, the clergy had not only placed at his feet all their privileges and immunities, but, as a natural induction, as well as a trial of their sincerity, the bishops had been forced, by the base subserviency or advice of Cranmer, to sue out new powers, and thereby to exhibit themselves to the inferior clergy and their flocks, as no longer claiming to derive their authority from Christ, but as merely the occasional delegates of the crown. In addition to this degradation, on the fall of

Wolsey, the clergy had been compelled to purchase the king's pardon by a grant of £118,000. With this the king was for the hour satisfied, as the experiment proved the truth of his new adviser's prediction, that he could, at any moment, increase that sum by the whole ecclesiastical wealth of the kingdom. In Germany the attempt to plunder the church had been made, and made successfully; in England the impoverished nobility were known to look with envy on the superior wealth of the clergy, and to make no secret of their intentions, on the first favourable opportunity, to ease the overburdened coffers of the clergy.¹

From the time of the confiscation mentioned above, to the plunder on an enormous scale which I am about to describe in the present lecture, four years had elapsed. Cromwell had continued to enjoy the royal favour; Henry's hostility to the papal see had swelled to hatred, and his claims to supremacy had advanced not merely to a level with the authority and privileges which the Roman Pontiff had during ages asserted and enjoyed, but overpassed those bounds immeasurably, until the whole hierarchy and church had become dependent, for its faith and its very existence, on the caprice of the monarch.

It has been observed, that Henry, in his assumption of spiritual authority, met with least compliance from the religious orders, and that on them he first wreaked his revenge. The friars Observants, we have seen, were suppressed, and the Carthusians met with a severer fate. At length, irritated by their opposition and tempted by their wealth, he turned his thoughts earnestly to their utter ruin. Cromwell, his ready counsellor and abettor in every project which promised power or wealth, fanned the anger and avarice of the king; the nobles, worn out with civil wars, subsidies, and their own prodigal expenditure, saw in the spoliation of the monasteries a ready means of repairing their injured fortunes; whilst Cranmer and the party favourable to religious change were eager to remove from their path so serious an obstruction. The monastic orders, they were aware, had succeeded in supplying the places, or in becoming the patrons of the parochial clergy, and consequently came in constant contact with the people, amongst whom their influence as schoolmasters, pastors, liberal landlords, and ready protectors was necessarily great. No serious progress could therefore be made by the new doctrines, as long as these men were suffered to retain their power and hold on the affections of the people. But the very respect in which they were held, their numbers, wealth, and influence, rendered it necessary to proceed with extreme caution in any attempt at their suppression. To Cromwell was consigned the execution of the king's wishes, and, with his usual tact and cunning, he resolved to undermine the fabric which he proposed to destroy, by the very means which had raised it on so firm a

¹ L'Eveque de Bayonne, p. 374.

basis, by the plea of zeal for religion and anxiety to reform abuses.

For this purpose "it was resolved, that some effectual means must be taken for lessening their credit and authority with the people; and so a general visitation of all monasteries and other religious houses was resolved on. This was chiefly advised by Dr. Leighton, who had been in the cardinal's service with Cromwell, and was taken notice of by him, as a dexterous and diligent man, and therefore was now made use of on this occasion."¹ "However, lest it should be unhesitatingly asserted that the proposed visitation was merely intended to cover an attack upon the conventual property, it was proposed to carry it through the whole ecclesiastical system. All spiritual persons, corporations, and affairs were to be visited by the king in his character of supreme ordinary of the English Church. The exercise of this royal prerogative was confided to Cromwell, vicar-general, who was empowered to délégué his authority to subordinate agents. As a preliminary measure, each of the archbishops received an inhibition, restraining him from the visitation of his diocese or province, and he was ordered to transmit a similar inhibition to the several bishops placed under his jurisdiction."²

Yet it must not be supposed that the religious orders found no friends to lift a hand to avert their fall. "Whilst, in the privy-council, where the matter was first debated, no one opposed a general reformation, the expediency of their entire destruction came to be much questioned. It was argued that, admitting their excessive multiplication, their immense wealth, and luxurious idleness, to be an evil, it sprung out of the perversion of an otherwise useful institution. When kept within due bounds as to numbers, and compelled to follow the strictness of their original rules, such establishments, it was contended, were nurseries

¹ Burnet, vol. i., p. 284. The following is part of the letter of Dr. Layton, in which he solicited the office of visitor. "Pleaset yowe to understand, that whereas ye intend shortly to visite, and belike shall have many suiters unto yowe for the same, to be your commissioners, if hit might stand with your pleasure that Dr. Lee and I might have committed unto us the north contre, and to begyn in Lincoln dioces northwards here from London, Chester dioces, Yorke, and sofurth to the boreder of Scotlande, to ryde down one syde, and come up the other. Ye shall be well and faste assuryede that ye shall nother fynde monke, chanone, &c., that shall do the kyng's hyghness so good servys, neither be so trusty, trewe, and faithful to yowe. There ys nether monasterie, sell, priore, nor any other religious howse in the north, but other Dr. Lee or I have familiar acquaintance within x or xii mylls of hyt, so that no knaverie can be hyde from us—we know and have experience both of the fassion of the contre and rudeness of the pepul."—Cleop. E. iv., fol. 11.

² Soames, vol. i., p. 67. The inhibition was issued in the names of Thomas Legh, and John Ap-Rice. Their reasons may be seen in Strype, append. No. 57, who sums them up thus: "that so the king taking all the episcopal jurisdiction and power into his own hands for a time, and exercising the same, it might seem as a perpetual monument of his supremacy. And that they, receiving their power again from the king, might recognise him for the spring and foundation of it. That they might show whence they claimed their authority, by suing to the king's majesty for the restoring of it again to them."—Strype, vol. i., p. 333.

of devotion, retreats for learning in a dark and barbarous age, and hospitals for the sick and infirm, where the universal charity, and practical benevolence inculcated by the Christian faith, might be found in their present exercise. Nor was it concealed that their entire suppression would be a great wrong committed against their founders, who had as much right to give their lands to that use as their heirs have to enjoy the remainder.”¹

But how vain was such reasoning against the temptations to rapine, wealth, and revenge. “In October began the great visitation of monasteries, which was committed to several commissioners. Leighton, Lee, and London were most employed: but many others were also employed to visit. For I find letters from Robert Southwell, Ellice Price, John Ap-Rice, Richard Southwell, John Gage, Richard Bellasis, Walter Hendle, and several others, to Cromwell; giving him an account of the progress they made in their several provinces. Their commissions, if they were passed under the great seal, and enrolled, have been taken out of the rolls, for there are none of them to be found there. Yet I incline to think they were not under the great seal. For I have seen an original commission for the visitation that was next year, which was only under the king’s hand and signet. From which it may be inferred, that the commissions this year were of the same nature: yet whether such commissions could authorize them to grant dispensations, and discharge men out of the houses they were in, I am not skilled enough in law to determine. But besides these powers and commissions, they got instructions to direct them in their visitations, and injunctions to be left in every house.”² These instructions extended to eighty-six articles, generally directed to inquiries respecting the observance of the three religious vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. The commissions differed externally little from the usual legatine or episcopal visitations, and, to a superficial observer, appeared to have for their object the reformation of the abuses, and not the seizure of the property of the monastic orders. The commissioners were distributed in pairs over the whole kingdom, with directions to report their proceedings to their chief, the vicar-general Cromwell: “they were armed with ample, not to say dangerous powers, and were ordered to make the most minute inquiries into the condition and affairs of every monastery in their particular districts. They were to demand an account of the endowment attached to each house, and of the manner in which such revenues were applied; they were to inquire into the moral conduct of the monks, friars, or nuns; into the degree of strictness with which they observed the rules of their particular order; into their manner of electing a superior; into the peculiar regulations of every society, and into the number of its members. In short, the visitors were instructed to institute a rigid scrutiny

¹ Tytler, p. 388.

² Burnet, vol. i., p. 285

into all the particulars connected with the monastic system, and with the conduct of every individual attached to it. From an inquisition of a nature so minute and comprehensive, it is not possible that any numerous body of men could escape without the imputation of considerable delinquency.”¹

Nor must it be forgotten, that the commissioners were the mere tools of Cromwell; men who well knew that it was not to reform the monks, but to “do the king’s highness good service, and to be trusty and faithful to their master;” nor, “during times of faction, especially of the religious kind, is equity to be expected from adversaries; and as it was known that the king’s intention in this visitation was *to find a pretence* for abolishing monasteries, we may naturally conclude that the reports of the commissioners are very little to be relied on. Friars were encouraged to bring in information against their brethren; the slightest evidence was credited; and even the calumnies spread abroad by the friends of the reformation were regarded as grounds of proof. Monstrous disorders are therefore said to have been found in many of the religious houses.”² “Yet, although in some instances this was the case, it was not so in all, perhaps not so even in the majority.”³ “It never can be forgotten in such cases, that revenue, not reformation, plunder, not punishment, were the objects of which the visitors were in quest; so that proofs of innocence were altogether unavailing, and not even proofs of poverty could save the smallest houses from the paws of the inferior beasts of prey. Some, indeed, sought favour by a more promising road; by blackening themselves, their fellows, and their order, and thus helping to render destruction popular, by averring that ‘the pit of hell was ready to swallow them up for their ill life;’ by professing that they were now convinced of the wickedness of the manner and trade of living that they and others of their pretended religion had followed.”⁴

It may be useful to add to the opinions of the above eminent modern historians, those of our more ancient writers, on the real object of the visitation, and the degree of reliance to be placed on the reports of the commissioners against the monastic orders. “It was thought necessary,” says Collier,⁵ “to lessen the reputation of the monks, to lay open the superstition of their worship, and draw a charge of imposture upon them.” “Though undiscerning people might be imposed upon so far as to think that the project originated in a good motive, yet considerate men might easily discover it was nothing but insatiable avarice that prompted the courtiers to push the king upon the undertaking. They saw that the king was resolutely bent upon rejecting the supremacy of the Pope, and that nothing would conduce more towards it than sup-

¹ Soames, vol. ii., p. 68.

² Hume, Hen. VIII., c. 31.

³ Tytler, p. 358.

⁴ Mackintosh, vol. ii., p. 217.

⁵ Collier, Eccl. Hist., vol. ii., b. ii., p. 149.

pressing and seizing the ecclesiastical foundations, and nothing more plausibly effect the seizure than boldly aspersing the possessors and loading them with calumnies.”¹ Fuller observes,² that “the visitors were succeeded with a second sort of public agents, but working in a more private way, encouraging the monks in monasteries to impeach one another. For, seeing there was seldom such general agreement in any convent, but that factions were found, and parties did appear therein, these emissaries did make an advantageous use thereof: many being accused did recriminate their accusers, and, hopeless to recover their own innocency, pleased themselves by plunging others in the like guiltiness.” “Where these tricks were played, it may be feared,” says Heylin,³ “that God was not in that terrible wind that threw down so many monasteries and religious houses in the reign of Henry VIII.” “It was not,” says Sir William Dugdale,⁴ “the strict and regular lives, or any thing that may be said in behalf of the monasteries, that could prevent their ruin thus approaching. So great an aim had the king to make himself thereby glorious, and many others no less hopes to be enriched in a considerable manner. But to the end that such a change should not overwhelm those that might be active therein, in regard the people everywhere had no small esteem of these houses, for their devout and daily exercises in prayer, alms-deeds, hospitality, and the like, whereby not only the souls of their deceased ancestors had much benefit, as was then thought, but themselves, the poor, as also strangers and pilgrims, constant advantage; there wanted not the most subtle contrivances to effect this stupendous work, that, I think, any age has beheld; whereof it will not be thought improper here, I presume, to take a short view.

“I look upon the business as not originally designed by the king, but by some principal ambitious men of that age, who projected to themselves all worldly advantages imaginable, through the deluge of wealth which was like to flow amongst them by this hideous storm.

“First, therefore, having insinuated to the king matter of profit and honour, viz.: profit, by so vast an enlargement of his revenue; and honour, in being able to maintain mighty armies to recover his right in France, as also to strengthen himself against the Pope, whose supremacy he himself had abolished, and to make the firmer alliance with such princes as had done the like, did they procure Cranmer’s advancement to the see of

¹ “Si rem ipsam accuratius expendissent, aulæ potius libidinem, hominumque nullum modum statuentium avaritiam nominassent, qui regem prætera abolendo Pontificis Romani dominatui intentum, ad sodalitia clericorum omnimoda evertenda bonaque eorum diripienda, incitabant: cui rei nihil magis conducere poterat, quam si possessores patrimonii cui inhiabant, fortiter calumniarentur. *Antiq. Univ. Ox.* p. 262.

² Hist. of Church, p. 314.

³ Heylin, Hist. of Refor., p. 252.

⁴ History of Warwickshire, p. 801.

Canterbury, and more of the Protestant clergy, as my authority terms them, to other bishoprics and high places; to the end that the rest should not be able, in a full council, to carry any thing against their design; sending out preachers to stand fast to the king, without fear of the Pope's curse, or his dissolving their allegiance.

"Next, that it might be more plausibly carried on, care was taken so to represent the lives of the monks, nuns, canons, &c., to the world, as that the less regret might be made at their ruin. To which purpose, Cromwell's commissioners, the better to manage their design, gave encouragement to the monks not only to accuse their governors, but to inform against each other; compelling them also to produce the charters and evidences of their lands, as also their plate and money, and to give an inventory thereof. And hereunto they added certain injunctions from the king, containing most severe and strict rules; by means whereof, divers being found obnoxious to censure, were expelled, and many, discerning themselves not able to live free from exception and advantage that might be taken against them, desired to leave their habit.

"Having by these visitors thus searched into their lives, which, by a black book, containing a world of enormities, were represented in no small measure scandalous, to the end that the people might be better satisfied with their proceedings, it was thought convenient to suggest that the lesser houses, for want of good government, were chiefly guilty of those crimes that were laid to their charge; and so they did, as appears from the preamble of that act for their dissolution, made in the 27th of Henry VIII., which Parliament (consisting in the most part of such members as were packed for the purpose, through private interest, as is evident from divers original letters of that time, many of the nobility, for the like respects also, favouring the design) assented to the suppressing of all such houses as had been certified of less value than two hundred pounds per annum, and giving them, with their lands and revenues, to the king. Yet so, as not only the religious persons therein should be committed to the great and honourable monasteries of the realm, where they might be compelled to live religiously for the reformation of their lives, 'wherein, thanks be to God, religion is well kept and observed,' they are the words of the act, 'but that the possessions belonging to such houses should be converted to better uses, to the pleasure of God Almighty, and the honour and profit of the realm.'

"But how well the tenor thereof was pursued we shall see; these specious pretences being made use of for no other purpose, than by opening the gap to make way for the ruin of the greater houses, wherein it is by the said act acknowledged that religion was so well observed. For no sooner were the monks, &c.,

turned out, and their houses demolished, (that being the first thought requisite, lest some accidental change might conduce to their restitution,) but care was taken to prefer such persons to the superiority in government, upon any vacancy in these greater houses, as might be instrumental to their surrender, by tampering with the convent to that purpose; whose activeness was such, that within the space of two years several convents were wrought upon, and commissioners sent down, to take them at their hands to the king's use; of which number I find, that besides the before specified doctors of the law, there were thirty-four commissioners.

"The truth is, that there was no omission of any endeavours that can well be imagined to accomplish these surrenders. For so subtilly did the commissioners act their part, as that, after earnest solicitation with the abbots, and finding them backward, they first tempted them with pensions during life, whereby they found some forward enough to promote the work, as the Abbot of Hales, in Gloucestershire, was, who had high commendation for it from the commissioners, as their letters to the visitor-general do manifest. So likewise had the Abbot of Ramsey and the Prior of Ely. Nay, some were so obsequious, that after they had wrought the surrender of their own houses, they were employed as commissioners to persuade others, as the Prior of Guisborn, in Yorkshire, for one. Neither were the courtiers inactive in driving on this work, as may be seen by the Lord Chancellor Audley's employing a special agent to treat with the Abbot of Athelney, and to offer him a hundred marks per annum pension, in case he would surrender; which the abbot refused, insisting upon a greater sum; and the personal endeavours he used with the Abbot of Osithe, in Essex, as appears by his letter to the visitor-general, wherein it is signified, that he had with great solicitation prevailed with the said abbot, but withal insinuating his desire that his place of lord chancellor being very chargeable, the king might be moved for an addition of some more profitable offices unto him. Nay, I find that this great man, the lord chancellor, hunting eagerly after the abbey of Walden, in Essex, (out of the ruins whereof, afterwards that magnificent fabric called by the name of Audley Inn, was built,) as an argument to obtain it did, besides the extenuation of its worth, allege, that he had in this world sustained great damage and infamy in serving the king, which the grant of that should recompense.

"Amongst the particular arguments which were made use of by those that were averse to surrender, I find that the Abbot of Feversham, alleged the antiquity of their monastery's foundation, viz., by King Stephen, whose body, with the bodies of the queen and prince, lay there interred, and for whom were used continual suffrages, and commendations by prayers. Yet it would not avail; for they were resolved to effect what they had begun by one means or other; insomuch that they procured the Bishop

of London to come to the nuns of Sion with their confessor, to solicit them thereunto. Who, after many persuasions, took it upon their consciences that they ought to submit unto the king's pleasure therein, by God's law. But what could not be effected by such arguments and fair promises, (which were not wanting nor unfulfilled, as appears by the large pensions that some active monks and canons had in comparison of others, even to a fifth or sixth-fold proportion more than ordinary,) was by terror and severe dealing brought to pass. For, under pretence of dilapidation in the buildings, or negligent administration of their offices, as also for breaking the king's injunctions, they deprived some abbots, and then put others that were more pliant in their room.

"From others they took their convent seals, to the end they might not, by making leases or sale of their jewels, raise money either for supply of their present wants, or payment of their debts, and to be necessitated to surrender. Nay, to some, as in particular to the canons of Leicester, the commissioners threatened that they would charge them with adultery, and —, unless they would submit. And D. London told the nuns of Godstow, that because he found them obstinate, he would dissolve the house by virtue of the king's commission, in spite of their teeth. And yet all was so managed, that the king was solicited to accept of them, not being willing to have it thought they were by terror moved thereunto; and special notice was taken of such as gave out that their surrender was by compulsion.

"Which causes (after so many that through underhand corruption led the way) brought on others apace; as appears by their dates, which I have observed from the very instruments themselves; insomuch, that the rest stood amazed, not knowing which way to turn themselves. Some, therefore, thought fit to try whether money might not save their houses from this dismal fate, so near at hand. The Abbot of Peterborough offered 2,500 marks to the king, and three hundred pounds to the visitor-general. Others with great constancy refused to be accessary in violating the donations of their pious founders. But these, as they were not many, so did they taste of no little severity. For touching the Abbot of Fountaines, in Yorkshire, I find, that being charged by the commissioners for taking into his hands some private jewels belonging to the monastery, which they called theft and sacrilege, they pronounced him perjured, and so deposing him, extorted a private resignation. And it appears that the monks of the Charter-house, in the suburbs of London, were committed to Newgate, where, with hard and barbarous usage, five of them died, and five more lay at the point of death, as the commissioners signified; but withal alleged, that the suppression of that house, being of so strict a rule, would occasion great scandal to their doings, forasmuch as it stood in the face of the world, infinite concourse coming from all parts to that populous

city; and therefore desired it might be altered to some other use. And, lastly, I find that, under the like pretence of robbing the church, wherewith the aforesaid Abbot of Fountains was charged, the Abbot of Glastonbury, with two of his monks, being condemned to death, was drawn from Wells upon a hurdle, then hanged upon the hill called Tor, near Glastonbury, his head set upon the abbey gate, and his quarters disposed of to Wells, Bath, Ilchester, and Bridgewater. Nor did the Abbots of Colchester and Reading fare much better, as they that will consult the story of that time may see. And for farther terror to the rest, some priors and other ecclesiastical persons, who spake against the king's supremacy, a thing then somewhat uncouth, were condemned as traitors, and executed."

I have chosen to give the above extract entire, from so celebrated a writer and antiquary, though it anticipates some of the details into which I have to enter, since it presents at one view, a faithful and well-drawn picture by a master hand, of the unchristian spoliation of the charitable foundations of our pious forefathers. From this and the preceding accounts, it follows, that the reformation of the monasteries, like that of religion, was a mere hypocritical pretence, a delusion, found necessary to be palmed upon the nation, in order to prevent their indignation and horror from driving them to open resistance to the destruction of retreats, in which they and their children had for ages received their learning, at which the poor were never denied their daily bread, and the sick and aged were comforted or prepared for a happier world. The commissioners were *all* the creatures of Cromwell, advanced to their responsible situations to "do him and the king good service," and not the monasteries, and *some* of them were convicted of gross peculation; their instructions, though to the eye of the world just and prudent, were by their severity made snares to entrap the religious into disobedience and its punishment; a premium was offered to false testimony, where truth could find nothing to condemn; bribes secured, or threats of punishment, or infamous accusations extorted the compliance of many; and where these and similar acts met with men of sterner mould and failed, it was only necessary to administer the oath asserting the spiritual supremacy of Henry, and denying that of the Pope, to remove the obnoxious cleric to the prison or the scaffold.

We have seen then the instruments and counsels employed by the lovers of rapine and the friends of the reformation, to destroy the ancient seminaries of learning, charity, and hospitality; with what success we have now to examine. Vile and unscrupulous as were those instruments, and cunning as were those counsels, they were still doomed to be blunted and to fail when directed against innocence and purity. Notwithstanding every effort which avarice and cupidity could suggest, only eight monasteries

in all England were base or timid enough to yield to the bribes or threats of the commissioners, during the first winter of their active agency.¹

But reports injurious to the morals of the religious had been industriously collected or forged; the inmates of the various houses had been encouraged and bribed to accuse each other; the refractory, the worldly, or the vicious, weary of the restraints of rule and discipline, had merely to state their suspicions or their accusations to be applauded and rewarded. By these means it was not difficult to collect any amount of accusation, or of any degree of enormity; but, in addition to the means and agents employed, we have clear evidence that the accounts, if not utterly false, were enormously exaggerated in the fact that, whilst the smaller houses were condemned as guilty of every vice, the larger were flattered by act of Parliament, as "observing and keeping religion right well." However, the accusations answered their purpose effectually; for in the Parliament assembled in February, 1536, "an act was passed to dissolve and grant to the king all religious houses of all orders and of both sexes, who could not spend £200 yearly."² The preamble to this act is too curious to be overlooked. It sets forth, that "Forasmuch as manifest sin, vicious, carnal, and abominable living, is daily used and committed commonly in such little and small abbeys and priories, and other religious houses of monks, canons, and nuns, when the congregation of such persons is under the number of twelve persons, whereby the governors of such religious houses, and their convents, spoil, destroy, consume, and utterly waste, as well those churches, monasteries, priories, principal houses, farms, &c., as the ornaments of their churches, and their goods and chattels, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, slander of good religion, and the general infamy of the king's highness and the realm, if redress should not be had thereof. And albeit that many continual visitations have been heretofore had, by the space of two hundred years and more, for an honest and charitable reformation of such unthrifty, carnal, and abominable living, yet nevertheless little or none amendment is hitherto had; and by a cursed custom, so grown and infested, that a great number of religious persons, in such small houses, do choose rather to come abroad in apostasy, than to conform themselves to the observations of good religion. So that, without such small houses be utterly suppressed, and the religious persons therein committed to great and honourable monasteries of religion in this realm, where they may be compelled to live religiously for the reformation of their lives, there can be no redress or reformation in that behalf. In consi-

¹ These were, in Kent, Langdon, Folkstone, Bilsington, and St. Mary's in Dover; Merton in Yorkshire; Hornby in Lancashire; and Tiltey in Essex. Rymer, xiv. 555—558. Burnet, vol. i., p. 297.

² 27 Hen. VIII., c. 28. Stat. of the Realm, iii. 576.

deration whereof, the king's most royal majesty being supreme head in earth, under God, of the church of England, considering that divers and great solemn monasteries of this realm, wherein, thanks be to God, religion is right well kept and observed, be destitute of such full numbers of religious persons as they might and may keep, have thought good that a plain declaration should be made of the premises, as well to the lords spiritual and temporal, as to others his loving subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled; whereupon the said Lords and Commons by a great deliberation, finally resolved, that it is, and shall be, much more to the pleasure of Almighty God, and for the honour of this realm, that the possessions of such religious houses now being spent, spoiled, and wasted for the increase and maintenance of sin, should be used and converted to better uses, and the unthrifty religious persons to spending the same, be compelled to reform their lives. And thereupon most humbly desires the king's highness, that it may be enacted, by authority of the present Parliament, that his majesty shall have and enjoy, to him and his heirs forever, all and singular such monasteries." On this preamble Collier remarks: "This preamble takes notice that there is a necessity of transplanting the monks of these little societies; and without removing them to more numerous convents their reformation was impracticable. Now, 'tis somewhat strange, discipline should be most insignificant where there are fewest to be governed, and infect the rest; and that no regulation could be of force enough to keep a few people within compass. Had it not been for the authority of this preamble, one would have thought the greater monasteries would have been with more difficulty managed. But these, the act tells us, were regular enough, and answered the ends of their institution. Fuller takes the freedom to fancy there was something of *finesse* in this commendation. The lesser abbeys, he believed, could not be suppressed without the votes of the greater; and of these latter, there were no less than twenty-six mitred barons who sat in the House of Lords. It was prudent, therefore, to lay the apprehensions of these abbots asleep, and prevent their suspicion of falling under the same fate. And thus three hundred and seventy-six of these ancient monuments of devotion, as Lord Herbert calls them, were discorporated and dissolved, a yearly revenue of £32,000 accrued to the exchequer, and the goods and chattels, at a low valuation, amounted to £100,000."¹ "Considerable as is the income unanimously assigned by historians to the body of smaller monasteries, it does not appear sufficient to maintain the number

¹ Collier, *Eccl. Hist.*, vol. ii., B. 2., p. 155. Holinshed. "One hundred thousand pounds (probably a million and a half of the present value) came immediately into the exchequer: thirty thousand pounds (probably half a million, according to our wages and prices) were added to the annual revenue of the crown." Mackintosh, *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. ii., p. 212.

of individuals said to have been dependent upon these establishments. To solve this difficulty, it has been supposed that the property of the suppressed houses was considerably underrated;¹ and that a large portion of the ejected religious were mendicants."²

Had we not seen how slavishly subservient Parliament had become to the king, we might be led to suspect that no body of men could have sanctioned such enormous rapine and injustice, without some flagrant delinquencies on the part of the monasteries, to palliate, if not to justify their proceedings. Unfortunately, how the business "went through the two houses we cannot know from the Journals, for they are lost." But we learn from a grave authority³ that neither the prospect of plunder, the avoidance of subsidies, or the fear of incurring the tyrant's revenge, had influence enough to pass the measure without opposition. We are told that "the bill stuck long in the Lower House, and could get no passage, when the king commanded the Commons to attend him in the forenoon in his gallery, where he let them wait till late in the afternoon, and then, coming out of his chamber, walking a turn or two amongst them, and looking angrily on them, first on one side and then on the other, at last, I hear, saith he, that my bill will not pass; but I will have it pass, or I will have some of your heads; and without other rhetoric returned to his chamber. Enough was said; the bill passed, and all was given him as he desired."

Thus it was, after all the calumnies, bribes, threats, and artifices of Cromwell and his agents, an unblushing act of open tyranny that at last extorted the consent of Parliament, and condemned the monasteries. The conduct of Henry is an answer to those calumnies, lays bare the hypocritical pretence of reformation, and exhibits the knife and the halter as the royal arguments for pillage and sacrilege. What a mass of misery and destitution must have resulted from thus driving from their homes the inmates of those houses. "His majesty," however, says the statute, "was pleased and contented, of his most excellent charity, to provide for the *heads* such pensions as shall be reasonable." "But, vague and utterly unsatisfactory as it was, no such promise was vouchsafed to the humble dwellers of the suppressed houses, who, it seems, were deemed beneath any assurances of the king's excellent charity. It was only promised that they were either to be supported in some new charitable foundation, or committed for their lives to such of the great monasteries as the king should appoint."⁴ Hence, "the writers that lived near that time represent the matter very odiously, and say—about

¹ Stowe says, that the monastic effects, according to this rating, were "Robin Hood's pennyworths."

² Soames, *Hist. of the Ch.*, vol. ii., p. 101.

³ Spelman, *Hist. of Sacrilege*, p. 183.

⁴ Mackintosh, vol. ii., p. 212.

ten thousand persons were set to seek for their livings: only forty shillings in money, and a gown, being given to every religious man; and it was generally said, and not improbably, that the commissioners were as careful to enrich themselves, as to increase the king's revenue. The churches and cloisters were for the most part pulled down; and the lead, bells, and other materials were sold; and this must needs have raised great discontent everywhere. The religious persons that were undone went about complaining of the sacrilege and injustice of this suppression; that what the piety of their ancestors dedicated to God and his saints, was now invaded and converted to secular ends. They said the king's severity fell first upon some particular persons of their orders, who were found delinquents; but now, upon the pretended miscarriages of some individual persons, to proceed against their houses and suppress them, was an unheard-of practice. The nobility and gentry, whose ancestors had founded or enriched these houses, and who provided for their younger children, or empoverished friends, by putting them into these sanctuaries, complained much of the prejudice they sustained by it. The people, that had been well entertained at the abbots' tables, were sensible of their loss: for generally, as they strolled over the country, the abbeys were their stages, and were houses of reception to travellers and strangers. The poor that fed on their daily alms were deprived of that supply."¹

By the confession then of the bitterest enemies of the olden faith, it was in rapine, sacrilege, and bloodshed, that the foundations of the reformation were laid; that it was enriched by robbing the patrimony of the poor; that it destroyed the schools of the indigent, the asylum for the aged and afflicted, and spared not even the very temples of the Almighty for the sake of the bells, lead, and other materials, which were publicly sold to increase the profits of the plunderers.

What then becomes of the hackneyed calumnies against the religious orders, or the vaunting assertions that they fell before the light of learning and the gospel? But, though we have incidentally seen some of the advantages derived from the monasteries, I have refrained until this point from entering fully into their uses and merits: now, however, you shall know what you and your forefathers have lost by the change which you have been taught to bless. It is not enough that you should feel that the whole was a scheme of pillage; that Henry and his agents sought the goods, and not the good of the church; that the Parliament disbelieved the tales and slanders against the religious: I would further show you that learning was actually retarded; religion injured; the poor robbed; the aged deprived of support; and the mightiest instruments of amelioration, both civil and religious, destroyed, as they had been the only springs, during cen-

¹ Burnet, vol. i., p. 345.

turies, of civilization, piety, and learning, when these pious retreats fell beneath the talons of the harpies and vultures of the court, and the discontented of the clergy. I am aware how different this is to the usual view presented you of the religious bodies. They are described to you as a curse, here as a blessing; as ignorant, here as the source of learning; useless, here as the friends and assistants of the poor and the afflicted; and I, consequently, feel the necessity of not resting satisfied with what has been hitherto said, but of bringing this question so clearly before you, that not a doubt shall remain, on any unprejudiced mind, that history, and facts undoubted and incontrovertible, cited from unquestionable sources, bear me out in the assertion that, as villany accomplished, so learning, charity, and religion must weep over, the fall of the monasteries that once adorned this land.

§ 2.

Employments, Pursuits, &c., of the monastic Orders.—Interesting Account of, by Bishop Tanner.—Charges against them answered.—Contrast.—Remarks of Collier, Fuller, Bale, Marsham.—The “Men of the new Learning.”

For this purpose I would claim your best attention to the following summary of the employments, pursuits, and duties of these establishments, given by Bishop Tanner, in the preface of his celebrated work on the monastic institutions.

“In every great abbey, there was a large room called the *Scriptorium*, where several writers made it their whole business to transcribe books for the use of the library. They sometimes, indeed, wrote the leiger books of the house, and the missals, and other books used in divine service, but they were generally upon other works, viz.: the Fathers, Classics, Histories, &c. John Whethamsted, Abbot of St. Alban’s, caused above eighty books to be thus transcribed during his abbacy. Fifty-eight were transcribed by the care of one abbot, at Glastonbury; and so zealous were the monks in general for this work, that they often got lands given, and churches appropriated, for the carrying of it on. In all the greater abbeys, there were also persons appointed to take notice of the principal occurrences of the kingdom, and at the end of every year to digest them into annals. In these records they particularly preserved the memoirs of their founders and benefactors, and years and days of their births and deaths, their marriages, children, and successors: so that recourse was sometimes had to them for proving persons’ ages and genealogies; though it is to be feared that some of those pedigrees were drawn up from tradition only; and that, in most of their accounts, they were favourable to their friends, and severe upon their enemies. The constitutions of the clergy in their national

and provincial synods, and (after the conquest) even acts of Parliament, were sent to the abbeys to be recorded : which leads me to mention the use and advantage of these religious houses. For, First, the choicest records and treasures in the kingdom were preserved in them. An exemplification of the charter of liberties, granted by King Henry I., (*Magna Charta*,) was sent to some abbey in every county to be preserved. Charters and inquisitions relating to the county of Cornwall were repositied in the priory of Bodmin ; a great many rolls were lodged in the abbey of Leicester, and priory of Kenilworth, till taken from thence by King Henry III. King Edward I. sent to the religious houses to search for his title to the kingdom of Scotland, in their leigers and chronicles, as the most authentic records for proof of his right to that crown. When his sovereignty was acknowledged in Scotland, he sent letters to have it inserted in the chronicles of the abbey of Winchomb, and the priory of Norwich, and probably of many other such-like places. And when he decided the controversy relating to the crown of Scotland, between Robert Brus and John Baliol, he wrote to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, London, requiring them to enter into their chronicles the exemplification therewith sent of that decision. The learned Mr. Selden hath his greatest evidences for the dominion of the narrow seas, belonging to the King of Great Britain, from monastic records. The evidences and money of private families were oftentimes sent to these houses to be preserved. The seals of noblemen were deposited there upon their deaths. And even the king's money was sometimes lodged in them. Secondly, they were schools of learning and education ; for every convent had one person or more appointed for this purpose ; and all the neighbours that desired it, might have their children taught grammar and church-music without any expense to them. In the nunneries also young women were taught to work, and to read English, and sometimes Latin also. So that not only the lower rank of people, who could not pay for their learning, but most of the noblemen and gentlemen's daughters were educated in those places. Thirdly, all the monasteries were in effect great hospitals, and were most of them obliged to relieve many poor people every day. They were likewise houses of entertainment for almost all travellers. Even the nobility and gentry, when they were upon the road, lodged at one religious house, and dined at another, and seldom, or never, went to inns. In short, their hospitality was such that, in the priory of Norwich, one thousand five hundred quarters of malt, and above eight hundred quarters of wheat, and all other things in proportion, were generally spent every year. Fourthly, the nobility and gentry provided not only for their old servants, in these houses, by *corrodies*, but for their younger children and empoverished friends, by making them, first, monks and nuns, and, in time, priors and

prioresses, and abbots and abbesses. Fifthly, they were of considerable advantage to the crown: 1. By the profits received from the death of one abbot or prior, to the election, or, rather, confirmation, of another. 2. By great fines paid for the confirmation of their liberties. 3. By many corrodies granted to old servants of the crown, and pensions to the king's clerks and chaplains, till they got preferment. Sixthly, they were likewise of considerable advantage to the places where they had their sites and estates. 1. By causing great resort to them, and getting grants of fairs and markets for them. 2. By freeing them from the forest laws. 3. By letting their lands at easy rates. Lastly, they were great ornaments to the country: many of them were really noble buildings; and though not actually so grand and neat, yet, perhaps, as much admired in their times, as Chelsea and Greenwich hospitals are now. Many of the abbey-churches were equal, if not superior, to our present cathedrals; and they must have been as much an ornament to this country, and employed as many workmen in building, and keeping them in repair, as noblemen's and gentlemen's seats now."¹

With the above extract before us, we are able to dispose of most of the charges brought against the monasteries, by those that grew rich on their suppression. First, as to their *ignorance*. This charge is so common and yet so grossly unfounded, that it might with safety be asserted that learning, but for the monasteries, would have perished, during the changes of dynasty, the civil wars, and the revolutions which, during so long a period, convulsed Europe. There learning found a calm retreat, amidst the din of arms. 1st. "In *every abbey* there was a large scriptorium, where *several* writers made it their business to transcribe, as there was then no printing, books of every description, the Fathers, the Classics, Histories, &c." "Lands were *often* bestowed upon them for that especial purpose." 2d. They were the historians of their period, for "in *all* the greater abbeys, there were persons appointed to digest the principal occurrences of every year into annals." Without the monkish chroniclers what should we know of the history of our country? 3d. As the most learned bodies in the kingdom, they were made the guardians of the national records, both civil and ecclesiastical; and thus vast libraries were accumulated and preserved, respected in every age, even by the most savage invaders, and during the most troubled times, and never scattered, dispersed, and destroyed until the days of the reformation. 4th. In these establishments we have lost *schools* which were scattered, within a few miles of each other, over the whole face of the country, where "all the neighbours, that desired it, might have their children taught grammar and church-music without any expense to them:" the rich educated with the poor, as "not only the lower rank of people,

¹ Preface to Tanner's *Notitia Monas.*, p. xxx—xxxiii, Ed. Lond., MDCCXLIV.

who could not pay for their learning, but most of the noblemen's and gentlemen's daughters were educated in the nunneries." This is a complete refutation of the charge of ignorance, idleness, and uselessness, brought against the religious houses. Let us now contrast what we have learned above were the duties and habits of these calumniated men, with the changes called a reformation, introduced by the men that reviled them. You have believed that those changes were all in favour of learning and of a better and more enlightened order of things. Now, is it a change for the better to destroy about a thousand schools, where the poor were taught without cost, not merely their own language and the ordinary elements of learning, but even some of the more accomplished arts, as music? Was it a reformation to scatter, sell, and destroy some of the noblest libraries in the kingdom, collected at an enormous expense, and cherished as the best ornament of their houses by the religious, who, to increase their precious store, employed *several* persons to transcribe and preserve the elegant and precious productions of antiquity, thus guarding the springs from which learning was derived? Now, read the following accounts of the destruction of books and manuscripts, and judge whether it did not seem to be the object of the reformers to smother learning altogether, to plunge the nation into hopeless ignorance, or rather whether they cared what went to ruin, provided they could increase their plunder, and promote their own interests. "Most of the learned records of the age," says Collier,¹ "were lodged in the monasteries. Printing was then but a late invention, and had secured but a few books in comparison of the rest. The main of learning lay in manuscripts, and the most considerable of these, both for number and quality, were in the monks' possession. But the abbey at the dissolution falling oftentimes into hands who understood no farther than the estates, the libraries were miserably disposed of. The books, instead of being removed to royal libraries, to those of cathedrals or the universities, were frequently thrown into the grantees, as things of slender consideration. Now, these men oftentimes proved a very ill protection for learning and antiquity. Their avarice was sometimes so mean, and their ignorance so undistinguishing, that when the covers were somewhat rich, and would yield a little, they pulled them off, threw away the books, or turned them to waste-paper. Thus many noble libraries were destroyed." Fuller, the church historian, declares² that "*all arts and sciences* fell under the common calamity. How many admirable manuscripts of the fathers, schoolmen, and commentators, were destroyed by this means? What number of historians of all ages and countries? *The holy Scriptures themselves, as much as these gossellers pretended to regard them, underwent the fate of the rest.* If a book had a cross on't, it was

¹ Collier, Eccl. Hist., vol. ii., B. iii., p. 166.

² Fuller, Ch. Hist., B. vi., p. 335.

condemned for popery ; and those with lines and circles were interpreted the black art, and destroyed for conjuring. And thus divinity was profaned, mathematics suffered for corresponding with evil spirits, physic was maimed, and riot committed on the law itself." But listen to Bishop Bale, "one of the most bitter enemies the monks ever had," as Marsham calls him,¹ and learn to do justice to the calumniated religious, and to their barbarous enemies. "Never had we been offended for the loss of our libraries, being so many in number, and in so desolate places, for the more part, if the chief monuments and most notable works of our most excellent writers had been reserved. If there had been in every shire of England but one solemn library to the preservation of those most noble works, and preferment of good learning in our posterity, it had been somewhat. But to destroy all without consideration, *is, and will, unto England, be forever, a most horrible infamy*, among the grave seniors of other nations. A great number of them which purchased these superstitious mansions, reserved those library books, some to serve their jakes, some to scour their candlesticks, and to rub their boots. Some they sold to the grocers and soapsellers, and some they sent over sea to the bookbinders ; not in small numbers, but at times *whole ships full*, to the wondering of foreign nations. Yea, the universities of this realm are not all clear in this detestable fact. But cursed is that belly which seeketh to be fed with such ungodly gains, and so deeply shameth his natural country. I know a merchantman, which shall at this time be nameless, that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings' price : a shame it is to be spoken. This stuff hath he occupied instead of gray paper for more than these ten years, and yet he hath store enough for as many years to come. A prodigious example this, and to be abhorred of all men which love their nation as they should do. Yea, what may bring our realm to more shame and rebuke, than to have it noised abroad that we are despisers of learning ? I judge this to be true, and utter it with heaviness, that neither the *Britons*, under the *Romans* and *Saxons*, nor yet the *English* people, under the *Danes* and *Normans*, had ever such damage of their learned monuments, as we have seen in our time. *Our posterity may well curse this wicked fact of our age, this unreasonable spoil of England's most noble antiquities.*"² "The monks," says another writer, "were formerly

¹ Pref. to Dugd. Mon.

² John Bale, Declaration on Leland's Journal, An. 1549. Fuller, C. H. B. vi., p. 335. Bale was Bishop of Ossery. D'Israeli, after giving a summary of the above extract from Bale, adds, "the fear of destruction induced many to hide manuscripts under ground, and in old walls. At the reformation, popular rage exhausted itself on illuminated books, or MSS. that had red letters in the title-page ; any work that was decorated was sure to be thrown into the flames as superstitious. Red letters and embellished figures were sure marks of being papistical and diabolical. We still find such volumes mutilated of the gilt letters and elegant flourishes, but the greater num-

the greater part of ecclesiastics, and the walls of convents were, for a long time, the fences of sanctity, and the better sort of literature. From that seminary came forth those mighty lights of the Christian world, Bede, Alcuinus, Willebrord, Boniface, and others, worthy of much honour for their learning, and for propagating the faith. Were it not for the monks, we had certainly ever been children in the history of our own country. Many ill consequences attended the suppression of religious houses; but it is my design at present, to take notice only of the great decay of learning that was like to ensue the dissolution: insomuch, that in Parliament held 2 and 3 Edward VI. there were bills brought in for encouraging men to give lands for the maintenance of schools of learning. And the loss of good books was irreparable, as Bale tells us.—Bale, one of the most bitter enemies the monks ever had, is forced to lament the great damage the learned world sustained at this dissolution. Indeed, those well-furnished libraries, that were in most monasteries, plainly show, that we are too much prejudiced against the monks, when we rashly condemn them as idle, ignorant, or discouragers of learning; and that, on the contrary, we ought to esteem many of them to be learned, and industrious, and promoters of several useful parts of knowledge. In every abbey there was a large room, called the scriptorium, to which belonged several writers, whose business it was to transcribe books for the use of the public library of the house. There were no less than 1700 manuscript tracts in the library at Peterborough, and the catalogue of books belonging to the priory of Dover, and the abbey of St. Mary de la Pre, at Leicester, clearly evinced that those houses had no mean libraries, and those kept in very good order. Nay, so zealous were the monks for the encouragement of learning, that they very often got churches appropriated *ad libros faciendos*, for making of books; nor were they less careful of preserving the old. The British, Irish, and Saxon monasteries were, we find, the schools and universities of those times. They were not only cells of devotion, but also nurseries of learned men for the use of the church. The works of Bede are a sufficient argument of the knowledge the monks of those times had in all parts of learning. Their skill in the learned languages was so very eminent, that 'tis reported some of them understood Greek and Latin as well as their mother tongue. When the monks were rooted out by the Danish wars, a universal ignorance overspread the land, insomuch that there was scarce any one in England that could read or write Latin; but when, by the care of King Edward and Archbishop Dunstan, monasteries were restored, learning found its former encouragement, and flourished very much within the walls of cloisters. So that Leland, who was no great friend to the monks,

ber were annihilated. Many have been found under ground, being forgotten. What escaped the flames were obliterated by the damp." *Curios. of Literature*, vol. i., p. 85.

often confesses, that in those old times there were few or no writers but monks."¹

The injury done to education and letters, nay, their almost total overthrow by the men of the "new learning," may also be clearly seen from the state of the universities immediately on the suppression of the monasteries. "The dissolution," says the historian of Oxford,² "completely destroyed all learned studies. The abbays withdrew their youth, the nobility their children, the clergy their relations; hence the number of scholars was sadly lessened, the liberal sciences were neglected, the halls abandoned. There is good reason to believe that in Oxford there were formerly 300 halls at least, whilst now we have but eight." The university libraries shared the same fate as those of the monasteries. "Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham, who died in 1345, very opportunely left all his books, 'more than all the bishops in England had then in custody,' according to Wood, to the end that the students of Durham College and of the whole university might, under certain conditions, make use of them. This was called 'Angervyle's Library,' and the books were kept in chests many years, under the custody of several scholars deputed for the purpose; until the library being built in Durham College, tempore Hen. IV., as Wood states, when the college was quadrangularly finished, about the same time with Rede's library at Mereton, the said books were there deposited in chains, in certain pews or studies. Here they remained till the dissolution of that house, and for some years after, when King Edward's visters, in their hasty and ill-directed zeal against superstition, issued injunctions for their removal, and though some are said to have found their way into the library of Baliol College, *yet these and all other libraries in Oxford were subject to the same inquisitorial havoc and spoliation.* By a decree of Convocation, January 25, 1555-6, certain persons were appointed *to sell the very benches and desks of Duke Humphrey's library*, so that it remained empty till Bodley's time. The value of these repositories of ancient lore may be estimated by some incidental notes taken of their contents by Leland, and preserved in his 'Collectanea.'"³

Many similar lamentations over the barbarous war against books and knowledge might easily be collected, but the above

¹ Marsham, Preface to Dugdale's Monasticon.

² *Literatorum studia tam penitus extinxit coenobiorum eversio. Abbates omnes suos monachos domum accersunt. Nobiles suos liberos, presbyteri suos cognatos; sic minuitur scholasticorum numerus, sic ruunt aulæ nostræ, sic frigescent omnes liberales disciplinæ, collegia solum perseverant.*—Ad munera civilia, vel etiam mechanica sese converterunt. Wood, *Antiq. Univ. Ox.*, p. 262, 265. Nam licet 300 olim, et adhuc plures, et fama constanti, et registorum fide ductus, extitisse crediderim, ad 8 jam reducissem deprehendo.—*Ibid.* p. 265.

³ Memorials of Oxford, by J. Ingram, D. D., Pres. of Trinity College. Vol. ii, art. Bodleian Lib., 1837.

facts will suffice to show, that the "men of the new learning" were the bitterest enemies to education and every thing connected with it, that ever disgraced this nation; that schools for the poor, libraries for the learned, the records and annals of our country, and the very word of God, the Holy Bible, were swept away, in indiscriminate pillage and destruction, and this under the name of reformation. Ignorance then, contempt of learning, and heedlessness of the improvement of the national mind, barbarian spoliation of whatever former and better times had founded and venerated as noble, charitable, and useful, have branded the change as hateful to God, and injurious and debasing to man.

§ 3.

Were the Monks useless or selfish?—Remarks of Gibbon, Southey, Tytler, Hume.—The Bishop's Crosier, the Monarch's Sceptre.—Court of Augmentation.—Public Discontent.—Insurrection.—The "Pilgrimage of Grace."—Defeat of the Insurgents.—New Visitation.—Suppression of the greater Monasteries.—Nunnery of Godstow.—Furness Abbey.—Coke's Institutes, curious Passage.—Henry's Extravagances.—Revenue of the monastic Houses.—Destruction of the Hospitallers.—Oxford and Cambridge.—Burn's summary.—The Bishopricks.—Bitter Fruits of Sacrilege.—Fall of Thomas Cromwell.—Dies a Catholic!—Henry's last Days.—His Character, by Mackintosh.—Singular Fact.—Note.

II. BUT if not ignorant, were not the monks at least useless and selfish? Let us look into their duties. 1st. Not to repeat that they were the schoolmasters, and chroniclers of this kingdom, as well as the preservers of ancient literature, amongst us; when we reflect that by the confession of Gibbon, "a single Benedictine monastery has produced more learned monks than both our universities,"¹ their utility could not easily be contested. But this was not by any means the extent of their usefulness: for we learn that such was the opinion of their probity that, in times of trouble, "the evidences and money of private families were oftentimes sent to these houses to be preserved. The seals of noblemen were deposited there upon their deaths; and even the king's money was sometimes lodged in them." 2d. "All the monasteries were, in effect, great *hospitals*, and were most

¹ Gibbon was not peculiar in this judgment: in an article, usually ascribed to Dr. Southey, in the Quarterly Review for December, 1811, we find the following very beautiful passage: "The world has never been so indebted to any body of men as to the illustrious order of Benedictine monks; but historians in relating the evil of which they were the occasion, too frequently forget the good which they produced. Even the commonest readers are acquainted with the arch miracle-monger, St. Dunstan, whilst the most learned of our countrymen scarcely remember the names of those admirable men, who went forth from England, and became the apostles of the North. Tinean, and Juan Fernandez are not more beautiful spots on the ocean, than Malmsbury, Lindisfarne, and Jarrow were, in the ages of our heptarchy. A communion of pious men, devoted to literature and to the useful arts, as well as to religion, seems in those days like a green oasis amid the desert."

of them obliged to relieve many poor persons every day. They were likewise *houses of entertainment* for almost all travellers." "They had been inns for the wayfaring man, who heard from afar the sound of the vesper bell, at once inviting him to repose and devotion, and who might sing his matins with the morning star, and go on his way rejoicing."¹

3d. "The nobility and gentry provided not only for their old servants, in these houses by corrodiess, but for their younger children and impoverished friends." "*No provision for the poor was required so long as the monasteries existed*; and it is not unworthy of notice that, as soon as their property was transferred to other hands, the necessity of those poor-laws, which now eat like a canker into the core of our national prosperity, began first to be discovered.² These institutions came in place of the alms-houses, the infirmaries, the retreats for the destitute and unfortunate, where the aged servant, who had survived his powers of maintaining himself, the decayed or crippled artisan, the unfriended orphan, the outcast foundling, received relief and sympathy; where charity was bestowed without grudging, and accepted without humiliation."³

These were the employments and duties of the monasteries, and these the benefits which they conferred; there the poor found a table ever spread, the traveller a place of rest, the aged an honourable retreat; thus exhibiting a picture of true hospitality and charity which could not fail to produce a salutary influence on the morals and habits of the nation, from the highest to the lowest grades of society. The money bestowed on the religious was not squandered in vice and luxury, but flowed back upon the nation wherever poverty, want, or age claimed it. Was it then to be wondered at, that the nation rose in rebellion in defence of these establishments, and had not patience to suffer themselves to be mocked with the pretence of reformation, whilst the retreats to which they had looked for knowledge in youth, assistance during life, and relief in adversity, sickness, or old age, were plundered, and in many instances left nothing but a mass of ruins? The ignorance, destitution, mendicity, and crime that resulted from the suppression of the monasteries is almost incredible. Bands of destitute poor endangered the property and often the lives of the more opulent. Thousands are said to have been brought to the scaffold, for the crime of begging for that support which had been so readily administered to their wants at the gates of the monasteries; but this severity not remedying the evil, we shall

¹ Blunt's Sketch of the Refor., p. 141.

² Ibid. p. 143, quoted by Tytler, Life of Henry VIII., p. 408. Dugdale makes the same remark: "Nor is it a little observable that, whilst the monasteries stood, there was no act for the relief of the poor. So amply did these houses give succour to them that were in want."—Dugd., Hist. of Warw., p. 805.

³ Tytler, ubi supra.

see in the subsequent reign, the unemployed poor, ordered by act of Parliament, to be branded with the letter V, and made slaves for life to inhuman masters, who had power to chain and scourge them for the slightest fault, or as their passions prompted.

But these were not the only advantages of the monastic institutions. The monks are well known to have been very easy, but they were also permanent landlords. There was no closing of the monastery-gates, to spend the proceeds of the estate in distant or foreign lands; the revenue arising from the land was scattered again over the spot where it was raised; so that here were about fifty establishments on the average, in every county, furnishing unceasing employment to numbers in their neighbourhood, besides education, food, and raiment to all that would claim them at their hands. Need we, then, be surprised, that towns rose so rapidly round the larger monasteries,¹ especially when we recollect that the monks secured their neighbourhood from the tyranny of the forest laws; or that men were eager to farm under them, "the farmers regarding themselves as a species of proprietors, always taking care to renew their leases before they expired,"² till it passed into a proverb, that it was better to be governed by the Bishop's crosier, than the Monarch's sceptre.

Such were the religious houses: founded in sound political wisdom and philanthropy; fostered by the wisest and most virtuous of our princes; rendered venerable by names glorious in history, literature and virtue; and during many glorious ages honoured by being the great sources from which this nation derived education for its youth, and support for its poor, aged, and afflicted. If it was an act of religion to destroy establishments like these, I think it would be difficult to cite a case of sacrilege. When Belshazzar but profaned the vessels consecrated to God, the Almighty interfered to punish the blasphemer; but here we have the very houses of God reduced to ruins, by men who professed to be "rendering a service to God," and who have halloed their sacrilege under the abused names of zeal and reformation.

Having vindicated, I trust satisfactorily, the character of these calumniated institutions, I will now examine hastily the machinery used in their suppression, and the light in which the pillage was viewed by the nation. "A new fiscal and judicial establishment was formed, designated the Court of Augmentation of the royal revenue. This court was to be employed in receiving surrenders of monasteries, and in adjusting the affairs consequent upon such transfers of property from the religious to the crown. It was organised upon a scale needlessly large, if the

¹ The following cities were built on absolute solitudes around the monasteries which gave them birth, Durham, Bealieu, Amesbury, Croyland, Rumsey, Peterborough, Ely, Westminster.

² Hume, *Hen. VIII.*, c. 31.

government had intended to content itself with seizing the property of the smaller convents. Hence it has been inferred that this suppression was merely intended to feel the pulse of the people as to a general confiscation of the monastic property. Stokesley, Bishop of London, plainly expressed himself convinced of this, during the debate in the House of Lords upon the proposed suppression. "These lesser houses," said the prelate, "are like thorns, soon plucked up; the great abbeys are like putrified old oaks; yet these must needs follow; and so will others in Christendom before many years are past."¹ The auditors of this court were the persons deputed to dissolve the monasteries. The exact period that elapsed between the passing of the act in Parliament that authorized the dissolution and its accomplishment, is not known, but there is reason to believe, from the accounts of the suppression of the monasteries in and about Bristol, that within three months the whole machinery was at work. "Four, or any three of the auditors were commissioned to execute the instructions of every particular visitation. They were to signify to every house its dissolution, and show them their commission. An oath was to be administered to the head of the establishment respecting its wealth and condition; the convent seals and writings were to be secured, an inventory taken of the plate and moveables, and the inmates disposed of according to certain fixed regulations."² By a clause in the act, the king had been empowered to found all or any of these establishments anew; a provision which, by opening a gleam of hope to the religious, induced them to endeavour, by money and promises, to purchase a recommendation to the royal mercy from the commissioners. Hence, "I find," observes Bishop Burnet,³ "great trading in bribes at this time, which is not to be wondered at, when there was so much to be shared." On the other hand, a clause in the same act, having authorized the king to dispose of this property to his heirs and assigns, "to do and use therewith according to their own wills, to the pleasure of Almighty God, and to the honour and profit of this realm;" those "assigns" were equally solicitous to hasten the dissolution. Between the two parties, Cromwell⁴ and his auditors⁵ reaped a rich harvest. About a hundred monasteries obtained a respite from instant destruction; of which a large portion were eventually temporarily refounded by the king, though not without liberal sacrifices of money and lands as some kind of compensa-

¹ Soames, *Hist. of Refor.*, vol. ii., p. 96, 102.

² Burnet, *Hist. of Refor.*, vol. i., p. 344.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 347.

⁴ See letters on this subject, Cleop. E. iv., fol. 135, 146, 205, 216, 220, 257, 264, 269.

⁵ Stevens has published a document, giving the names of the reprieved houses; the names also of those confirmed when the paper was written. Forty-six had certainly been confirmed or refounded; of five others the writer doubted, and out of this number thirty-three had previously been promised by Henry to different persons. Stevens, *Monast.* ii., app. p. 17.

tion. Of the dispersed religious, it has been observed, that the heads of houses were provided for by pensions for life; the monks who had not reached the age of twenty-four were absolved from their vows and turned adrift without any provision; the rest were divided into two classes, one of which was dispersed amongst the larger monasteries, and the other, desirous of a change of profession, was told to apply to Cromwell or Cranmer, by whom situations would be provided suited to their respective abilities. The lot of the nuns was more distressing. Each received a single gown, and without any further assistance was forced into the world to live on the charity or commiseration of others.

Discontent had long festered in the public mind. The divorces from his queen, the assertions of a spiritual supremacy, though acquiesced in near the court, had strenuous opponents in the provinces, where the people were as firmly as ever attached to the faith of their fathers; each succeeding innovation ripened the inclination to revolt; but when the ancient establishments were subverted, the monks driven to wander and narrate their cruel treatment from hamlet to hamlet, the poor derived of their usual support at the gates of the convent,¹ thousands were ready to listen to suggestions of revenge, and to believe it their duty or interest to try, by the strong arm of force, to redress wrongs which, in some way or other, came to their own hearths, and affected their own comforts.²

"To compose these discontents, first, many books were published to show what crimes, cheats, and impostures, those religious persons were guilty of, yet that wrought not much on the people; for they said, why were not these abuses severely punished and reformed? But must whole houses and the succeeding generations be punished for the fault of a few? Most of these reports were also denied, and even those who before envied the ease and plenty in which the abbots and monks lived, began now to pity them, and condemned the proceedings against them. But to allay the general discontent, Cromwell advised the king to sell their lands at very easy rates to the gentry in the several counties, obliging them, since they had them on such terms, to keep up the wonted hospitality. This drew on the gentry apace both to be satisfied with what was done, and to assist the crown forever in the defence of those laws, their own interest being so interwoven with the rights of the crown. The commoner sort, who, like those of old who followed Christ for the loaves, were most concerned for the loss of a good dinner on a holyday, or when they went over the country about their business, were now also in a great measure satisfied, when they heard that all to whom those lands were given were obliged under heavy forfeitures³ to keep

¹ Lincolnshire Remonstrance, apud Speed, 1033.

² Burnet, 192, 222.

³ The grantees were ordered, under the penalty of ten marks per month to keep on

up the hospitality; and when they saw that put in practice, their discontent, which lay chiefly in their stomach, was appeased."¹

But the king's efforts to still the rising storm proved ineffectual. Some of the gentry might be bribed into acquiescence, but the mass of the gentry and nation viewed with horror the destruction of objects which had been consecrated to God for ages, and from which they themselves had reaped so many advantages and blessings. The harvest was gathered in peace, but when the close of its more absorbing cares afforded a respite, the popular discontent soon ripened into open resistance. "The immediate occasion of revolt was supplied by the injunction of the vicegerent to the clergy in autumn, 1536, which directed them 'to proclaim, for a time, on every Sunday, and afterwards twice in each quarter, that the Bishop of Rome's usurped power had no foundation in the law of God; to abstain from extolling images, relics, or pilgrimages, and to exhort the people to teach their children the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in English.' These injunctions seemed to be inoffensive and almost inefficacious; but some risk must be incurred by attempts to introduce innovations, however small, into the public worship of a people—the most frequently recurring of all collective acts, and the only solemnity in which all take an active and equal part."² Besides, this was the first clear act of spiritual supremacy exercised by the king, independently of the convocation of the clergy,³ and though the injunction principally regarded matters of mere discipline, "it was nevertheless concluded, that whatsoever the king said of his maintaining the old doctrine, yet he was now changing it."⁴

"An insurrection first broke out in Lincolnshire, the county where the first visitation of religious houses had taken place. Twenty thousand men appeared in open revolt, headed or incited by Mackrel,⁵ who assumed the name of Captain Cobler. Their proposals were extremely moderate, chiefly directed, indeed, against the upstarts preferred in church and state."⁶ "They transmitted to the king, in very respectful language, a statement of the causes which had aroused their spirit of resistance. These the estates an honest house and household, and to plough the same number of acres, which had been ploughed on an average of the last twenty years. This obligation and its penalties, says Fuller, *C. Hist.*, b. vi., p. 328, stood in full force above eighty years, viz. till the 21st of King James, when by act of Parliament they were repealed. Many of the English gentry knew themselves subject to such penalties, instead of maintaining tillage, they had converted the granges of abbies into inclosures; and therefore provided for their own safety, when they wrought the king into a revocation of these statutes."

¹ Burnet, *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. i., p. 346.

² Mackintosh, *Hist. of England*, vol. ii., p. 214.

³ Burnet, *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. i., p. 349.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 351.

⁵ He had been prior of Barlings, a convent recently suppressed.

⁶ The laymen principally complained of were Cromwell and Rich; the churchmen, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Dublin, the Bishops of Rochester, Salisbury, and St. David's, whose chief aim was said to be to subvert the church of Christ.

were, the suppression of so many convents,¹ some restrictions upon testamentary bequests, the subsidy of a fifteenth then demanded, the admission of low-born advisers among the royal counsellors, the subversion of the faith by some of the bishops, and apprehensions lest the system of spoliation by which the monasteries had already suffered so severely, should soon be extended even to the parish churches. It being justly thought that an answer to this application would be more respected if accompanied by an armed force, the Duke of Suffolk was charged to levy troops, and to proceed with all haste into Lincolnshire.² The reply was couched in the most irritating terms, and served only to inflame the rage of the insurgents. Suffolk was quickly apprized, by some in the opposite camp, of the imprudence that had been committed, and news arriving that the north, from the borders of Scotland to the Lune and the Humber, was in a flame, obtained leave to negotiate, and by skilfully working on the hopes and fears of the multitudes, saw the mass gradually melt away; part into peaceful retirement, the rest to swell the more formidable insurrection of the whole of five northern counties. They were led into the field by Robert Ask, a man of some property in Yorkshire. They assumed the title of a "Pilgrimage of Grace," proceeding in this array to implore with joint prayers "the grace or favour of God." On their banners were painted, on one side, the image of Christ crucified; on the other, the chalice and host, the emblems of their belief. All who joined their standard were required to swear "that they entered into the Pilgrimage of Grace, for the love which they bore to Almighty God, his faith, his holy church, and the maintenance thereof; to the preservation of the king's person and his issue; to the purifying of the nobility; and to expulse all villain blood, and evil counsellors from his grace and privy-council; not for any private profit, nor to do displeasure to any private person, nor to slay or murder through envy, but for the restitution of the church and the suppression of heretics and their opinions." Wherever they appeared, the ejected monks were restored to their possessions, and the inhabitants compelled to join the army.³ Their numbers soon swelled to forty thousand men.⁴ "The garrison of Scarborough were faithful. Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, held out in his castle of Skipton. The other strongholds of the north, such as York and Hull, fell into the hands of the insurgents. At Pomfret castle, Ask persuaded or compelled the Archbishop of York, and the Lord Darcy, to take the oath and join his army. Lord Dacre, of Gilliesland, bravely refused to make any concessions to those

¹ "Whereby the service of God is not only minished, but also the poreality of your realm be unrelieved, and many persons be put from their livings, and left at large, which we think is a great hindrance to the commonwealth." *Lincolnshire Remonstrance*, ap. Speed, 1033.

² Soames, *Hist. of Refor.*, vol. ii., p. 208.

³ Speed, 1033.

⁴ Burnet, *Hist. of Refor.*, vol. i., p. 355

who were masters. In the course of negotiations which ensued, Ask, seated on a chair of state in the castle of Pomfret, having the Archbishop of York on his right hand, and the Lord Darcy on his left, received a herald from the Earl of Shrewsbury, the commander of the king's troops. Ask refused to allow the herald to read out the proclamation of which he was the bearer, but sent him back to Lord Shrewsbury, with a safe conduct. On the 6th of December, 1536, after the king had arrived at Doncaster with a superior force, the Lords Scroop, Latimer, Lumley, and Darcy, Sir F. Piercy, Robert Ask, and about three hundred others, on the part of the insurgents, met the Duke of Norfolk, and Sir William Fitzwilliam, on behalf of the king, in order to consider terms of compromise."¹ The clergy that favoured the insurgents had, in convocation at Pontefract, "agreed to the following demands: a general pardon to be granted, a Parliament to be held at York; and courts of justice to be there, that none on the north of Trent might be brought to London upon any law-suit. They desired a repeal of some acts of Parliament; those for the late subsidy, for uses, for making words misprision of treason, and for the clergy paying their tenths and first-fruits to the king. They desired the Princess Mary might be restored to her right of succession; the Pope to his wonted jurisdiction, and the monks to their houses again; that the Lutherans might be punished, that Audley, the lord chancellor, and Cromwell, the lord privy-seal, might be excluded from the next Parliament; and Lee and Leighton, that had visited the monasteries, might be imprisoned for bribery and extortion."² These demands were rejected; preparations were made to bring the matter to the issue of battle; when Norfolk, seeing how critical and hazardous was his situation, and that the defeat of the king's force would be the signal for a more general revolt; by remonstrance and supplication succeeded in obtaining from the king the promise of a general indemnity; and an order that the book of articles lately sanctioned by the convocation should be diligently circulated, with a special injunction to the clergy, to be more than ever particular in the observance of the usual ceremonies and practices of the Catholic church; and a promise that the grievances complained of should be carefully discussed in the Parliament shortly to be assembled at York. But when the insurgents had dispersed, Henry neglected to redeem his promise; the people, within two months, again armed in vindication of what they deemed their duty and rights, but the king's forces had been judiciously distributed so as to prevent any numerous combination, so that their attempts everywhere failed, their leaders fell into the hands of the royalists, of whom Ask, Darcy, and many others were brought to the scaffold at London; whilst their followers were hanged by scores at

¹ Mackintosh, *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. ii., p. 215.

² Burnet, *Hist. of Refor.*, vol. ii., p. 358.

York, Hull, and Carlisle, until a general pardon announced or restored tranquillity.¹

The late rebellion had taught the king his power, and the enemies of his late conduct, the folly and danger of farther resistance. The religious had been deprived of some of their firmest supporters, and others were awed into submission by these fears. "This encouraged the king to go on in his other designs of suppressing the rest of the monasteries. Therefore, there was a new visitation appointed for all the monasteries of England."² The visitors were directed to examine particularly how the religious had conducted themselves during the late rebellion; whether the king's supremacy was fully recognised, and if any writings unfavourable to it could be detected in any of the monasteries: what was the moral conduct of the inmates, and whether any cheats had been practised by them on the credulity of the people.

In the mean time, whilst this visitation was proceeding, the king, having subdued the living enemies of his supremacy, turned his attention to the dead. St. Thomas of Canterbury, two centuries and a half previously, had defended the immunities of the church against the encroachments of Henry II. His opposition had cost him his life, and a grateful clergy and people had thenceforward venerated his memory and his tomb. But the king thought proper to persuade himself that the respect paid to the martyred bishop, was a reproach to himself in his assumed supremacy, and fancied that the example of the prelate might find imitators as well as admirers amongst his own subjects. Accordingly he resolved first to uncanonize the martyr, which was attempted, with other changes, in a royal declaration entitled, "certain injunctions set forth by the authority of the king against English books, sects, or sacramentaries, also with putting down the day of Thomas Becket." In this production it is announced, that "the king, by the advice of his council, declared, that there appeared nothing in Thomas Becket's life and conversation whereby he should be called a saint, but rather be esteemed a rebel and a traitor; and therefore, the king required and commanded that henceforth Becket shall not be called a saint, but Bishop Becket; and that his images and pictures, throughout the whole realm, shall be plucked down out of the churches and chapels, and his days used to be festival shall not be observed; and all services and offices, antiphons, &c., shall be razed out of all books, and that his holy days shall not be solemnized."³ The king's attorney-general was next instructed to exhibit a criminal information against the martyr, "by which he was cited to appear in court, and answer to the charges brought against him."⁴ The usual canonical period of thirty days was allowed to intervene, when "Thomas Becket, sometime Bishop of Canterbury,"

¹ Hardwick's State Papers, p. 28, 29, &c.

² Burnet, vol. i., p. 359—363.

³ Strype, Eccl. Mem., vol. i., p. 551.

⁴ Tytler, Mem. of Henry VIII., p. 391.

not appearing, the king in his mercy was pleased to appoint him a counsel, despite whose efforts, he was solemnly condemned as a traitor; and his goods and personalties declared forfeit to the crown. His bones were ordered to be exhumed and publicly burnt, as a warning to the living, of the consequences of resisting the king's spiritual authority.¹ "After his condemnation, his shrine, which was covered with plates of gold, and adorned by the zeal of former times with gems of large size and exquisite lustre, was entirely broken up. The spoil of this monument, says Godwin, wherein nothing was meaner than gold, filled two chests so full, that each required eight strong men to bear them away. Among the jewels was a stone of especial lustre, called the Royal of France, which had been offered by Lewis the Seventh, in the year 1179, with a massy cup of gold. This stone Henry highly prized, and afterwards continually wore in a ring on his finger."²

In the mean while the visitors had fulfilled their directions, and begun the suppression of the greater monasteries. Parliament, we have seen, had declared that in those establishments, "religion was right well kept and observed;" other pretences were then to be devised instead of the charges of immorality and idleness, brought to bear against the smaller establishments. Such pretences are, of course, never wanting when men are resolved to commit injustice, and the temptation is sufficiently inviting. The chief pretence now was a voluntary surrender. The abbots, monks, and nuns, were at once to grow wearied of their possessions, habits, and employments, and to implore the king, in his tender mercy and goodness, to take upon himself the trouble and responsibility of managing their revenues and houses, for the good of the nation. This was the hypocritical farce now to be enacted, to throw an appearance of justice and even kindness over the wholesale robbery, thus adding mockery to cruelty. The late rebellion was a sword ready drawn to the king's hand with which to smite all who could be shown to have favoured it, or whose loyalty could be compromised by any art or slander. I will give a few specimens of houses of importance suppressed, and of the pretexts made use of, that a competent judgment may be formed of the methods used to confiscate the whole.

Fuller is of opinion that Christchurch Priory, near Aldgate, London, was the first of the larger monasteries that was dissolved. "As for the manner of dissolving thereof, whereas *all* abbeys afterwards *were stormed by violence, whatever is plausibly pretended to the contrary*, this only was fairly taken by composition. For the prior thereof was sent for by the king, commended for his hospitality, promised preferment, as a man worthy of greater dignity. Whereupon he surrendered the same to the king's use."³ No monastery had suffered more in character from

¹ See Wilk. Conc. iii. 835, 836, 841, 848.

² Tytler, p. 391. Godwin, p. 160.

³ Fuller, C. H., b. vi., p. 307.

the reports of the visitors than this. By them the monks were represented as given up to every species of immorality, and yet, as if to give the lie in the plainest manner to the accusations of Henry's agents, when Archbishop Cranmer named the clergy for the service of his cathedral, he selected from these very men no fewer than eight prebendaries, ten minor canons, nine scholars, and two choristers.¹ He knew their character, for he had long resided near them, and respect for his own reputation must have prevented him from appointing men on whose moral conduct there was any real stigma. The system adopted in this instance was not uncommon, as appears from the valuable pensions bestowed on those who resigned their monasteries readily,² when compared with the mere pittance of the more refractory or honest. In sundry instances a ready method had been provided for dissolving houses from which trouble had been anticipated: "upon a vacancy, either by death or deprivation, they had put in an abbot only to resign up the house. After the king's supremacy was established, all the abbots were placed by the king, and were generally picked out to serve this turn; others, in hope of advancement to bishoprics, or to be suffragan bishops, as the inferior sort of them were made generally, were glad to recommend themselves to the king's favour, by a quick and cheerful surrender of their monastery. Upon some of these inducements it was, that the greatest number of the religious houses were resigned to the king."³ Thus bribery, simony, and the intrusion of men, who had betrayed their trust and conscience, into the highest dignities of the Church, were the methods used to effect this injustice, coloured with the gloss of religion and zeal for God. The regularity and usefulness of some of these houses was such that the stony hearts of the visitors were melted, and these harpies forgot for a moment their interest.⁴ But "the resolution was taken at once to extirpate all." And, on one of these occasions the king, as if to stifle all pity effectually for the future, declared that the recommendation proceeded not from duty, but from bribery.

The Nunnery of Godstow may be cited as a specimen of what were called 'voluntary surrenders.' It was one of those establishments for which "the visitors had interceded, where there was great strictness of life; and to which most of the young gentlewomen of the county were sent to be bred; so that the gentry of the county had desired the king would spare the house."⁵ In a letter to Cromwell, the abbess thus describes the proceedings of the visitor, who in this instance was the notorious Dr. London. "D. London is sodenlie cummyd unto me with a greate rowte with him, and doth threaten me and my sisters, saying that he

¹ Stevens, *Monast.*, i. 386.

² The pensions to the heads of houses are found to vary from £266, to £6, per annum.

³ Burnet, *Hist. of Ref.*, vol. i., p. 366. ⁴ *Ibid.* p. 368. ⁵ Burnet, *ubi sup.*, p. 368.

hath the king's commission to suppress this house, *spyte of my tethe*. When I shewde him playne that I wolde never surrender to his hande, being my awncyent enemye, he now begins to in-trete me, and invegle my sisters one by one, otherwise than I ever herde tell that the king's subjects had been handelyd; and here taryeth, and contynueth to my grete coste and charges, and will not take my answere, that I will not surrender, till I know the king's gracious commandment, or your good lordship's...And notwithstanding that Dr. London, like an untrew man, hath informed your lordship that I am a spoiler and a waster, your good lordship shall know that the contrarie is trewe; for I have not alienatyed one halporthe of the goods of this monasterie moveable or immoveable."¹ These accusations of spoliation were exceedingly common and serviceable. Dugdale, in the passage already quoted at length, instances the Abbots of Fountaines and Glastonbury, the former of whom "for taking into his private hands some jewels belonging to the monastery, which they called theft and sacrilege, was pronounced perjured and deposed," whilst the latter was with two of his monks barbarously put to death. So that an attempt to rescue any portion of their own wealth from the rapacious hands of these visitors, was theft punishable with death.

The suppression of Furness abbey may be cited as an example of the advantage taken of the late rebellions. At the head of this part of the commission was the Earl of Sussex. All the members of the abbey, even to the tenants and servants, were privately examined as to their knowledge of assistance of any kind furnished to the insurgents. The inquisition was held in vain, as its proceedings terminated without implicating the abbot or the brotherhood. From Furness the commissioners proceeded to Whalley, at which place the Abbot of Furness was summoned to undergo a fresh examination, and with the same result. In these circumstances, writes the earl to Henry, "devising with myselef, yf one way would not serve how and by what means the said monks might be ryd from the said abbey, and consequently how the same might be at your graceous pleasur, I determined to assay him as of myself, whether he would be contented to surrender, giff and graunt unto (you) your heirs and assigans the sayd monastery: which things so opened to the abbot farely, we found him of a very facile and ready mynde to follow my advice in that behalf." A deed as usual was presented to him to sign, preluded with the customary² condemnation of the monastery over which he had presided; "the misor-

¹ Cleop. E. iv., p. 238.

² "In several houses, the visitors, who were generally either masters of chancery or auditors of the court of augmentations, studied not only to bring them to resign their houses, but to sign confessions of their past lewd and dissolute lives."—Burnet, Hist. of Refor., vol. i., p. 367.

der and evil rule, both unto God and the king, of the brethren of the said abbey," moving him to surrender to the king its wealth, revenues, and lands. The history of Furness is that of the greater monasteries of the north. They were transferred by one expedient or another to the crown, despite the innocence and opposition of the inmates; and as the transfer of the spiritual authority from the Pope to the king was called a reformation, so this seizure of property was designated a voluntary surrender.¹

It may assist the imagination to fancy the horrible nature of the spoliation of things sacred, to give a few specimens of the nature of the property destroyed, and of the havoc made of the splendid monuments of the piety of our ancestors. In a letter to Cromwell, Richard Bellasise, one of the visiters, gives the following account of the destruction of Jervaux abbey: "Pleasyth your good lordshipp to be advertysed, I have taken down all the leade of Jervase, and made itt in pecys of half foders, which leade amountyth to the number of 18 score and five foders, with thirty and five foders that were there before; and the said leade cannot be conveyt nor carryed until the next sombre, for the ways in this contre are so foule and deep, that no caryage can pass in wyntre; and as concernyng the rasing and taking downe of the house, iff itt be your Lordshipp's pleasure, I am mindeth to lett itt stand to the spring of the year, by reason of the days are now so short, itt would be double charges to do itt now; and as concernyng the selling of the bells, I cannot sell them above 15 shillings the hundreth, wherein I wolde gladly know your Lordshipp's pleasure, whether I shall sell them after that price, or send them up to London; and iff they be sent up, surely the caryage will be costly from that place to the water; and as for Brydlington, I have doyn nothing there, but spareth itt to March, because the days are now so short; and from such times as I begyn, I trust shortly to dispatche itt, after such fashion, that when all is finished, I trust your Lordshipp shall think that I have been no evil howsbound in all such things as your Lordshipp appointed me to do; and thus the Holy Ghost ever preserve your Lordshipp in honour."

"When the abbey of Leicester was surrendered, Cave, one of the commissioners, informs Cromwell, that himself and the other visiters had made a sale of the ornaments of the church, amounting to £228, besides the plate, lead, bells, &c. From hence he proceeds to desire the vicar-general's orders for defacing the church, and other superstitious buildings."²

An ordinary observer would, perhaps, seek in vain for any good to be derived from dismantling the churches, and would fancy that the mere expense of destroying the splendid specimens of English art would have secured them from the axes of the

¹ West, Hist. of Furness, App. x., 4, 5, 6, 7.

² Collier, Ecc. H., vol. ii., b. iii., p. 161.

spoilors. But as long as the abbeys stood, they offered a ready asylum to the ejected monks on any change in their favour, and rendered the purchase of the lands a very hazardous speculation. These fears strewed England with ruins, which to this day endure, despite the neglect and waste of centuries, as specimens of England's former splendour and piety, the glory at once and the disgrace of our land. What are now our cathedrals, were, in many instances, formerly but a portion of the mighty abbeys, the churches of those establishments, and we have reason to believe that the most splendid were not spared. The unrivalled pile at Westminster, the venerable resting-place of so many of our kings, still retains its designation as the abbey-church. The mitred abbey of Peterborough, the church of the dissolved monastery of St. Frideswide, the abbey-church of Gloucester, that of St. Augustine at Bristol, of St. Werburgh in Chester, are among the abbatial churches that have escaped. Fountains had been designed as the seat of another bishopric, but the design was abandoned, and the church shared the common fate: though "the unequalled magnificence of its ruins enforces a conviction, that the conventual church was more than usually deserving of preservation."¹

How many were thus doomed to wander far for a place wherein to worship God, to weep over the ruins of edifices, the ornaments, the schools, and the asylums of their neighbourhood, in piety erected, and under pretence of piety destroyed, and to wonder that scenes of plunder unparalleled, bribery, devastation, and the display of the worst passions of human nature, should be announced as the dawn of a new light, and the glorious effects of a reformation.

After what we have seen of the real object of the king in suppressing the religious houses, it is scarcely necessary to contrast the declared uses to which the enormous sums acquired were promised to be applied, with their actual malversation. However, for a perfect exposure of the hypocrisy of the whole transaction, I will transcribe the following curious passage from Coke's *Institutes*:² "The project was that, if the Parliament would give unto the king all the abbeys, priories, friaries, nunneries, and other monasteries, that forever in time then to come, he would take order that the same should not be converted to private uses; but first, that his exchequer, for the purposes aforesaid, should be enriched; secondly, the kingdom strengthened by a continual maintenance of forty thousand well-trained soldiers, with skilful captains and commanders; thirdly, for the benefit and ease of the subject, who never afterwards, (as was projected,) in any time to come, should be charged with subsidies, fifteenths, loans, or other common aids; fourthly, lest the honour of the realm should receive any diminution by the dissolution of the said monasteries, there being twenty-nine lords of

¹ Soames, *Hist. of Refor.*, vol. ii., p. 288.

² *Inst.* 4th, c. i., p. 44.

Parliament of the abbots and priors, (that held of the king *per baroniam*,) that the king would create a number of nobles, which we omit. The said monasteries were given to the king by divers acts of Parliament, but no provision was therein made for the said project, or any part thereof, only *ad faciendum populum*. These possessions were given to the king, his heirs, and successors, to do and use therewith his and their own wills, to the pleasure of Almighty God, the honour and profit of the realm. Now observe the catastrophe. In the same Parliament of the 32d of Henry VIII., when the great and opulent priory of St. John's of Jerusalem was given to the king, (and which was the last monastery seized upon,) he demanded and had a subsidy both of laity and clergy; and the like he had in the 34th of Henry VIII. and 37th of Henry VIII., and since the dissolution of the aforesaid monasteries, he exacted great loans, and against law received the same." According to this eminent lawyer, the advantage to be derived to the nation from the acquisition of so much additional revenue was a mere pretext to deceive the people; and so clearly it was, for as the plunder was acquired by injustice, so did it melt away in vice, luxury, and compensation for acquiescence or assistance in the spoliation.

"The ease with which his wealth was acquired led him to carelessness and profusion. Personal gratifications, and an almost unlimited compliance with the importunities of those abject and insinuating sycophants¹ whose levity and adulation too generally amuse the idle hours and feed the pride of greatness, quickly despatched the bulk of those treasures which convents had supplied. In this early distribution of monastic opulence there was, however, something of policy. Cromwell recommended that, by means of numerous grantees, a party should be formed, interested in the dissolution, strong enough to render hopeless any prospect of restoring monkery. This shrewd advice was sufficiently agreeable to Henry's habits and inclinations. Never, accordingly, before, since the Conquest, did so many families suddenly rise to opulence, as soon after the dissolution. Not only were the most distinguished courtiers and officers of state enabled to enrich their posterity by a splendid inheritance of abbey-land, but even humbler individuals, who came in contact with the king, watched their opportunity to solicit for a share of this extensive property. So notorious did Henry's prodigality become, that stories were in circulation of his having rewarded with an estate, a servant who had put him into a good humour, by placing his chair at a convenient distance from the fire. Even by gambling, it is said, some of the conventual property passed into the hands of his subjects.² Stow tells us that the

¹ Some of their letters of supplication may be seen in Strype, i., p. 419—425.

² What Soames gives in the above passage, vol. ii., p. 293, as a mere rumour, is a fact attested by a bitter enemy of the monks, Bale, Bishop of Ossery, who mentions

king, on one occasion, "made a grant to a gentlewoman of a religious house, for presenting him with a dish of puddings, which happened to oblige his palate; that he played away many a thousand a year belonging to the monasteries; and particularly that *Jesus bells, belonging to a steeple not far from St. Paul's, London*, very remarkable both for their size and music, *were lost at one throw* to Sir Miles Partridge."¹

Here then we have a curious page opened to us in the history of the Reformation. The wealth conferred on the house of God invaded by gamblers, and debauchees, the bells that had summoned to prayer generation after generation, become the reward of a successful fling at dice, and the chalices that had been purpled with the blood of Christ, made the drinking-cups of lecherous profligates in their drunken orgies, and the very jewels consecrated to the dead, worn by the living as if in mockery, not of religion only, but of decency and humanity. We have a scramble for the decorations and valuables of the churches throughout the land, of which I will give an additional example from the history of a splendid monument in our neighbourhood, the Collegiate Church at Southwell. "After my hearty commendacons, the king's majestie beyng credably informed that ye lately have not oonely determined and concluded amonges yourselves to make sale of all the plate apptaynyng unto that your colledge, and to employe the monaie which shall ryse and growe by reason of the sale of the same to your own uses and comoditie, but also that ye have and entende to make spoile of other things which donne apptayne to your said colledge, as sellyng and fellyng of woods, graunting annuytes, mekyng of leases, and other extraordinarie graunts contrarie to the godlie meanyge entended and proposed by the king's majestie upon your erection, haythe commanded me to will and chardge you on hys majesties behalf as well to stay the sale of the foresayde plate and woodes, as to cease the grauntynge of sutche other extraordinarie things as ye will answer at your parrill. And further, that ye as shortelie, and with as much expedecion as ye convenyentlie may, doe certyfie me in writynge of the hole estate and condicion of your said colledge, and of all the plate, jewelles, and goodes apptaynyng to the same, as it was at the feaste of Saynte Mychalle Tharchaungel last past, and is now at thys present, to thentente that his Hieghnes may therebye perceive whether the sayd information to hyme geven aganste you be true or not, wherfor faile ye not to make due certificate as ye wyll avoyde his Hieghness displeasure. Thus fare ye hertily well,

worse methods of squandering the plunder of churches, than gambling: "*a great part of this treasure was turned to the upholding of dice-playing, masking, and banquetting: yea,*" he adds, "(I would I could not by just occasion speak it,) *bribing, w, and swearing.*"—Bale, ap. Strype, i., 346.

¹ Stow, in the Survey of London, Faringdon Ward.

from my house in London, the 13th of Maie, your loveinge friende, Edwarde Northe."¹

Turning from the royal and clerical to the inferior plunderers and visiters, I will give one specimen in Dr. London, whose name has been most frequently before us in these scenes of rapine. "I find him," says Fuller,² "though employed to correct others, no great saint himself, for afterwards he was publicly convicted of perjury, and adjudged to ride with his face to the horse's tail, through Windsor and Ockingham, with papers about his head denoting his crime; which was done accordingly."

There is one view of the effects of the dissolution of monasteries which, as it still touches the pecuniary interests of the clergy of the present establishment, is seen in a very clear light by the sufferers. "There was, indeed, one very considerable branch of the conventual revenues which ought, in justice, to have been restored to the church. The religious houses had gradually but perseveringly encroached upon the parochial clergy, until they had deprived that useful body of not less than two-fifths of the tithes set apart for their maintenance. The suppression of the religious houses vested in the crown all the appropriations of religious houses, and hence many of the best tithe estates have become irrecoverably lay fees. Of this arrangement it is not one of the least evils, that the largest cures are commonly the worst endowed. The lay impropriations are, indeed, the principal cause of the straitened circumstances in

¹ Letter of Sir E. Northe, chancellor of the court of augmentations to the chapter of Southwell, as given in Dickenson's *History of Southwell*, ap. vii., p. 350. There are two other letters from the same quarter which merit to be transcribed: "I commend me unto you, the Kynge's majestie beyng credably enformed, that besides the great spoilles and sales by you lately committed and done of the wooddes, plate and jewelles, ornaments and other goodes apptaynyng to your college to your singular benefitte and lucre, ye have practysed unlawfullye to sell a chalice and a crosse of gold, garnished and sett with dyverse kinds of precious stones belongynge to the sayde colledge, haith commanded me therefore, forthwith to address these my letters unto youe wyllynge and commaundyng you on his majesties behalf not oonlye to stay and cease these your unlawfule practyses, but also to appointe two of the discreetest Prebendaries there to repair hitherunto me with all convenyente diligence after the receipte hereof, and to bryng with them the saide chalice and cross of gold, to the intent I may shewe the same unto his grace, accordynge to his majesties pleasure in that behalf, and further to declare yourselfe in all sutch things as then shall be objected and layde to your charge concernynge the same spoylles, not failying the due accomplishment herof as ye will answer at your parryl."

Letter III. To my loving Friends the Prebendaries of Southwell. After my hertie commendations, theis shall be to signifie unto youe the king's majestie comandement is, that I shoulde on his Hieghness behauff addresse this my letter unto youe, wyllynge youe by the same, immediately upon the receipte herof, to send unto his Hieghnes the altuar table of silver and gilt, which remaynyeth in your church, havinge the pictures of our Ladie and other saynets in the same, bythands of Mr. Adams, who is oone of the Prebendaries of your colledge with a just and true inventorie of all other parcells of plate and other jewelles and goodes, given unto your colledge by the King's Hieghnes at the time of the erection of the same, with a playne and true declaration how much thereof is goon, and how the same is bestowed."

² C. H., b. vi., p. 317.

which so many of the English clergy pass their lives. To the same source must also be traced the pluralities, non-residence, and scanty provision for unbeneficed ministers, which furnish the envious, the ill-informed, and the malignant adversaries of our church establishment, with a never-failing supply of specious topics for illiberal declamation."¹

The king, however, whether from scruple of conscience, to appease the popular discontent, or to give some appearance of zeal for religion in the midst of so many injuries inflicted upon it, made up his mind to refund a small portion of that enormous mass of wealth which he had plundered from the church and the service of God. He designed to establish, as appears from a sketch still extant under his own hand, to establish eighteen new bishoprics with colleges attached. The revenues were fixed, the dioceses arranged, upon paper, but dwindled in the event to six bishoprics, so poorly endowed that their incumbents found themselves unable to appear in the splendour which has been supposed essential or useful to the dignity and authority of the episcopacy. "In December was the abbey of Westminster converted into a bishop's see, and a deanery and twelve prebends, with the offices for a cathedral and a choir. And in the year following, the king erected out of the monastery of St. Werburg at Chester, a bishopric, a deanery, and six prebends. In September, out of the monastery of St. Peters, at Gloucester, the king endowed a bishopric, a deanery, and six prebendaries. And in the same month, the abbey of Peterborough was converted to a bishop's seat, a deanery, and six prebendaries. And, to lay the whole matter together, two years after this, the abbey of Osney, in Oxford, was converted into a bishopric, a deanery, and six prebends. And the monastery of St. Austins, in Bristol, was changed into the same use.² But, of these six foundations, one soon perished, that of Winchester, over which Bishop Thirlby alone presided: "for in the sixth year of King Edward, the bishopric of Westminster was dissolved by the king's letters patent. Most of the lands of Westminster were invaded by the great men of the court, the rest laid out for the reparation of St. Paul's, pared almost to the very quick in those days of rapine. From hence came that significant by-word of *robbing Peter to pay Paul*."³ So that "in the space of twenty years it had been changed from an abbey to a deanery, from a deanery to a see episcopal, and from that reduced again to a deanery; and, lastly, by Queen Elizabeth, having first pleased herself in the choice of some of the best lands belonging to it, it was to be called the Collegiate Church of St. Peters, in Westminster."⁴

The king's extravagances and the rapacity of his court and

¹ Soames, Hist. of Refor., vol. ii., p. 291—296.

² Burnet, Hist. of Refor., vol. i. p. 463.

³ Heylin, Hist. of Refor., p. 121.

⁴ Heylin, Hist. of Refor., p. 136.

agents rendered it impossible for him to divert any large portion of the monastic revenues from his pleasures and wants to the good of religion. And yet, "according to Lord Herbert, from the different suppressions, an annual income of £161,100, was placed at the king's disposal:¹ a sum amounting to above one-third of the whole ecclesiastical revenues of England as then existing. This estimate of the noble author, however, includes the proceeds derived eventually from colleges, chantries, and hospitals: foundations not at first dissolved.² The whole landed income of England appears to have been rated, a short time before the suppression of monasteries, at four millions annually; and hence it has been thought probable that the regulars and the chantry priests conjointly did not consume a twentieth part of the rents derived from agriculture.³ An immense accumulation of valuable property seems to have been transferred from the monasteries to the royal exchequer. Bullion, to the value of five thousand marks, was found in the abbey of Bury alone.⁴ An exact account, however, of the spoils derived from the monasteries will probably never be discovered: both the sovereign, and those whose fortunes were founded upon conventual property,⁵ were obviously

¹ Equal to about two millions of our money.

² The abbays suppressed at first in England and Wales were 645, as Camden reports: but the list of them taken out of the court of First Fruits and Tenths amounts to the number of 754. And therefore it is likely the 110 hospitals dissolved were thrown into the catalogue." Collier, ii. 164. Camden, as stated, reckons the greater monasteries at 645, and Stowe, Ann., p. 572, the smaller monasteries at 376, giving a total of 1021 religious houses suppressed. Mr. Nasmith, in his edition of Tanner's Notitia, has given us from the Liber Regis and other sources, as accurate an account as can be expected of the annual revenue of all the monastic houses. The result is the following:—

<i>No. of Houses.</i>	<i>Orders.</i>	<i>Revenues.</i>		
		£	s.	d.
186	Benedictines.....	65,877	14	0
20	Cluniacs.....	4,972	9	2½
9	Carthusians.....	2,947	15	4½
101	Cistercians.....	18,691	12	6
173	Austins.....	33,027	1	11
32	Premonstratentians.....	4,807	14	1
25	Gilbertins.....	2,421	13	9
3	Fontevraud Nuns.....	825	8	6½
3	Minoreesses.....	548	10	6
1	Bridgettines.....	1,731	8	9½
2	Bonhommes.....	859	5	11½
	Knights Hospitallers.....	5,394	6	5½
	Friars.....	809	11	8½
		£142,914	12	9½

³ Hume, Hist. of Eng.

⁴ Rapin, i. 821.

⁵ I have met with the following list of persons, who, besides the king, shared in the monastic wealth.

9 Dukes,	24 Lords,
4 Marquisses,	105 Baronets,
9 Bishops,	535 Esquires, &c.,
27 Earls,	14 Corporations.

interested in concealing from the people the full extent of the harvest which they had reaped; and therefore it may reasonably be supposed, that a particular valuation of the confiscated wealth never was effected."¹

The churches, schools, libraries, and asylums for the poor and the aged, had been destroyed, and their revenues squandered in gambling, lust, and bribery; a work which deserved that Cranmer, who had pandered to the vices of the king so long and often, should appear as its panegyrist; who accordingly, in his homily on good works, "thanks God who had made King Henry the instrument of so good a work." The dissenting Foxe, the most notorious falsifier of history that ever disgraced a holy subject with falsehood and forgery, echoes Cranmer's sentiment, and introduces the Almighty as guiding the hands of these plunderers as they desecrated and ruined his tabernacles, and turned "his house of prayer into a den of thieves." "It is not unlike, that God's heavenlie providence did well foresee and dispose these things before, by this man in working the destruction of these abbeyes: whereupon, as often as he (Cromwell) sent out any to suppress any monasterie, he used most commonly to send them with this charge, that they should throwe downe these houses even to the foundation. Which words, although it may seeme percase to some to be cruelly spoken of him; yet contrariwise doe I suppose the doing thereof not to bee without God's especiall providence and secret guiding."²

From the smaller and greater monasteries we must now hasten to the destruction of other religious and scholastic corporations. The Knights Hospitallers and Templars are celebrated in history for their efforts, well or ill-judged it is not here the place to examine, to rescue the holy sepulchre of Jerusalem from the possession of the Turk, and to secure to the pilgrim a safe visit to the hallowed scenes of our redemption. Their piety or self-devotion in a cause, then considered holy, had obtained for them numerous bequests in most Christian lands, and in England their Lord Prior sat in Parliament, ranking immediately after the abbots, and before the lay barons. At the period of this universal spoliation, "Sir William Weston was Lord Prior, and to his authority was subjected, as brothers of the order, a body of gentlemen connected with the most respectable families. But no influence was sufficient to preserve the English Hospitallers in a corporate capacity."³ On the 22d of April, 1540, a bill was brought into Parliament for their suppression both in England and Ireland. After some delay the bill passed, and the estates and revenues of those establishments were vested in the king.⁴ "To Sir William Weston was secured, by act of Parliament, an

¹ Soames, *Hist. of Refor.*, vol. ii., p. 279—281.

² Wordsworth, *Eccl. Biog.*, art. Cromw. ii., p. 302.

³ Soames, *Hist. of Refor.*, vol. ii., p. 404.

⁴ Burnet, i., p. 425.

annual pension of one thousand pounds; to the Irish prior, a pension of five hundred marks,"¹ "besides considerable allowances to the knights, in all amounting to nearly £3,000 yearly."² According to one account, "Sir William Weston never received a penny of his pension, but shortly after died of grief and want;"³ but Fuller informs us, "that Weston died on the day following that which saw the dissolution of his house, soul-smitten with sorrow; gold, though a great cordial, not being able to cure a broken heart."

The funds derived from this source were of little use to Henry; subsidies and loans made up the deficiency; but the people, wearied of the never-ceasing application for aid to the royal exchequer, the king was driven by his necessities to look through the land for other property devoted to public uses, which might be directed to his private wants. The colleges and hospitals offered a tempting bait, and the king could not refuse it. Accordingly, in 1542, an act was passed, "to enable the king to possess himself of the revenues attached to colleges and hospitals. It had been found very difficult to break up these establishments, because their statutes generally provided that no surrender of their property could be made without the concurrence of the whole society. This unanimity was evidently far from likely to be common, and therefore the legislature rendered it immaterial, by annulling the necessity of conforming to such statutes."⁴

The act legalizing this further invasion of property was to this effect, that, "all colleges, free chapels, chantries, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, guilds, and stipendiary priests, having continuance in perpetuity, and being charged or chargeable to the payment of first-fruits and tenths, which have been already surrendered, or alienated by covin, or otherwise dissolved, shall be adjudged and deemed in the actual possession of the king, his heirs and successors; and also all and singular such and so many as the king by his commission shall appoint, of the chantries, free chapels, hospitals, colleges, and other the said promotions, now in being, together with all their possessions and revenues, charged or chargeable to the payment of first-fruits and tenths; and all colleges chargeable or not chargeable to the said payment of first-fruits and tenths; which have lands and other possessions appointed by the donors, for alms to poor people and other charitable deeds to be done."⁵

"By this act 90 colleges, 110 hospitals, and 2374 chantries and free chapels were suppressed."⁶

"This act was made so general, that even those great nurseries of learning, the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, with those of Winchester and Eton, were included. And upon the breaking

¹ Soames, *Hist. of Refor.*, vol. ii., p. 4.

³ MS. *Hist. of Refor.*, Bib. Hart.

⁵ Burns, *Eccl. Law*, art. *Monasteries*, vol. ii., p. 538.

² Burnet, l. c.

⁴ Soames, vol. ii., p. 502, 503.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 540.

up of the Parliament, notice was sent to both the universities, that their colleges were at the king's disposal."¹ "The intimation was received at those venerable fountains of intellectual light with the deepest concern. In expressing this feeling, Cambridge took the lead. That learned body quickly presented a petition to the king, imploring him "to defend its possessions from the covetous and greedy minds of those that know not learning. Oxford shortly afterwards approached the throne with a similar prayer, which Dr. Richard Cox, dean of the cathedral there, and tutor to the Prince of Wales, endeavoured to strengthen by a private application to Sir W. Paget, secretary of state. He wrote to that minister an urgent representation of the necessity for schools, preachers, and asylums for orphans; at the same time he suggested, that the chantry-priests, about to be dismissed from their old employments, ought to be respectably pensioned by the king, not only as an act of justice, but also in order to deprive them of the inducement to become needy parasites, dependent upon the bounty, and pandering to the superstition of other men. "These things," he added, "I speak not as if I distrusted the king's goodness, but because there is such a number of importunate wolves as are able to devour chantries, cathedrals, churches, universities, and a thousand times as much."² Posterity will wonder at us. The two great seats of learning were, however, relieved within a short space of time from their apprehensions."³

Now, was the Reformation favourable to learning, or was it its bitterest enemy? Ninety colleges at one full swoop destroyed! And the very receptacles of the infirm, the hospitals, that might have melted a heart of stone to spare, the refuge of those whom God's hand has been heavy upon, the very visiting of which is a work so hallowed and blessed, one hundred and ten of these noble charities ruined at once! And this is the Reformation: the heart sickens at the name, associated as it is with the destruction of every thing that religion and humanity tell us is useful, instructive, and holy.

Here then is the place to give a summary of the foundations left by our fathers for the benefit either of the poor, the sick, of learning or religion, and destroyed at the Reformation: and

¹ Burns, *Eccl. Law*, art. *Monasteries*, vol. ii., p. 538. "Upon the king's solemn promise to the Parliament, that all should be done to the glory of God and common profit of the realm." Herbert, 253, as quoted by Soames, vol. ii., p. 592.

² A similar sentiment, characteristic of the times, is embodied in the following well-known anecdote, the authority for which, however, I have not met with. "The king on one occasion complaining to Cromwell of the rapacity of the expectants, exclaimed, "Mother of God! the cormorants, when they have got the garbage, will devour the dish;" upon which the cunning sycophant reminded the king that there was much more to come. "Tut, man," replied the king, "my whole kingdom would not staunch their maws."

³ Soames, vol. ii., p. 597, 598.

though it differs slightly from the preceding account, I shall present you with it as drawn up by Burns.¹ It is as follows :

Of lesser monasteries whereof we have the valuation . . .	374
Of greater monasteries	186
Belonging to Hospitallers	48
Colleges	90
Hospitals	110
Chuntries and free chapels	2374
	<hr/>
Total	3182

I will subjoin also a computation given by the same author² of the number of persons driven from their homes by these flagrant acts.

Those of the lesser monasteries, dissolved by the statute of 27 Hen VIII., were reckoned at about	10,000
If we suppose the colleges and hospitals to have contained a proportional number, these will make about	5,347
If we reckon the number in the greater monasteries, according to the proportion of their revenues, they will be about 35,000; but as probably they had larger allowances in proportion to their number, than those of the smaller monasteries, if we abate 5,000 upon that account, they will be	30,000
One for each chantry and free chapel	2,347
	<hr/>
Total	47,721

But as there was probably more than one person to officiate in several of the free chapels, and there were other houses which are not included within this calculation, perhaps they may be computed in one general calculation at about £50,000.

The hospitals, chantries, and the other establishments bestowed upon the king by this act, did not pass into Henry's hands; they formed part of the prey of the rapacious leaders of the Reformation, who, under the boy Edward, governed this realm as best pleased them. "The commissioners appointed by this act for giving the king possession of the aforesaid houses and places, did not enter upon many of them before his death, which happened in the January following."³

The last scene of this tragedy is drawing to a close. But the dying eyes of the king gloated over wealth still unseized; religion had yet her prelates with revenues unimpaired, whilst the royal wants drove the unhappy monarch to every mean and

¹ Burns, *Ecc. Law*, art. *Monast.*, vol. ii., p. 540.

² *Ibid.*, p. 541, 542.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 383.

huckstering trick to feed his bloated luxury with fresh supplies of gold.

Supplies, benevolences, and subsidies had exhausted the nation; it was computed that in his single reign, the king had possessed and dissipated a sum greater than that expended by all his kingly predecessors; whilst, as a last resort, and the lowest depth of profligacy, he had adulterated the purity of the coin, thereby robbing the public and throwing obstacles almost innumerable in the way of trade. At his accession, an ounce of gold and the pound of silver were each worth forty shillings; these he raised by successive proclamations to forty-four, forty-five, and forty-eight shillings, until at length the coin contained an equal quantity of pure metal and alloy, and, finally, the alloy exceeded the precious metal in the proportion of two to one.¹

"Most true it is, that it was something of the latest before he cast his eyes on the lands of bishoprics; though there were some that thought the time long till they fell upon them. Concerning which there goes a story, that after the court-harpies had devoured the greatest part of the spoil which came by the suppression of abbeyes, they began to seek some other way to satiate their greedy appetite, which the diversion of the former booty had left unsatisfied; and for the satisfying whereof they found nothing so necessary as the bishops' lands.

"This to effect, Sir Thomas Seymour is employed as the fittest man, being in favour with the king, and brother to Queen Jane, his most beloved and best wife; and having opportunity of access to him, as being one of his privy chamber. And he not having any good affection to Archbishop Cranmer, desired that the experiment should be tried upon him. And therefore took his time to inform the king, that my Lord of Canterbury did nothing but fell his woods, letting long leases for great fines, and making havoc of the royalties of his archbishopric, to raise thereby a fortune to his wife and children. Withal he acquainted the king, that the archbishop kept no hospitality in respect of such a large revenue; and that, in the opinion of many wise men, it was more convenient for the bishops to have a convenient *yearly stipend* out of the exchequer, than to be so much encumbered with temporal royalties, being so great a hindrance to their studies and pastoral charge; and that the lands and royalties being taken to his majesty's use, would afford him, besides the said stipends, a great yearly revenue.²

"The king considering of it, could not think fit that such a

¹ Stow, 587. Herbert, 191, 572. Folkes, 27.

² "It was said that it was meet for the bishops not to be troubled or vexed with temporal affairs in ruling their borders, lordships, and manors; but rather, they having an honest pension of money yearly allowed to them for their hospitality, should surrender unto the king's majesty all their royalties and temporalities." Novice's relation, drawn up for Archbishop Parker.—Strype, Mem. of Cranmer, 621.

laudable proposition as taking to himself the lands of the bishops should be made in vain ; only he was resolved to prey farther off, and not to fall upon the spoil too near the court, for fear of having more partakers in the booty than might stand with his profit : and to this end he deals with Holgate, preferred not long before from Landaff to the see of York ; from whence he takes, at one time, no fewer than seventy manors of good old rents, giving him in exchange, to the like yearly value, certain impropriations, pensions, tithes, and portions of tithes, but all of an extended rent, which had accrued to the crown by the fall of abbeys : which lands he laid, by act of Parliament, to the duchy of Lancaster. For which see *Stat. 37, ii., 8, c. 16.*¹ “Bishop Boner transferred to the king considerable estates in Essex. As the legality of such transfers might well be doubted, the legislature at this time interposed its authority to set such questions at rest ; and thus was begun under Parliamentary sanction, that system of pillaging the church, which continued during the whole course of the Tudor line, *except during the brief interval afforded by Mary's reign.*²

We have here an acknowledgment that every Protestant sovereign of the Tudor line, from Henry to Elizabeth, pillaged the church under the pretence of reforming it, with one solitary exception, in favour of Queen Mary ; whose character having come down to us from men, who had many of them been convicted of open treason against her on account of her religion, is blackened with all the art that bigotry can invent. “By their fruits shall ye know them,” is a maxim of heavenly wisdom, which may justly be used in the matter before us, to determine who had religion and the worship of God at heart, they who plundered, or they who built and adorned his tabernacles.

This concludes the history of sacrilege during the reign of Henry the Eighth. To argue from temporal misfortune to the particular causes which have produced the visitation, is seldom, if ever warrantable, and always liable to much abuse and error, but if there was ever an occasion which would seem to justify us in appealing to the fatality attendant on rapine, as a proof of divine anger and interference, it has been thought, by calm and unprejudiced observers, that such is the case before us. “Abbeylands, as³ the dust flung up by Moses, presently disperse all the kingdom over, and at once become curses both upon the families and estates of the owners ; they often viciously spending on their private occasions, what was piously intended for public devotion ; insomuch that within twenty years next after the dissolution, more of our nobility and their children have been attainted, and died under the sword of justice, than did from the conquest to the dissolution, being almost five hundred years ; so that if you

¹ Heylin, *Hist. of Reformation*, p. 17.

² Soames, *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. ii., p. 595.

³ Fuller, *C. H.*, b. vi., p. 371. Clem. Spelman, *Pref. to “De non temerandis Ecclesiis.”*

examine the list of the barons in the Parliament of the 27th of Henry VIII., you will find very few of them whose sons do at this day inherit their father's title and estates; and of these few, many to whom the king's favour hath restored what the rigorous law of attainder took, both dignity, lands, and posterity. And doubtless the Commons have drunk deeply of this cup of deadly wine: but they being more numerous and less eminent, are not so obvious to observation. However, it will not be amiss to insert the observation of a most worthy antiquarian, Sir H. Spelman; in the country where he was born, and best experienced; who reporteth, that in Norfolk there were one hundred houses of gentlemen, before the dissolution, possessed of fair estates, of whom so many as gained accession by abbey-lands, are at this time extinct, or much impaired, bemoaning his own family, under the latter notion, as diminished by such an addition."

The fall and execution of Cromwell are noticed as a remarkable instance of this retributive justice. "The plundering of churches proved, in the end, as fatal to Thomas Cromwell," says Dugdale,¹ "as the gold of Thoulouse was unauspicious to Cepio Servilius, the Roman consul." The meanness of his birth, the splendour of his fortune, and the suddenness of his fall, remind us strongly of the fate of his patron and master, the unfortunate Cardinal Wolsey.

In April, 1540, he seemed at the zenith of his power. The deluge of monastic wealth was pouring in on all sides. He was created Earl of Essex, with a grant from the king of thirty manors belonging to the suppressed monasteries. He had already been made a knight of the garter, appointed lord chamberlain, and, as the king's vicar-general, took precedence in convocation, and in the House of Lords, of the highest functionaries. Courted and feared by thousands; he had just committed the Bishop of Chichester to prison for leniency in enforcing the oath of spiritual supremacy, and had threatened his well-known enemies and opponents, the Duke of Norfolk and the Bishops of Winchester and Durham, with the royal displeasure. But events soon showed that he had incurred the king's enmity, and must abide its fearful consequences. Henry had discovered that Anne of Cleves, whom he loathed, had, by Cromwell's instrumentality, been recommended and finally fixed upon as his wife. From that moment his doom was sealed, and the tyranny which he had so successfully introduced and exercised against other victims, was now turned against himself.

On the morning of the 13th of June he attended a meeting of the privy-council, totally unconscious of danger; there he was arrested on a charge of high treason, and the evening saw him a prisoner in the Tower.² All historians, but the false Foxe, represent him as the object of almost universal hatred. "Acclama-

¹ Hist. of Warwickshire.

² Burnet, vol. i., p. 425.

tions rent the air, as the minister, lately so much envied, passed onward to his dreary prison."¹ He found, however, one dubious friend, in Cranmer, who contented himself with penning the following ambiguous and subservient letter to the king; "He much magnified his diligence in the king's service and preservation, thought no King of England had ever such a servant; upon that account he had loved him, as one that loved the king above all others. But if he was a traitor, he was glad it was discovered. But he prayed God earnestly to send the king such a counsellor in his stead."² This was the only effort made in favour of the unfortunate favourite; and Cranmer, from whose position in the church, if not affection for a tried friend, more firmness might have been expected, left him, as he had Anne Boleyn, after a similar display of letter-writing, to a fate cruel indeed, but one which he at least had no right to complain of, as he had been the first to recommend it against others. "He, who had so servilely complied with the king's pleasure in procuring some to be attainted the year before, without being brought to make their answer, fell now under the same severity."³ "The bill of attainder was brought into the House of Lords, Cranmer being absent that day, as appears by the Journals, on the 17th of June."⁴ The accusations against him, as contained in the bill of attainder amount to these: that "he had accepted bribes;" that, "being a heretic, he had dispersed many erroneous books amongst the king's subjects, particularly some that were contrary to the belief of the sacrament, and said it was as lawful for every Christian man to be the minister of that sacrament as a priest; that if the king would turn from it, (the new learning,) yet he would not turn: and if the king did turn, and all his people with him, he would fight in the field in his own person, with his sword in his hand against him, and all others; and then he pulled out his dagger and held it up, and said, or else this dagger thrust me to the heart; and I trust, if I live one year or two, it shall not be in the king's power to resist."⁵ It is clear that nothing could be more iniquitous than to put any to death on a plea like this; he was as much a heretic as the king, and no more; he had accepted bribes, but that did not deserve death; whilst the accusation of treasonable language is accompanied with circumstances so improbable, in a man of Cromwell's prudence, as to render it completely incredible.

The bill of attainder, that had been read for the first time in the Lords, on the 17th of June, on the 19th was read a second and a third time, on which occasion Cranmer gave his vote for the death of his friend, patron, and associate:⁶ another instance

¹ Soames, vol. ii., p. 409.

² Burnet, vol. i., p. 428.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burnet, vol. i., p. 429.

⁵ Ibid., p. 430, 431.

⁶ It is curious to see the difficulties in which some historians have involved themselves, as Soames, for instance, vol. ii., p. 413, 414, by pronouncing Cromwell, on the one hand, innocent and a murdered man, and, on the other, having to defend the im-

of that servility or cowardice which made him, on every occasion of trial or danger, bend the knee to the wishes of royalty.

Cromwell showed no feeling of sympathy in the sufferings of others. There is the clearest evidence that he was a man of the most bloody and unfeeling character;¹ and like such men he showed himself, when danger and death faced him, the most abject of cowards. He denied, in letters addressed to the king, with the most awful asseverations,² the accusations of heresy, bribery, and treason. The conclusion of one of those letters I will quote as a specimen of his spirit: "beseeching your grace to pardon this my rude writing, and to consider that I, a most woful prisoner, am ready to take the death when it shall please God and your majesty; and yet the frail flesh inciteth me continually to call to your grace for mercy, and grace of mine offences, and thus Christ save, preserve, and keep you. Written at the Tower, this Wednesday, the last of June, with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your highness's most heavy and most miserable prisoner, and poor slave,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

"Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy."³

But the king knew no mercy; Cromwell's wealth, as that of a traitor, had been transferred to the king, who was farther confirmed in his resolution by discovering, in Cromwell's private papers, a clandestine correspondence with the princes of Germany.⁴

On the 24th of July, the Parliament was dissolved; on the 29th the sentence passed upon Cromwell was executed. He was led to the scaffold erected upon Tower-hill, from which, before he made himself ready for the fatal stroke, he briefly addressed the spectators. After asserting, in the customary terms, his submission to the sentence of the law, he made a recantation of error and a solemn profession of faith in these terms: "I pray you that

maculate Cranmer, who voted for his death. Even Mackintosh's attempt at vindication is of this character: "The archbishop, like Atticus, never forsook his friends in their distress; but, like that famous Roman, he too often bent the knee to their oppressors." Vol. ii., p. 228.

¹ The character of Cromwell may be estimated from the following extracts from a memorandum-book of that minister, published by Mr. Ellis:—

"Item—the abbot of Reding to be sent down *to be tried and executed* at Reding, with his complices."

"Item—the abbot of Glastonbury to be tried at Glaston, and also *to be executed* there, with his complices."

"Item—to advertise the king of *the ordering of Maister Fisher*," (the bishop.)

"Item—to know his pleasure touching Maister More," (Sir T. More.)

"Item—when Maister Fisher shall go."

"Item—to send unto the king by Roffe the behaviour of Maister Fisher."

"To send Gourdon to the Tower, to be *rakked*."

² In his letters he maintains his innocence with these and similar imprecations; "May God confound him; may the vengeance of God light upon him; may all the devils in hell confound him," &c., &c.

³ Thomson's Mems. of Hen. VIII., vol. ii., p. 488.

⁴ Marillac, apud Le Grand, ii., 215.

be here to bear me record, I die in the Catholic faith, not doubting in any article of my faith, no nor doubting in any sacrament of the church. Many have slandered me, and reported that I have been a hearer of such as have maintained evil opinions, which is untrue; but I confess that like as God, by his Holy Spirit, doth instruct us in the truth, so the devil is ready to seduce us, and I have been seduced: But bear me witness, I die in the faith of the Catholic church."¹

Thus fell Cromwell, under the weight of that tyranny which his own evil councils had tended so much to swell. A man of consummate cunning, without a scruple, he was suited to be the instrument of a tyrant such as Henry. By him the divorce from Catherine had been hastened; the clergy laid prostrate at the king's feet; the separation of England from the Catholic church effected; all spiritual authority and jurisdiction vested in the king; the monasteries plundered; other pious foundations rifled and destroyed; and England, at the close of his career, from being adorned above any other Christian land, with monuments of zeal, charity, piety, and munificence, had become one scene of devastation, heaped with ruins. By the people his memory was in horror, for he had robbed them of their patrimony, and extorted subsidies burdensome beyond precedent; by the nobility he was envied or despised as an upstart; by the clergy, as a body, he with reason was regarded as a scourge; and by none was his fate wept, except by a few who had benefited by his counsels, or who had been protected, in their attempt to disseminate novelties, by his authority.

From the execution of Cromwell on the scaffold, we will now pass to the death-chamber of the remorseless tyrant. "His body had become so unwieldy, that he could not be moved without machines contrived for the purpose. An oppression on his breathing rendered it difficult for him to relieve himself by a recumbent posture. The signature of his name became too heavy a task for his feeble or overloaded hands; stamps with his initials were affixed in his presence, and by his verbal command, to all the instruments which required the royal signature. He became offensive to his humblest attendants by an ulcer in one of his swollen limbs, which often subjected him to the extremity of pain."² Even in this extremity no one dared to intimate to

Stow's Chron. p. 580. The falsifier Foxe and some others, in the face of the above passage, have asserted that Cromwell died a Protestant. Then, what did he recant? Were not the seven sacraments at that time admitted by the English church? Except the supremacy of the Pope, what doctrine was rejected by that church? The only doubt then is, whether he admitted the supremacy. In one of his letters to Henry, preserved by Burnet, he declares expressly that he is neither "heretic nor sacramentary." However he had lived, he died in the faith of the Catholic church; one instance out of thousands of men who in life have abandoned, but in death have returned to the church. On the other hand, I believe, there is not an instance of a Catholic, on a death-bed, turning Protestant.

² Mackintosh, Hist. of Eng., vol. ii., p. 237.

this head of the reformed church his approaching end; "lest he, in his angry and imperious humours, should have ordered them to be indicted." His very agonies were disturbed by the war of factions eager to obtain the ascendancy at this critical moment, with a minor of nine years of age about to ascend the throne, and the king's last acts were steeped in blood. The Seymours persuaded the king that the Howards had ambitious designs in the event of his death. The father and son were committed to separate cells in the Tower. The king made sundry alterations in his will to meet the exigency of the occasion, excluding from the number of his executors those supposed to be favourable to the Howards.¹ The younger Howard, the accomplished courtier and poet, perished on the scaffold, the victim of intrigue; his father escaped by the death of the king on the very morning fixed for the execution.

Of the state of the king's mind and conscience during his illness we know but little. It is said that he expressed a wish to be reconciled to the see of Rome, and that Gardiner advised him to communicate his wishes to the Parliament. His confessor, the Bishop of Rochester, was in constant attendance on him; he assisted daily at mass, and received the communion under one kind. About a month before his death he endowed the magnificent establishment of Trinity College, in Cambridge, reopened the church of the Gray Friars, which, with St. Bartholomew's hospital, he bestowed on the city of London.

Of his behaviour on his death-bed contrary accounts are given. By one statement he died in utter despair. By another, he delayed all immediate preparations until he was only able to express his consciousness of the presence and exhortation of the archbishop by a squeeze of the hand;² whilst a third account represents him as dying in sentiments of true repentance.³ The king died early on the morning of the 28th of January: the Parliament met on the following day, totally unconscious of the event, which, for three days was kept a profound secret. "The reason of concealing it so long must either be, that they were considering what to do with the Duke of Norfolk, or that the Seymours were laying their matters so as to be secure in the government before they published the king's death."⁴

Thus died, in the year 1547, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, the most extraordinary of our kings, a compound of the highest and basest qualities, with abilities and qualifications, which, if well directed, might have made him the blessing, but which, perverted and abused, rendered him the scourge and the curse of his country. How well

¹ Burnet, *Hist. of Refor.*, vol. i., p. 539. There are serious reasons for suspecting that the will produced as Henry's was a forgery. But this is not the place to enter into the inquiry.

² Burnet, vol. i., p. 541.

³ Thevet. *Cosmog.* l. xvi.

⁴ Burnet, vol. i., p. 542.

Wolsey on his death-bed depicted his character, subsequent events showed. The consummate address of that wonderful prelate bridled for a time the fiery passions of the monarch, after whose fall, he was well described as having "never spared woman in his lust, nor man in his anger."¹

Profligacy, extravagance, and sensuality he had exhibited even under the watchful care of the cardinal; but when he was removed, and Cromwell and Cranmer had become his counsellors, or had been chosen to pander or throw a veil over the royal licentiousness, the vices of the gay and reckless prince darkened into the crimes of the tyrant, or rather the villany of the fiend. "Had he died in the twentieth year of his reign, his name might have come down to us as that of a festive and martial prince, with much of the applause which is lavished on gayety and enterprise, and of which some fragments, preserved in the tradition of the people, too long served to screen the misrule of his latter years from historical justice. In the divorce of his inoffensive wife, the disregard of honour, of gratitude, of the ties of long union, of the sentiments which grow out of the common habitudes of domestic union, and which restrain the greatest number of imperfect husbands from open outrage, threw a deeper stain over the period employed in negotiating and effecting that unjustifiable and unmanly separation. The execution of More marks the moment of the transition of his government from joviality and parade to a species of atrocity which distinguishes it from, and perhaps above, any other European tyranny. He is the only prince of modern times who carried judicial murder into his bed, and imbrued his hands in the blood of those whom he had caressed. Perhaps no other monarch, since the emancipation of women from polygamy, put to death two wives on the scaffold for infidelity, divorced another, whom he owned to be a faultless woman, after twenty-four years of wedded friendship, and rejected a fourth without imputing blame to her, from the first impulse of personal disgust."² For such a man to appear as the reformer of religion, and to constitute himself the head of a new church, was the signal of persecution, bloodshed, and rapine not surpassed in any age of the history of Christianity. It was almost as if Antichrist had visibly enthroned himself to war against charity, learning, and religion.³ It is then an established

¹ Heylin, *Hist. of Refor.*, p. 15.

² Mackintosh, *Hist. of England*, vol. ii., p. 188, 189.

³ It is a singular fact, and one deserving serious attention, that the first prohibition, or limitation of the reading the sacred Scriptures, was enacted by the first head of the reformed church. No such prohibition was heard of in England until the reformation. The prohibition was issued under the authority of an act of Parliament, the 34th Hen. VIII. 1, by which it was declared, first, that Tyndal's version should be altogether disused as "crafty, false, and untrue;" secondly, the Bible was forbidden to be read to others *in public*; thirdly, the permission of reading it to *private families* was confined to persons of the rank of lords or gentlemen; fourthly, the liberty of reading it *per-*

fact of history that this country was separated in communion from the rest of Christendom, not from the vices, but the virtuous resistance of the Holy See. The Pope was too conscientious for the king, and Henry assumed to himself more than papal authority. As long as the papal authority existed there was a check on royal interference and tyranny in religious matters and property, but when that supremacy became a part of the king's prerogative, the conscience and faith of the king regulated that of the nation, and the church became a mere fief in his hands and at his mercy. The will of a depraved, sensual, and irreligious tyrant, became practically the nation's creed, instead of the will and law of God. The poor robbed of their undoubted rights and patrimony, the church pillaged, and its authority annihilated, education and learning well nigh destroyed, these were the sad fruits of the change of religion in this land, as far as that change proceeded under Henry the Eighth.

sonally and in secret, was limited to men who were householders, and to females of noble or gentle birth.

Prior to this a proclamation had been issued, prohibiting the public reading of the Scripture in churches, and forbidding any one to expound it who had not received a regular license from the accustomed authorities for that purpose. The proclamation may be seen in Strype, *Eccl. Mem.*, vol. vi., p. 205. I may add in this place, that with the exception of the difficulty of procuring copies of the Scripture, occasioned by their enormous price, as they had to be copied with the pen, before printing was discovered, there was no restriction whatever, until the reformers imposed it, ever heard of in England. We are told by Sir T. More, that English versions of the Bible were circulated and read amongst us, long before Wickliffe, about the year 1430, produced his false translation. "The holy Bible was long before Wickliffe's days, by vertuous and well-learned men translated into the English tongue, and by good and godly people with devotion and soberness wel and reverently red." *Dial.* iii. 14. Some manuscript remains of these ancient versions are still preserved. See *History of English Translations* prefixed to Wickliffe's New Testament, by Lewis, p. 4. We have the authority of Cranmer for believing that, without any restriction whatever, the Bible was read in the English tongue centuries before the Reformation.

"It is not much above one hundred years since Scripture hath not been accustomed to be read in the *vulgar tongue* within this realm; and many hundred years before that it was translated and read in the Saxons' tongue . . . and when this language waxed old and out of common usage, because folk should not lack the fruit of reading it, was translated again into the newer language, whereof yet also many copies be found." Strype's *Cranmer*, app. 242. So that we have here undeniable evidence that the outcry respecting the prohibition or restriction of the reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, in Catholic times, previous to the Reformation, is a pure and baseless calumny, and furthermore that, as the language varied, fresh translations appeared, whilst specimens of these various versions were not uncommon in Cranmer's time. It turns out, then, that as it is an historical fact that the Catholic church preserved the Scripture, and that from her Protestants received it, so is it equally a fact, to which history bears testimony, that whilst there was no restraint on the Scriptures before the Reformation, that change had not taken place in this land twenty years before the Scriptures were partially prohibited.

Luther makes a similar statement in the following remarkable passage. "It was an effect of God's power, that in the papacy should have remained, in the first place, sacred baptism; secondly, *the text of the holy Gospel, which it was the custom to read, from the pulpit, in the vernacular tongue of every nation*; thirdly, the sacred forgiveness, and absolution of sin, as well privately in confession, as in public; fourthly, the most holy sacrament of the altar. And this practice was observed by many, to renew the memory of Christ's passion, in the soul of the dying sinner, by placing before his eyes

LECTURE IV.

A. D. 1547—1553.

§ 1.

Recapitulation.—Act of Settlement.—Edward VI.—Duke of Somerset.—Interment of Henry VIII.—Friar Peto.—Cranmer's Servility.—Royal Visitation.—Bishop Gardiner.—Bonner.—Transubstantiation.—Parliament of 1547.—Atrocious Act.—Branding and Slavery.

THE three preceding lectures have been devoted to the history of the religious revolution effected under the auspices of Cranmer, and by the authority of Henry the Eighth, together with a history of the suppression of the monasteries, and the plundering of shrines and churches, and the resolution passed and begun to be acted upon, that the chantries, hospitals, and the lands of the bishops should be swept away in the universal wreck. Henry had held, until just before his last illness, the balance of parties with a steady hand. Then his fears, worked upon by the crafty and unscrupulous Seymour, led him, by abridging the power of the house of Howard, to give that preponderance to their rivals which it was his real object to prevent. A change, we have seen, was made in his will, excluding the Duke of Norfolk, whom he had marked for death, and Bishop Gardiner, from the number of his executors.

Contrary to all precedent, but in keeping with the rest of Henry's conduct, "an act of settlement, passed on his marriage with Jane, had vested the power of bequeathing the realm in the crown on failure of the king's legitimate issue, no such issue being then in existence.¹ About three years before the king's decease, this unbounded and oriental power was abridged by a statute, which, after the failure of male progeny, limited the succession to Mary and Elizabeth, without any consideration of their irreconcilable claims, or of their common illegitimacy; on condition, however, of these princesses observing the terms, if any, to be prescribed by the king; and in the case of their death or forfeiture, the unlimited power of devise was revested in the crown."² Besides this enormous power, the same act had further provided that the privilege hitherto confined to the House of

a crucifix, that the sinner might thereby understand that all his confidence was to be placed in the death of Christ. Where these things have been preserved, there most assuredly has the church been preserved, and there have saintly men lived." Luther, *lib. de missa privata*, tom. vi. Ed. Jenen., fol. 92.

¹ 28 Henry VIII., c. 7, s. 9.

² Mackintosh, *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. ii., p. 238.

Lords, of appointing the council of regency and the chief officers of state, during the minority of the sovereign, should be exercised by the king, either by letters patent, or under his last will, who, accordingly, in the will produced before Parliament, and said to have been executed on the 30th of December preceding his death, "all the powers of government were, during the minority, vested in fifteen (sixteen) persons therein named, called in the will executors, to keep up the language of the doctrine of ownership."¹ "Besides these counsellors, twelve individuals were named, whose advice might be asked in cases of emergency."² Since, however, there is little hope of constant unanimity among any considerable body of men, especially when they differ importantly in religious opinion, as did Henry's executors, it was provided in the royal will, that the government should be administered according to the decisions of the majority.³

"In the list of executors, we see the decisive preponderance of the new nobility, invidiously so called by their enemies, both because they were partisans of the new reformers, and because they owed their sudden rise in wealth to a share in the spoils of the church. Generally speaking, they were gentlemen of ancient lineage; but their fortune and rank commonly sprung from this dubious source. Few of the highest houses were without some taint of it."⁴ At the time of his father's death, the young prince was at the royal mansion of Hatfield, from which place "he was conducted to his sister Elizabeth at her residence at Enfield; whence he was brought in regal state, and proclaimed King of England, on Monday, the 31st of January, 1546, or rather 1547. He was born on the 12th of October, 1537; and his proclamation took place when he was nine years and about three months old."⁵ The power of the executors was to continue until he should have completed his eighteenth year. The education of the prince had been committed to the care of three gentlemen, all favourable to the new opinions. "Surely, says Strype,⁶ "they were happily chosen, being both truly learned, sober, wise, and all favourers of the gospel. Sir Anthony Cook, knight, famous for his five learned daughters, was one of them. Another of his masters was Dr. Richard Cox, a very reverend divine, sometimes moderator of the school of Eton, afterwards dean of Christchurch, Oxon, and chancellor of that university, who instructed

¹ Mackintosh, *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. ii., p. 239. These were Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, the Lord St. John, the Earl of Hertford, great chamberlain and uncle to the king, the Lord Russell, the Viscount Lisle, Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Edward Montague, Mr. Justice Bromley, Sir Edward North, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, Sir William Paget, Sir Anthony Denny, Sir William Herbert, and the two Wottons.

² The Earls of Arundel and Essex, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Gage, Sir Anthony Wingfield, Sir William Petre, Sir Richard Rich, Sir John Baker, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Richard Southwell, and Sir Edmund Peckham.

³ Soames, vol. iii., p. 4, 5.

⁴ Mackintosh, vol. ii., p. 247.

⁵ Mackintosh, vol. ii., p. 248.

⁶ Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, p. 12.

him in Christian manners, as well as other learning. He had also for his teacher of the Latin and Greek tongues, that most accomplished scholar, Sir John Cheke, knight, once public reader of Greek in Cambridge."¹

As so many lavish praises have been bestowed on this king of ten years of age, it will be useful to give the following opinion, from a writer of great eminence, on the acquirements of Edward. "The panegyrics on Edward at this time are a good example of the folly of excessive praise. He was in truth a diligent, docile, gentle, sprightly boy, whose proficiency in every branch of study was remarkable, and who showed a more than ordinary promise of capacity. Sycophants, declaimers, enthusiasts, lovers of the marvellous, almost drowned in a flood of panegyric his agreeable and amiable qualities. The manuscripts still extant, either essays or letters, might have been either corrected or dictated by his preceptors. It is not probable that the 'diary of his life,' which is the most interesting of them, should be copied from the production of another hand; neither does it indicate the interposition of a corrector. It is, perhaps, somewhat brief and dry for so young an author; but the adoption of such a plan, and the accuracy with which it was written, bears marks of an untainted taste and of a considerate mind."²

It has been stated that the young king was proclaimed on the Monday after his father's death. "All the executors, Judge Bromley and the two Wottons only excepted, were present, and did resolve to execute the will in all points, and to take an oath for their faithful discharge of that trust."³ Their first act was to break that oath. "It was proposed that for the speed in despatch of business, and for a more certain order and direction of all affairs, there should be one chosen to be head of the rest, to whom ambassadors and others should address themselves."⁴ By the king's will no individual was to have any pre-eminence, but the will of the majority was to regulate every controverted question. Accordingly, Wriothesley, the lord chancellor, the most eminent for his station and abilities of those amongst the executors who were Catholics, opposed the innovation as a violation of their oaths; "therefore, he pressed that they might not depart from the king's will in any particular, neither by adding to it, nor taking from it. It was plain, the late king intended they should be all alike in the administration, and the raising one to a title or degree above the rest, was a great change from what he

¹ Strype's *Eccl. Memorials*, vol. ii., p. 15.

² Mackintosh, vol. ii., p. 249.

³ This proceeding is entered in the council-book in these words: "they resolved not only to stand to, and maintain the last will and testament of their master the late king, and every part and article of the same, to the uttermost of their power, wits, and cunning, but also that every one of them present should take a corporal oath upon a book, for the more assured and effectual accomplishment of the same."—Council-book, Harl MS. 352.

⁴ Burnet, *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. ii., p. 6.

had ordered. And whereas it was now said, that the person to be thus nominated was to have no manner of power over the rest, that was only to exalt him into a high dignity with the less envy or apprehension of danger; for it was certain great titles always make way for high power. But the Earl of Hertford had so great a party among them, that it was agreed to, the lord chancellor himself consenting, when he saw his opposition was without effect, that one should be raised over the rest in title, to be called the protector of the king's realms, and the governor of his person. The next point held no long debate, who should be nominated to the high trust; for they unanimously agreed that the Earl of Hertford, by reason of his nearness of blood to the king, and the great experience he had of affairs, was the fittest person. So he was declared protector of the realm, but with that especial and express condition, that he should not do any act but by the advice and consent of the other executors, according to the will of the king. This was the issue of the first council-day under this king: in which the so easy advancement of the Earl of Hertford to so high a dignity, gave great occasion to censure, it seeming to be a change of what King Henry had designed. But the king's great kindness to his uncle made it pass so smoothly; for the rest of the executors not being of the ancient nobility, but courtiers, were drawn easily to comply with that which was so acceptable to the young king; only the lord chancellor, who had chiefly opposed it, was to expect small favour at the new protector's hands. It was soon apparent what emulation there was between them: and the nation being then divided between those who loved the old superstition, and those who desired a more complete reformation, the protector set himself at the head of the one, and the lord chancellor at the head of the other party."¹

Hertford had waded already through the blood of the Howards to obtain a chance of this preponderance; he secured it, as we have just seen, by perjury.

From evidence still extant, the case assumes the darker hue of a deliberate and premeditated intention to secure the mighty prize, even previous to the king's death. "While King Henry lay on his death-bed in his palace at Westminster, Sir Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, and Sir William Paget, among others, were at court; and Paget, being secretary of state, was much about his person. Whom, being a man wise and learned, and well versed in the affairs of state, both by reason of his office and his several embassies abroad, the earl prudently made choice of for his inward friend and counsellor. By the king's desperate condition, the earl, well perceiving the crown ready to fall upon Prince Edward his nephew's head, before the breath was out of his body, took a walk with Paget in the gallery, where he held

¹ Burnet, l. c., p. 6, 7.

some serious conference with him concerning the government. And immediately after the king was departed they met again, the earl devising with him concerning the high place he was to hold, being the next of kin to the young king."¹ That Paget was bribed seems clear from the following extract from one of his letters to the protector: "Remember what you promised me in the gallery at Westminster, before the breath was out of the body of the king that dead is: remember what you promised me immediately after, devising with me about the place which you now occupy."²

Such was the man who now placed himself at the head of the reforming party in England. Hitherto the iron hand of Henry had kept down the intrigues of these men. His will had been their law and guidance, but that hand was removed, and the boy Edward being nothing but a puppet in their hands, we have already begun to see, and shall soon see more of their real character and objects.

The ascendancy of the new gospellers had been secured; but what is title without wealth? and surely the prostration of their consciences, and the violation of their oaths deserved some substantial and pecuniary recompense. Accordingly, suitable rewards were lavished with no sparing hand. "There was a clause in the king's will, requiring his executors to make good all that he had promised in any manner of ways."³ Whereupon Sir William Paget, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, were required to declare what they knew of the king's intentions and promises; the former being the secretary whom he had trusted most, and the other two those that attended on him in his bed-chamber during his sickness. Paget declared that, after many consultations, the king had ordered the book to be thus filled up: "the Earl of Hertford to be earl marshal and lord treasurer, and to be Duke of Somerset, Exeter, or Hertford, and his son to be Earl of Wiltshire, with £800 a year of land, and £300 a year out of the next bishop's land that fell void; the Earl of Essex to be Marquis of Essex: the Viscount Lisle to be Earl of Coventry; the Lord Wriothesley to be Earl of Winchester; Sir Thomas Seymour to be a baronet and lord admiral; Sir Richard Rich, Sir John St. Ledger, Sir William Willoughby, Sir Edward Sheffield, and Sir Christopher Danby, to be barons, with yearly revenues to them, and several other persons."⁴ In addition to the above,

¹ Strype's Eccles. Mem., vol. ii., p. 15.

² Apud Strype, ii. Rec., p. 109.

³ The clause alluded to is in the body of the will, but Burnet, ex lib. Conc. ii. 7, tells us that the king *being on his death-bed*, put in mind of what he had promised, ordered it to be put in his will, that his executors should perform every thing that should appear to have been promised by him." Ibid., p. 11. Henry was on his death-bed about the 28th of January, the will purports to have been executed on the 30th of December; how then could such a clause have been inserted, if the will be genuine. The will may be seen in Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 22—28. Lond. 1661.

⁴ Burnet, Hist. of Refor., vol. i., p. 10, 11.

it was declared, that the king had further promised to the Earl of Hertford, "six of the best prebends that should fall in any cathedral, except deaneries and treasurerships;"¹ to Paget, Herbert, and Denny, the three deponents, £400 a year;² and to about thirty other persons, besides Cranmer, the majority of the executors, and the newly-created nobles, were assigned in different proportions manors and lordships out of the lands which had belonged to the dissolved monasteries, or still belonged to the existing bishoprics.³

The interment of the late king was now to be attended to. On the 14th of February, "King Henry's body was, with all the pomp of a royal funeral, removed to Syon, in the way to Windsor. Then great observation was made of a thing that was no extraordinary matter; he had been extremely corpulent, and dying of a dropsy, or something like it, it was no wonder if, a fortnight after, upon so long a motion, some putrid matter might run through the coffin. But Syon having been a house of religious women, it was called a signal mark of the displeasure of Heaven, that some of his blood and fat dropped through the lead in the night; and to make this work mightily on weak people, it was said that the dogs licked it next morning. This was much magnified in commendation of Friar Peto, afterwards made cardinal, who had threatened him in a sermon at Greenwich, 'that the dogs should lick his blood.' Next day he was brought to Windsor, and interred in St. George's chapel. And he having by his will left that church £600 a year forever for two priests to say mass at his tomb daily, for four obits yearly, and a sermon at every obit, with £10 to the poor."⁴ Nor were these rites confined to England. The King of France ordered the sacrifice of the mass to be celebrated in the cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris, for the repose of the soul of his illustrious friend. The health of that monarch had been for some time drooping, and "the departure of one who had occupied so large a space in his thoughts admonished him of awful realities soon to be encountered by himself. His gayety of spirits fled, and on the 22d of March, he followed to the tomb his English friend."⁵ On the 19th of June, Cranmer, assisted by eight members of the prelacy, returned the compliment paid to Henry, by celebrating mass for Francis, at St. Paul's in London.⁶

In the midst of these solemn proceedings, Somerset still kept

¹ Burnet, Hist. of Refor., vol. i., p. 9, 11.

² Ibid.

³ The names may be seen in Strype, ii. 78.

⁴ Burnet, Hist. of Refor., vol. ii., p. 20, 21. The body lay in state in the chapel at Whitehall, which was hung with black cloth. Eight large wax tapers were kept constantly burning: twelve lords mourners sat around, within a rail: and every day masses and a dirge were performed. At the commencement of the service, Norroy, king at arms, called aloud: "Of your charity pray for the soul of the king and mighty prince, our late sovereign lord, Henry VIII."

⁵ Soames, Hist. of Refor., vol. iii., p. 11, 12.

⁶ Stow, 594. Soames, Ibid.

in view the real end of all his intrigues, the rendering himself not only the head, but totally independent of his colleagues. He could rely on the reformers, but in Wriothesley, the new Earl of Southampton, he had to encounter a man of consummate ability, and of unflinching integrity. It became necessary, therefore, to remove him from his path, and an opportunity was soon furnished by an indiscreet act of the chancellor. Unable to attend to his duties as executor and chancellor, he had, without consulting his associates, ventured to put the great seal into commission. Lawyers were instructed by the protector to send a protest to the council; the council referred the question to the judges, who decided that the chancellor had been guilty of an offence which rendered him liable to the loss of office, and to fine and imprisonment at the royal pleasure. Southampton was equal to the emergency. He argued ably against the decision of the judges; and contended that even if the act were illegal, he was ready to annul the commission, but that the executors, under Henry's will, had no power to deprive him, during the king's minority, of the seals of office. But argument and submission were equally vain. Accordingly, he resigned the great seal, was confined within his own house as a prisoner, and the threat of a fine which he was ordered to await was held as a check on any future opposition to the will of his ambitious rival.¹ "Thus fell the lord chancellor, and in him the popish party lost their chief support, and the protector his most emulous rival."²

Somerset's real object was soon apparent. On accepting the title of protector, a condition, we have seen, was imposed that he should not presume to act without the consent of the majority of the council; now he freed himself from all such restraints, obtained his post not as a sufferance, but by patent, and became in reality king of this empire. "And thus was the protector fully settled in his power, and no more under the curb of the co-executors, who were now mixed with the other counsellors, that, by the late king's will, were only to be consulted with as they saw cause. But as he depressed them to an equality with the rest of the counsellors, so he highly obliged the others, who had been formerly under them, by bringing these equally with them into a share of the government. He had also obtained to himself a high authority over them; since they could do nothing without his consent; but he was only bound to call for so many of them as he thought meet, and was not limited to act as they advised, but clothed with the full regal power; and had it in his power to oblige whom he would, and to make his party greater by calling into the council such as he should nominate. How

¹ Burnet, ii. 24—27. Records, 96. On entering into recognisance of £4000, to pay what fine they should impose on him, he was released from his imprisonment. Burnet, *Ibid.*, p. 27.

² Burnet, i. c.

far this was legal I will not inquire. It was certainly contrary to King Henry's will."¹

Two months had not yet elapsed since the death of Henry, and the swearing of the executors to act in every thing according to his will and testament, and in that brief space the whole system of government had been altered. It now remained for Cranmer to deal with religion and the church, as Somerset had tampered with the state. Under Henry he had in every thing accommodated himself, externally at least, to the religious views of that monarch. It would have cost him his life to have acted otherwise. It is true he had, until the six articles were rigorously enforced, enjoyed the society of his wife in secret, though he had required celibacy of all the candidates to holy orders, and exacted the bloody penalties of the law from the violators of the statute, but now he was at liberty, in return for the compliance and assistance which Somerset had met with at his hands and from his party, even at the expense of their oaths and allegiance, to change and model the ecclesiastical establishment, and the belief of the nation, to his heart's real desire. In this work he eagerly engaged, forgetful or neglectful of the grounds he furnished for believing that he had hitherto sacrificed conscience to interest, duty to fear, under the determined sway of Henry, if he now sought not for aggrandizement and wealth, but for religion and reformation. Of course, as long as the church had still property in her possession, any change which deprived her of her revenues would find favour in the eyes of the needy and titled adventurers who now crowded to court and swelled the cry of reform. And yet caution was necessary: a second pilgrimage of grace was to be feared under the peculiar circumstances of the government more than the first. However, from amongst his colleagues two only were to be feared; the Bishop of Durham, and he accordingly was, on one pretext or another, confined to his diocese; and Southampton, whose means of opposition had been much weakened by his loss of office, if not effectually suppressed by the fear of an overhanging fine. Besides, "the Duke of Norfolk, long known as the most influential champion of the Roman Catholic religion, was a condemned prisoner in the Tower, Bishop Gardiner, the mainspring of his party's motions, was under a political cloud, Bishop Boner was abroad as ambassador at the imperial court."²

Cranmer entered on his project of change by intimidating his fellow-bishops, and this by the perfect prostration of the episcopal power at the feet of the monarch. Hitherto the episcopacy had claimed to derive their authority from God, now it was proclaimed that it flowed from the king, "and their obedience was enforced by the adoption of the principle, that the appointment of bishops, like every other, was determined by the demise of

¹ Burnet, Hist. of Refor., vol. ii., p. 29.

² Soames, Hist. of Refor., vol. ii., p. 24.

the crown, which compelled all prelates to receive their bishoprics by letters patent from the king, during good behaviour."¹ Cranmer gave the example,² and petitioned the king to be restored to his former jurisdiction, for as long a period as his services should be acceptable to his sovereign.³ It is probable that all "the bishops were required to take out new commissions," and were thus rendered obsequious dependents on whomsoever held the reins of government. The reason of this servility on Cranmer's part is sufficiently obvious: "it was only done by reason of the present juncture, because the bishops being generally addicted to the former superstition, it was thought necessary to keep them under so arbitrary a power as that subjected them to; for they hereby held their bishoprics only during the king's pleasure, and were to exercise them as his delegates, in his name, and by his authority."⁴ No Pope, however stern and ambitious, had ever attempted any tyranny comparable to this.

The higher clergy were by these means intimidated. The concurrence of the court was readily gained. "Under colour of removing such corruptions as remained in the church, they had cast their eyes upon the spoil of shrines and images, though still preserved in the greatest part of the Lutheran churches, and the improving of their own fortunes by the chantery lands. All which, most sacrilegiously, they divided among themselves, without admitting the poor king to his share therein, though nothing but the filling of his coffers, by the spoil of the one, and the increase of his revenue, by the fall of the other, was openly pretended in the conduct of it."⁵

Other measures were taken to promote the intentions of the new gospellers. It was made sufficiently evident that no clergyman could calculate upon the patronage of the crown, unless he was prepared to abandon the principles in which he had been baptized and educated, and in which he had been engaged in instructing others.⁶ A royal visitation was next determined on. The whole kingdom was divided into six districts, to each of which were assigned visitors, partly laymen and partly clergymen. The jurisdiction of all the bishops was suspended. The visitors summoned before them the bishop, the clergy, and six or eight of the principal householders from each parish, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were administered, such questions as they thought fit were asked, and a promise of obedience to the royal injunctions exacted.⁷ Those injunctions were exceedingly numerous, amounting, as they are classed by Heylin,⁸ to thirty-nine,

¹ Mackintosh, *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. ii., p. 250.

² Burnet, vol. ii., p. 9. "His application was granted *durante beneplacito*, and hence I find that the archbishop in some of his writings is styled, "The commissary of our dread sovereign lord, King Edward." Strype, *Mems. Cranm.* 202.

³ Wilkins, iv. 2.

⁴ Burnet, l. c.

⁵ Heylin, *Pref. to Hist. of Ref.*, p. 2, 3.

⁶ Soames, vol. ii., p. 51.

⁷ Wilkins, iv. 11, 14, 17. Soames, vol. iii., p. 51, 52, 84—90

⁸ *Hist. of Refor.*, p. 34, 35, 36.

and regarded principally the faith and discipline of the church. No article of faith was directly impugned or rejected, but innovations on received usages, doubts, scruples, and pretended or real fears that great abuses had crept into the nation in sundry practices, smoothed the way for more substantial alterations, and from the abuse sophistically to argue to the uselessness or sinfulness of many venerable and really innocent customs. With the injunctions were delivered a book of sermons: they "are twelve in number, and form the first book of our authorized homilies." The principal share in the composition of these excellent discourses has ever been attributed to Cranmer,¹ one of these sermons was ordered to be read in every church on Sundays and holidays. They are worded so guardedly as not to trench directly on any acknowledged article of faith, though the important questions of justification, faith, and good works are discussed.

In addition to the homilies, it was required "that each parish of the kingdom should be compelled to provide itself with the *Paraphrase* of Erasmus"² on the New Testament.³ Cranmer had furnished or dictated the sources of religious instruction; he next endeavoured to secure such preachers as should disseminate such opinions as he was known to entertain, for which purpose the power of preaching was, by successive restrictions, confined to clergymen licensed by himself or by the protector.⁴ Even the very bishops could not preach in their own diocese without license.⁵

As a natural consequence of the injunctions and of the wishes of the court, if not at their instigation, the work of plunder was in some places begun in the churches, by destroying the images of Christ and of the saints. "The populace now began to destroy the images in churches, which Luther had tolerated as aids to devotion, and of which Cranmer vindicated the moderate use, as constantly preaching to the eyes of the ignorant. The likelihood of gross and extensive abuse is, indeed, the only solid objection to this ancient practice."⁶ Gardiner ably vindicated their usefulness, as the aids and not as the objects of devotion,⁷ and it was

¹ Heylin attributes the Homilies wholly to him. Hist. of Refor., p. 34.

² Soames, vol. iii., p. 67.

³ The exposition of the Revelations was none of Erasmus's, neither did he make any paraphrase upon that mysterious book, but was the work of Leo Jude." Strype, Eccl. Mem., vol. ii., p. 47.

⁴ Notwithstanding all Cranmer's precautions, his "Homilies" did not fare over well: "For a great many, both of the laity as well as the clergy, could not digest these homilies, and therefore, sometimes, when they were read in the church, if the parishioners liked them not, there would be such talking and babbling in the church, that nothing could be heard. And if the parish were better affected, and the priest not so, then he would 'so hawk it and chop it,' I use the words of old Latimer, 'that it were as good for them to be without it, for any word that could be understood.'" Strype, Eccl. Mem., p. 49.

⁵ Wilkins, iv. 27, 30. See two instances in Strype, ii. 90.

⁶ Mackintosh, vol. ii., p. 249.

⁷ Gardiner's arguments on this subject are well worthy attention, though his illustrations are somewhat quaint and homely. They may be seen in Soames, vol. iii., p. 40—43.

observed, that if they "had been used to be censed and to have candles offered unto them, none were so foolish to do it to the stock or stone, or to the image itself, but it was done to God, and his honour *before* the image."¹ On this subject, from an extract given in the Second Lecture from a sermon commonly read throughout England previous to the reformation, it is clear that the people were carefully and clearly instructed, so as to be free from the folly and crime of fancying that because they prayed before images, that therefore they prayed to them. Indeed, there is no evidence whatever, that any one Christian was ever so superstitious as to look upon images as any thing but assistances to devotion, and memorials of those whom they were intended to represent. In our days the outcry against images, though diminished, is by some persevered in, who do not hesitate, however, in practice to place them in their churches, without imagining that they thereby incur the awful crime of idolatry.² Indeed, it may be safely asserted, that more images and pious pictures are found, now-a-days, in Protestant, than in Catholic churches in this country.

Cranmer's visitation did not proceed everywhere with equal smoothness. He had fenced his injunctions with pains and penalties, requiring them to be "observed under the pains of excommunication, sequestration, or deprivation, as the ordinaries should answer it to the king, the justices of peace being required to assist them:"³ but Bishop Gardiner, his equal in learning and his superior in other qualities, would not sacrifice the independence of his authority to one who had acquired and maintained his eminence by means so questionable, without a struggle. He accordingly memorialized the protector and the council. His objections were such as forced themselves on the attention of the government. He was heard in person at the council-board. He represented that the king was too young to understand, and the protector too deeply engaged in politics to study the controversies which divided the nation; that the homilies and paraphrase were in direct opposition on sundry articles of doctrine; that the creed of the nation, having been settled by act of Parliament, could not be changed by the injunctions; that severe penalties would be incurred by any such attempts; and that the peace of the nation was not to be disturbed and its faith altered to please the theological fancies of Cranmer, or to promote the views of men who were well known to desire the further spolia-

¹ Strype, Eccl. Mem., p. 52.

² In lieu of images, texts of Scripture were, in some places, inscribed upon the walls of the churches. In St. Martin's, London, "having taken down the crucifix, they painted many texts of Scripture upon the walls; some of them "according to a perverse translation." Burnet, vol. ii., p. 14. One of these perverse translations was, "Thou shalt make no graven images *lest thou worship them*." Bp. Gardiner to Dr. Ridley. Foxe, 1227. Was not this to strain at a gnat and swallow a camel?

³ Burnet, vol. ii., p. 46.

tion of the church. To Cranmer he addressed himself in bolder and more unsparing language. He reproached him with duplicity or instability, in exhibiting himself to the nation as having either compromised his conscience during the life of the late king, or as ever fluctuating in opinion, which still he would force upon the nation as the revealed will of God, just as he had lately subscribed, taught, and enforced the creed held under Henry as the truth. "Which, if it had not been so, I ought to think your grace would not for all princes christened, being so high a bishop as ye be, have yielded unto. For, *obedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus*, we must obey God rather than man. And therefore after your grace hath for years continually lived in agreement of that doctrine, under our late sovereign lord, now so suddenly after his death to write to me, that his highness was seduced, it is, I assure you, a very strange speech."¹ But the council, overruling his objections, required of him to promise obedience to these injunctions. He replied, that they had not been tendered to him; let the visitation proceed in his diocese, and then it would be seen whether he would comply. But this plain reply was not accepted. He was required at once to pledge his word to obey, and on refusal was resigned to the Fleet as a prisoner. Thus did Cranmer silence his adversary, by committing to prison a bishop whose experience and ability he feared, though he had been guilty of no overt act against the law. There Gardiner was detained a close prisoner till the close of the session. Like most upstarts, Cranmer in authority proved himself a tyrant, and to all who believed not as he did, a persecutor. During Gardiner's imprisonment, attempts were made to shake his constancy, and to bribe him into a reformer. A hint was given him that his compliance would be rewarded with a place in the council, and an addition to his income; but he answered indignantly, that "if he agreed on such terms, he should deserve to be whipped in every market-town in the realm, and then to be hanged for an example, as the veriest varlet that ever was bishop in any realm christened."²

Cranmer, in company with the Bishops of Lincoln, and Rochester, Dr. Cox, and some others, required Gardiner's attendance at the deanery of St. Paul's. There, with these odds on his side, and the Bishop of Winchester, without one friend, the archbishop endeavoured "to convince him, that the doctrines now recommended by authority were perfectly sound. This, however, the imprisoned prelate would by no means admit. In vain did Cranmer urge, that when justification was declared to flow through faith alone, nothing more was intended than to teach

¹ Strype's Cranmer, app., p. 74.

² Strype's Cranmer, 64, 65. In one of his letters to the protector, Gardiner complains of much harsh treatment in prison, that "he was allowed no friend or servant, no chaplain, barber, tailor, nor physician." Strype's Cranmer, 213.

men the danger of confiding in their own merits as the ground of expecting God's favour. Gardiner challenged the whole party opposed to him to produce any ancient father affirming that faith excludes charity in the office of justification. Not even a hint from Cranmer, that he could wish to see him reinstated at the council-board, induced him to swerve from his determination, and accordingly he again found himself consigned for an indefinite time to his quarters in the Fleet."¹ It was "not deemed expedient to release a partisan of such talents and activity, while the sitting of Parliament afforded him additional facilities for embarrassing the government by his opposition."² To the protector Gardiner significantly wrote, that "the archbishop would never persuade men generally to acquiesce in his doctrine of justification, unless he borrowed prisons of the protector."³ I have entered fully into these particulars, that some judgment may be formed of Cranmer's spirit, of the means used to force his opinions on the clergy, and of the common but silly assertion that under the archbishop, increased learning, and study of the word of God, effected the religious changes, and not bribes, intimidation, and persecution.⁴

Bonner, Bishop of London, showed a similar opposition to the metropolitan's novelties. Profiting by Cranmer's limitation of his oath at the time of his consecration, Bonner refused to receive the homilies and injunctions, unless in as much as they were in unison with the law of God, and with the ordinances of the church. Subsequently, he offered to receive them unconditionally; but "this submission did not content the government, and, probably with a view of intimidating others from offering any obstruction to the visiters, the bishop was committed to the Fleet. He remained in confinement there only a few weeks, being at liberty again in the middle of November."⁵ Such were the means employed by the new gospellers to enforce their fancies; excommunication and deprivation for the inferior, and the prison for the higher clergy, that dared to follow their own judgment, and the religion of their fathers and of Christendom. Cranmer was the first to draw the sword of persecution which smote him in his turn, when those who had felt its edge in his hand, obtained in after days the vantage-ground. The opportunity of Bonner's imprisonment was seized to introduce some trifling but significant changes into the usual service at St. Paul's.⁶

Though acts of violence or plunder favourable to the gospellers had, as we have seen, desecrated one or two churches in the kingdom, we should grievously err if we concluded from these

¹ Soames, *Hist. of Refor.*, vol. iii., p. 97, 98.

² *Ibid.*, p. 102.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁴ The following is Sir J. Mackintosh's opinion of Gardiner's conduct. "Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, a man of great learning and ability, made a manly and becoming resistance to these injunctions, on principles of civil liberty, as much as of ecclesiastical discipline." *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. ii., p. 251.

⁵ Soames, *Hist. of Refor.*, vol. iii., p. 90.

⁶ Soames, l. c.

instances that the mass of the nation was desirous of change. The bishops were so opposed to innovation, that their concurrence in or submission to the proposed novelties was to be first secured by forcing them to sue out new commissions, liable to be forfeited on any opposition to the ruling power; the inferior clergy were intimidated by excommunication and deprivation in the event of their daring to think for themselves in contradiction to Cranmer's creed; but the nation at large, being beyond the threats or bribes of the metropolitan and the gospellers was to be propitiated or deluded by other measures. "Many there were that now whispered, and secretly spread abroad in markets, fairs, ale-houses, and other places, reports of innovations, and changes in religion and ceremonies of the church; and that they were done by the king, the protector, and others of the privy-council. Therefore, for the stopping of these *false* rumours, May 24, a proclamation was issued out against these reporters; assuring the king's subjects, that such pretended innovations were never begun, nor attempted by the king and council. And for the preventing of these reports, and discovering the talebearers, all justices, and others of the king's chief officers in the realm, were, by the said proclamation, commanded to search for them, and imprison them, according to former good acts and statutes of the king's noble progenitors, made to reform and punish, as lewd and vagrant, persons telling and reporting false news, and tales."¹ And this in the face of the notorious and public attempts at change, and belied by every succeeding act of the wily, unscrupulous, and persecuting metropolitan.

To enlighten the nation, however, further, by fresh lucubrations and discoveries, Cranmer translated and circulated "an elementary book of religious instructions, which had been published at Nuremberg, in the German language, was translated into Latin by Justus Jonas, the younger, now living with the archbishop, by whom the little work was rendered, somewhat altered into English. The piece was published under the title of 'Catechismus, that is to say, A short instruction into the Christian religion, for the singular commodity and profit of children and young people: set forth by the most reverend father in God, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury.' It opens with an exhortation to a virtuous life, proceeds to an exposition of the Decalogue, the creed, and the Lord's prayer, and comprises observations upon baptism, the eucharist, and the sacerdotal character."² In the Decalogue, the commandments are divided as they have been, since the time of St. Augustin, received in the western church, uniting the entire precept relative to the worship of the Almighty and the use of images as one commandment; nor is it denied "that images may be suffered in churches, but concluding, that under existing circumstances, it would be better to have them wholly

¹ Strype, Eccl. Mem., ii., 56.

² Soames, iii., p. 70.

removed :"¹ an advice which, we shall soon see, the more faithfully followed, as it tended to furnish some additional pillage to greedy adventurers and needy courtiers. "As to the eucharist, the catechism strongly maintains the real presence, in opposition to those who considered the Lord's supper merely as commemorative,² and it reprobates the question usually asked as to the reasonableness of supposing a priest capable of making Christ's body;³ but it does not plainly assert transubstantiation, and therefore there is reason to believe that when Cranmer published this piece, he was beginning to waver upon the subject of that doctrine. Upon half-communion, (communion under one kind,) however, his mind was evidently made up, for he exhorts his catechumens by no means to acquiesce under that sacrilegious abuse."⁴ It was well that his mind was made up about anything. And this was the instructor of others and the reformer divinely called to reform the church, who had not yet any fixed faith on so fundamental a question as the eucharist. At length, if we may believe the same writer, after the expiration of a few months, Cranmer came to the conclusion not only that transubstantiation was unscriptural, but a novelty; nay, more, that the real presence was a doctrine unacknowledged by the ancient church.⁵

Cranmer had surrounded himself with foreigners, and, as a check on popular discontent, he was eager to form an alliance with the German Protestants,⁶ that in case of an outbreak he might be backed with foreign troops. For the present, however, the project, having been recommended for consideration to the secretary of state, Sir William Paget, was not carried into effect.

Thus in the space of one short year, was the nation taught, amongst other inconsistencies, to beware of the impugnors of the real presence, as "not true Christians," and then instructed to receive them as orthodox teachers, reformers, and new apostles. But it is time to turn from the intolerance, the sycophancy, the contradictions, and the discoveries of Cranmer, to acts of Parliament, and the revived call for fresh plunder that rang from the assembled counsellors. The first and only Parliament held

¹ Soames, iii., p. 71.

² Soames, l. c.

³ The blasphemy insinuated in these words is too absurd to need comment. The following are the archbishop's words upon this subject: "And whereas in this perilous time certain deceitful persons be found in many places, who of very forwardness will not grant that there is the body and blood of Christ, but deny the same for none other cause, but that they cannot compass by man's reason how this thing should be brought to pass, ye, good children, shall with all diligence beware of such persons, that ye suffer not yourselves to be deceived by them. For such men surely are not true Christians, neither as yet have they learned the first article of the creed, which teacheth that God is Almighty." Soames, iii., p. 72.

⁴ Soames, l. c.

⁵ Soames, iii., p. 178.

⁶ Strype, *Eccl. Mem.*, ii., p. 88. "In August there was a consultation about the expediency of entering into a league with the German Protestants: which I make no doubt the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other favourers of the gospel, did press, there having been some agents sent thence hither but the last year."

during this reign opened on the 4th of November, 1547; "in which the cards were so well packed by Sir Ralph Sadler, that there was no need of any other shuffling till the end of the game; this very Parliament, without any sensible alteration of the members of it, being continued by prorogation from session to session, until at last it was ended by the death of the king. For a preparatory whereunto, Richard Lord Rich was made lord chancellor on the 24th of October, and Sir John Baker, chancellor of the court of first-fruits and tenths, was nominated speaker for the House of Commons. And that all things might be carried on with as little opposition and noise as might be, it was thought fit that Bishop Gardiner should be kept in prison, till the end of the session; and that Bishop Tonsal of Durham, a man of most even and moderate spirit, should be made less in reputation by being deprived of his place at the council-table. And though the Parliament consisted of such members as disagreed amongst themselves, in respect of religion, yet they agreed well enough together in one common principle, which was to serve the present time, and preserve themselves. For, though a great part of the nobility, and not a few of the chief gentry in the House of Commons, were cordially affected to the church of Rome; yet were they willing to give way to all such acts and statutes, as were made against it, out of a fear of losing such church-lands as they were possessed of, if that religion should prevail and get up again. And for the rest, who either were to make or improve their fortunes, there is no question to be made but that they came resolved to further such a reformation as should most visibly conduce to the advancement of their several ends, which appears plainly by the strange mixture of the acts and results thereof; some tending simply to God's glory, and the good of the church; some to the present benefit and enriching of particular persons; and some again devised of purpose to prepare a way for exposing the revenues of the church unto spoil and rapine."¹

Such were the men insured, and their principles, who formed the Parliament by which Cranmer and the gospellers proposed to effect a revolution in religion. But this was not all: "there was something more than the authority of a minor king to smooth the way to those alterations, both in doctrine and worship, which the grandees of the court and church had begun to fashion. The lord protector and his party were more experienced in affairs of state than to be told, that "all great counsels tending to innovation in the public government, especially where religion is concerned therein, are either to be backed by arms, or otherwise prove destructive to the undertakers." For this purpose he resolves to put himself into the head of an army, as well for the security of his person, and the preservation of his party, as for the carrying on of the design against all opponents. And, for

¹ Heylin, *Hist. of Refor.*, p. 48. See also Soames, iii., p. 182.

the arising of an army, there could not be a fairer colour, nor a more popular pretence, than a war in Scotland; not to be on any new emergent quarrel, which might be apt to breed suspicion in the heads of the people, but in pursuit of the great project of the king deceased, for uniting that realm, by the marriage of their young queen to his only son, to the crown of England. On this pretence levies are made in all parts of the kingdom, great store of arms and ammunition drawn together to advance the service, considerable numbers of old soldiers brought over from Bulloign, and the pieces which depended on it, and good provision made of shipping, to attend the motions of the army upon all occasions. He entertained also certain regiments of Walloons and Germanes, not out of any great opinion which he had of their valour, though otherwise of good experience in the wars, but because they were conceived more likely to enforce obedience, if his designs should meet with any opposition, than the natural English."¹

With a Parliament thus constituted, the leaders of the Catholic party imprisoned or silenced, with an army not only of English, but of foreign mercenaries, for fear lest the native troops should be too merciful, Cranmer and the protector proceeded to the work of change and spoliation. The acts affecting religion, the church, and its property are the following: 1. The tyrannical laws passed during the preceding reign were repealed. All felonies created since the 1st of Henry VIII., and all treasons created since the 25th of Edward III., were at once erased from the statute-book; the privilege of clergy, with the exception of a few cases, was restored; the laws against the Lollards, the prohibition restraining the use of the Scriptures, and of certain English publications, and the statute of the six articles were rescinded; and it was also provided that the act of the late reign giving to the royal proclamations the force of law, should be cancelled.² Whilst the gossellers secured themselves, they were careful to retain the bloody laws passed against the Catholic: "hence all who should deny the king's supremacy, were, for the first offence, to forfeit their goods and chattels, and to suffer imprisonment during pleasure: for the second, they were to incur the penalties of *præmunire*; for the third, they were to be attainted as traitors,"³ and to suffer death. Toleration to the fautors of modern, and extermination of the retainers of the olden opinions, were thus legalized by the first unfettered convention of these pious and Christian reformers. "Offences against the Christian faith as recorded in Scripture still continued to be punishable by the common law, as they had been before the time of Wickliffe."⁴ 2. It was provided that "all persons who should in any manner revile or condemn the eucharist, after the first of the following May, were to be fined and

¹ Heylin, *Hist. of Refor.*, p. 39, 40.

³ Soames, iii., p. 185.

² Soames, iii., p. 184, 185.

⁴ *Ibid.*

imprisoned at the king's pleasure, they having been convicted of the offence at the quarter sessions."¹ The following regulations were also adopted relative to the administration of the sacrament in one or two kinds. "According to the truth of Scripture, and the tenour of approved antiquity, it is most *agreeable* both to the institution of the said sacrament, and *more conformable* to the common use and practice, both of the apostles, and of the primitive church, by the space of five hundred years after Christ's ascension, that the said blessed sacrament should rather be ministered unto all Christian people under both the kinds of bread and wine, than under the form of bread only. And thereupon it was enacted, that the said most blessed sacrament should be hereafter *commonly* delivered, and ministered unto the people, within the church of England, and Ireland, and other the king's dominions, under both the kinds; that is to say, of bread and wine. With these provisoes notwithstanding, 'if necessity did not otherwise require:' as in the case of suddain sickness, and other such like extremities, in which it was not possible that wine could be provided for the use of the sacrament, nor the sick man depart this life in peace without it. And, secondly, that the permitting of this liberty to the people of England, and the dominions of the same, should not be construed to the condemning of any other church or churches, or the usages of them, in which the contrary was observed."² Omitting any discussion on the historical question involved in the above act, it may be observed that no new principle is laid down in the preceding statute, nor any practice recommended which might not be, and even has not been defended and enforced by Catholic writers and authorities. The manner of communicating is treated as a question of discipline, as one which may, consequently, vary according to times and circumstances, and one particular mode is adopted, not because the sacrament is mutilated by the adoption of another, for even under certain circumstances it was still to be administered under the form of bread only, but from reasons which must have their weight with every Christian, and which, if they contained the whole truth, and stated fully the practice of the primitive church, which is not the case, ought to have left no choice, nor admitted, under any circumstances, of any communion but that under both kinds. I would further draw attention to the great difference observable between the doctrine of the church of England as here taught by authority,³ and the positiveness with which sundry modern theologists, who have after all subscribed to the doctrine of this statute, which plainly admits only one kind to be *essential*

¹ Soames, iii., p. 187.

² Heylin, Hist. of Refor., p. 49. The synod of French Protestants holden at Poitiers, in 1560, decreed that only the *bread* of the Lord's Supper ought to be administered to those who cannot drink wine.

³ Under Mary the statute of Edward was repealed, but it was re-enacted by 1 Elizabeth, c. i.; and is still therefore the only authorized doctrine of the church of England.

to the sacrament, denounce the contrary practice as a mutilation or destruction of the ordinance of Christ.

3. From reformation or changes in religious practices, the Parliament next turned its attention to the revenues of the church. "The next great business was the retrieving of a statute made in the 27th year of King Henry the Eighth; by which all chantries, colleges, free chapels, and hospitals were permitted to the disposing of the king for term of his life. But the king dying before he had taken many of the said colleges, hospitals, chantries, and free chapels into his possession, and the great ones of the court not being willing to lose so rich a booty, it was set on foot again, and carried in this present Parliament. In and by which it was enacted, that, 'all such colleges, free chapels, and chantries, as were in being within five years of the present session, which were not in the actual possession of the late king, &c., other than such as by the king's commissions should be altered, transported, and changed; together with all manours, lands, tenements, rents, tithes, pensions, portions, and other hereditaments, to the same belonging; after the feast of Easter the next coming, should be adjudged, and deemed, and also be, in the actual and real possession, and seison of the king, his heirs, and successors forever.'¹ With these pious foundations fell all the funds destined for the support of obits, anniversaries, and church-lights, and all guild-lands possessed by fraternities for the same purpose. Cranmer, aware of the real object of the proposed grant, though many useful, charitable, and pious purposes were pretended, offered at first a warm resistance to the measure. But the court harpies were not to be easily deprived of their prey, and Cranmer soon deemed it prudent to temporize as usual, and withdrew his opposition."²

4. The bishops had practically, by sueing out fresh commissions, acknowledged that they derived their jurisdiction from the king: this principle, so often inculcated by Cranmer, was now incorporated into an act of Parliament, which completely prostrated the episcopacy at the feet of the monarch. It was declared that, "since all jurisdiction, both spiritual and temporal, was derived from the king,"³ the bishops should "thereafter be made by the king's letters patent;" and that whereas they had hitherto exercised their authority and carried on processes in their own names, "henceforth their courts and all processes should be carried on in the king's name, and be sealed by the king's seal, as it was in

¹ Heylin, *Hist. of Refor.*, p. 50. "There were accounted 90 colleges within the compass of that graunt, and no fewer than 2374 free chapels and chantries." Heylin, *Hist. of Refor.*, p. 51.

² On the first division in the Lords the minority consisted of Canterbury, Ely, Norwich, Hereford, Worcester, and Chichester. At the last Canterbury and Worcester were not in the House, and Norwich voted with the court. *Journals*, 308, 313.

³ Burnet, *Hist. of Refor.*, vol. ii., p. 69.

the other courts of common law.”¹ “In the compounding of this act there was more danger couched than at first appeared. The intent of the contrivers was, by degrees to weaken the authority of the episcopal order, by forcing them from their stronghold of divine institution, and making them no other than the king’s ministers only, his ecclesiastical sheriffs, as a man might say, to execute his will and disperse his mandates. And of this act such use was made, though possibly beyond the true intention of it, that the bishops of those times were not in capacity of conferring orders, but as they were thereunto empowered by especial license.”² Besides the design of rendering the bishops dependent on the crown, another object was “to make deans and chapters useless, for the time to come, and thereby to prepare for their dissolution.”³ 5. The suppression of the monasteries, and the confiscation of the greater tithes, which in many instances fell with the religious houses, had stopped the usual and abundant channel of charity. The number of mendicants that now wandered through the country is almost incredible, and their importunities for bread became alarming and dangerous. To abate this nuisance, an act was passed, unsurpassed for atrocity in any land or age. “All that should anywhere loiter without work, or offering themselves to work, three days together, or that should run away from work, and resolve to live idly, should be seized upon, reckoned vagabonds, and be liable to the following atrocious treatment. Whosoever should present them to a justice of peace, was to have them adjudged to be his *slaves* for two years, and they were to be marked with the letter V imprinted with a hot iron on their breast.” His master was bound to provide him with bread, water, and refuse meat: might fix an iron ring round his neck, arm, or leg, and was authorized, by the act, to compel him to “labour at any work, however vile it might be; by beating, chaining, or otherwise.” If the slave absconded during a fortnight, the letter S was burned on his cheek or forehead, and he became a *slave for life*: and if he offended a second time in the like manner, his flight subjected him to the penalties of felony.⁴ These enormous enactments which legalized slavery, and branded poverty as almost as great a crime as murder, proceeding from men who at the same time were engaged in establishing a new system of faith, and reprobating the customs of the national religion as immoral and displeasing to God, exhibit hypocrisy as one of those views that not only demoralize, but at times seems to turn the heart to stone.

At the same time that the Parliament assembled, the convocation of the clergy was held, and proposed, under the direction of Cranmer, sundry measures for the consideration of both Houses.

¹ Burnet, Hist. of Refor., vol. ii., p. 69. The Archbishop of Canterbury might use his own name and seal for faculties and dispensations, but in no other cases.

² Heylin, Hist. of Refor., p. 51.

³ Ibid., p. 52.

⁴ Stat. 1, Edw. VI. 3.

Amongst these was one for authorizing the clergy to marry, which, after being recommended by a majority of about two-thirds of the assembled ecclesiastics, and agreed to by the Commons, was rejected summarily by the House of Lords.¹ A bill was also lost, which had for its object to remove the restraints which had been imposed in the last reign on the reading of the Scriptures; and another, that the clergy of the lower house of convocation might take their seats in the House of Commons, met with a similar fate.² The Parliament closed its labours by announcing a general pardon from the king, in consequence of which Bishop Gardiner, now that his opposition was less to be dreaded, obtained his liberty.³

The labours of this Parliament, if they abridged the liberties of the people, plundered the church, and prostrated the episcopacy, were acceptable to the gospellers; the immediate acts of the council were not calculated to lessen their expectations. By an order in council, which was communicated to the several bishops in the usual manner, it was resolved, that "no candles should be borne upon Candlemas-day, nor also, from thenceforth, ashes or palms used any longer;"⁴ which weighty reformation was soon followed by another of more consequence in itself and to the purses of those who enacted the part of remodellers of religion, by which, after premising that "images be things not necessary, without which the churches of Christ continued most godly many years, it was made known to the archbishop, that "His highness pleasure, with the advice and consent of us, the lord protectour and the rest of the council, is, that immediately upon sight hereof, with as convenient diligence as you may, you shall not only give order, that all the images remaining in any church or chapel, within your diocese, be removed and taken away, but also by your letters signifie unto the rest of the bishops within your province, this his highness pleasure, for the like order to be given by them, and every of them, within their several diocesses."⁵ It may be useful to remark that the abuse of images was not assigned as the cause of this order, nor any scriptural prohibition against these memorials, but merely that they were not necessary, and that their removal would destroy the contentions between the retainers of the old, and the favourers of the new religion. These reasons are too meagre and flimsy to be thought the real motives of the court, and "it may well be thought that covetousness spurred on this business more than zeal; there being none of the images so poor and mean, the spoyle whereof would not

¹ Burnet, *Hist. of Refor.*, vol. ii., p. 75.

² Soames, vol. iii., p. 201.

³ Soames, *Hist. of Refor.*, vol. iii., p. 218.

⁴ See the order in Heylin, p. 55.

⁵ Council-order as in Heylin, *Hist. of Refor.*, p. 56. On this occasion Bishop Gardiner observed on the differences amongst the gospellers, inasmuch as "with his own eyes he had seen the images standing in all churches, where Luther was had in estimation, and that Luther himself had purposely written a book against some men which had defaced them."

afford some gold and silver, if not jewells also, besides censers, candlesticks, and many other rich utensils appertaining to them. In which respect, the commissioners appertaining hereunto were entertained in many places with scorn and railing, and the further they went from London, the worse they were handled. Inso-much that one of them called Body, as he was pulling down images in Cornwall, was stabbed into the body by a priest. And though the principal offender was hanged in Smithfield, and many of his chief accomplices in other parts of the realm, which quieted all matters for a time; yet the next year the storm broke out more violently than before it did, not onely to the endangering of the peace of those western counties, but in a manner of all the kingdom."¹ The council became alarmed, and, though attacks on the fast of Lent had been promoted, "it was deemed expedient to give the generality of the subject some contentment, in a proclamation for the strict keeping of Lent, and the example of the court in pursuance of it."²

§ 2.

Plunder of Shrines, Colleges, &c.—St. Stephen's.—St. Martin's.—Profanation.—Bishop Gardiner at St. Paul's.—The Book of Common Prayer.—Doctrines it contained since rejected.—Debates on the Celibacy of the Clergy.—Admiral Seymour.—Somerset House.—Public Discontent.—Bonner at Lambeth.—Firmness of the Princess Mary.—Joan of Kent.—Fires of Smithfield.

To the spoil acquired by the pulling down of images were added "all the rich shrines which, with all the plate belonging to them, were brought into the king's use."³ Changes were now the regular system, and we are not to be surprised that others besides Somerset, Cranmer, and the court gospellers, had so good an opinion of themselves as to fancy that they could enlighten the ignorance of their fellow-countrymen, and show in how many things their forefathers had been exceedingly foolish, rashly charitable, and piously ignorant. But they were deceived if they fancied that the accredited new apostles would allow of any competitors. "In order to stay the indiscretion of such reformers, a royal proclamation was issued on the 6th of February, by which all persons, whether clerical or lay, who should discontinue ancient ceremonies, preach or argue publicly against them, or introduce new church usages, without proper authority, were threatened with imprisonment and other penalties. All clergymen were by this instrument interdicted from preaching out of their own pulpit, unless by especial license from the king, the royal visiters, the Archbishop of Canterbury, or their respective

¹ Heylin, *Hist. of Refor.*, p. 56.

² *Ibid.*, p. 57.

³ Burnet, *Hist. of Refor.*, vol. ii., p. 97.

diocesans."¹ Such as would conform to the recent injunctions of the council were, however, as far as punishment was concerned, exempted.² The above is another specimen of intolerance, and affords further proof that a few men at court devised and forced upon the nation the novelties called a reformation.

All these changes had been effected between December, 1547, and March, 1548. In this month effect was given to the act of Parliament which had enjoined that the sacrament, except in cases of necessity, should be commonly administered under both kinds. Not to offend too much against the religious feeling of the nation, nothing was changed in the mass,³ which proceeded as it had done hitherto until after the priest's communion, after which an exhortation in English was to be addressed to the people who purposed to communicate,⁴ a prayer was to be read, and the communion administered.

This was, in the king's proclamation, now that the danger of opposition seemed to have blown over, declared to be but a specimen of other changes which might be looked for, and the expectant nation is commanded "to receive with such obedience and conformity this royal ordinance and most godly direction, that we may be encouraged from time to time further to travail for the reformation, and setting forth of such godly orders, as may be most to God's glory, the edifying of our subjects, and for the advancement of true religion; which is the thing we, by the help of God, most earnestly endeavoured to bring to effect: willing all our loving subjects, in the mean time, to stay and quiet themselves, with this our direction, as even content to follow authority, according to the bounden duty of subjects, and not enterprising to run before, and so by their rashness become the great hinderers of such things as they, more arrogantly than godly, would seem by their own private authority, most hotly to set forward. We would not have our subjects so much to mistake our judgment, so much to mistrust our zeal, as though we either would not discern what were to be done, or would not do all things in due time: God be praised, we know both by his word what is meet to be redressed, and have an earnest mind, by the advice of our most dear uncle, and other of our privy-council, with all diligence and convenient speed, so to set forth the same, as it may most stand with God's glory, and edifying and quiet-

¹ Soames, vol. iii., p. 224.

² Ibid., p. 225.

³ Burnet, ii., p. 103.

⁴ "The exhortation," says Burnet, "is the same now used, (in the established church,) only a little varied in words. After that followed a denunciation against sinners, requiring them who were such and had not repented, to withdraw lest the devil should enter into them as he did into Judas; then was to follow an exhortation, with a confession of sins and absolution, the very same which we do yet retain. The sacrament was to be given in both kinds: first, to the ministers then present, and then to all the people, with these words: 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body unto life everlasting; and the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul unto life everlasting.'"—Burnet, *Reform.*, p. 103.

ness of our people; which we doubt not, but all our obedient and loving subjects will quietly and reverently tarry for.”¹ In judging of the above production, it must not be forgotten that this zealous and learned reformer and authority was about ten years old.

It will be useful to direct our attention for a while to the carrying into effect another of the enactments of the late session of Parliament, I mean the suppression and seizure of chantries, free chapels, and colleges, and for this purpose I shall notice the proceedings of the spoilers in London. “In the first place, as lying nearest, came in the free chapel of St. Stephen’s, originally founded in the palace at Westminster, and reckoned for the chapel-royal of the court of England. The whole foundation consisted of no fewer than thirty-eight persons; and if the lands belonging to that chapel had been kept together, and honestly laid unto the crown, the king had been a very rich gainer by it; the yearly rents thereof being valued at £1085, 10s. 5d. As for the chapel itself, together with a cloister of curious workmanship, they are still standing as they were,² the chapel having been since fitted, and employed for a House of Commons in all times of Parliament.”³ “At the same time also fell the college of St. Martin’s, commonly called St. Martin’s le Grand, situate in the city of London, not far from Aldersgate, founded in the time of the conqueror, and afterwards privileged for a sanctuary, which, having been bestowed upon the church of Westminster, they, to make the best of the king’s donation, appointed, by a chapter held the 7th of July, that the body of the chapel, with the quire and iles, should be leased out for fifty years, at the rate of five marks *per annum*, excepting out of the said grant, the bells, lead, stone, timber, glass, and iron, to be sold and disposed of, for the sole use and benefit of the said dean and chapter. Which foul transaction being made, the church was totally pulled down, and a tavern built in the east part of it.”⁴ “But for this sacrilege the church of Westminster was called immediately in a manner to a sober reckoning. For the lord protectour thinking it altogether unnecessary that two cathedrals should be founded so near one another, and thinking that the church of Westminster, as being of a late foundation, might best be spared, had cast a longing eye upon the goodly patrimony which remained to it. And being then unfurnished of an house, or palace, proportionable unto his greatness, he doubted not to find room enough, upon the dissolution and destruction of so large a fabrick, to raise a palace equal to his vast designs. Which coming to the ears of Benson, the last abbot and first dean of the church, he could bethink himself of no

¹ See the proclamation in Heylin, p. 58, 59.

² Until the late fire, the chapel of St. Stephen’s continued to be used for the same purpose.

³ Heylin, 60.

⁴ Heylin, Hist. of Refor., p. 60.

other means to preserve the whole, but by parting for the present with more than half the estate which belonged unto it. And thereupon a lease is made of seventeen manours, and good farms, lying almost together in the county of Gloucester, for the term of ninety-nine years; which they presented to the Lord Thomas Seymour, to serve as an addition to his manour of Sudely, humbly beseeching him to stand their good lord and patron, and to preserve them in a fair esteem with the lord protectour. Another present of almost as many manours and farms, lying in the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford, was made for the like term to Sir John Mason, a special confidant of the duke's, not for his own, but for the use of his great master; which after the duke, all came to Sir John Bourn, principal secretary of estate in the time of Queen Mary. And yet this would not serve the turn, till they had put into the scale their manour of Islip, conferred upon that church by King Edward the Confessor. Bad examples seldome end where they first began. For the nobility and inferior gentry, possessed of patronages, considering how much the lords and great men of the court had improved their fortunes, by the suppression of those chantries, and other foundations which had been granted to the king, conceived themselves in a capacity of doing the like, by taking into their hands the yearly profits of those benefices of which by law they only were intrusted with the presentations. All which enormities, though tending so apparently to the dishonour of God, the disservice of the church, and the disgrace of religion, were generally connived at by the lords, and others who onely had the power to reform the same, because they could not question those, who had so miserably invaded the churches patrimony, without condemning of themselves."¹ When the people had such example of want of religion, or of religion made a mask for crime and gain, set them by their rulers, it is no wonder that their respect for sacred things and places should diminish, and that they should treat churches as mere places of rendezvous, when they saw them everywhere desecrated, pillaged, and destroyed. Accordingly, especially in London, "they became the scenes of quarrelling, riot, and even bloodshed; horses and mules were led into them, guns were discharged within their walls, and a hideous spirit of profanation began to stalk among the unthinking multitude. For the sake of removing from the reformation the stain of such daring scandals, a royal proclamation forbade all irreverent acts, in edifices assigned to public worship, under pain of his majesty's indignation, and of imprisonment."² But men wanted not proclamations, but better example, and all threats and proclamations were but idle words without it. A few years previously the churches

¹ Heylin, *Refor.*, p. 61. See in the same writer and page several quotations from Latimer's Sermons on these and similar acts of sacrilegious rapine.

² Soames, *Hist. of Refor.*, iii., p. 331.

were open at all hours to receive the penitent, and to comfort the afflicted, and there were no profanations; but the reformation in that brief space had so completely changed the character of the people as to sink them to the depth of demoralization which must precede the profanation of churches, and the turning the house of prayer into a den of uncleanness and crime. By the fruit judge of the tree.

But this was not the only, I had almost said not the worst, symptom of the disease that had entered into the vitals of the state, under the care of the new dispensers of religious nostrums. "Men were found to arise from the perusal of Scripture with crude notions of extraordinary privileges conferred upon God's elect; a designation which readers of that cast never fail of applying to themselves. It was also taught by some ill-informed or ill-judging preachers and writers, that the elect did not, and could not sin; that the regenerate never fall from godly love; and that the elect have a right to take so much of this world's goods as will supply their necessities.¹ It is the duty of those who form the moral and intellectual strength of a country to stand forward as the opponents of such pestilent assumptions; and it is the duty of such as guide the national affairs to restrain by means of penalties, if necessary, the dissemination of principles injurious to the peace of society. Such restraint was now imperiously demanded. Not only was the reformation exposed to unmerited obloquy from the conflicting or the pernicious tenets advanced by persons who had turned their backs upon Romanism, but the united passions of the populace afforded a specious colour to those who were ever misrepresenting the religious changes in agitation, or actually effected. The contempt heaped upon Roman Catholic doctrines had even afforded a pretence to youthful petulance and vulgar insolence, to insult the clergy as they walked along the streets of London. Wanton apprentices and servants, on meeting men in clerical and scholastic habits, jostled them, knocked their caps from off their heads, and tore their tippets from their shoulders. It had been found necessary to repress this disposition to daring outrage by a royal proclamation, issued in the last November."² The clergy had degraded themselves by abandoning their faith, at the beck of those in power, and men must learn to respect themselves, if they would be respected by others. Does not the above description bring to your minds a similar scene, and there is but one parallel instance in history, enacted in the outbreak of demoniacal hatred of sacred persons and things during the French revolution. There are more points of resemblance in these two events than one, but this is not the place to pursue the comparison.

¹ It was maintained by others that "the laws prohibiting polygamy and divorce were mere devices of papal tyranny, unsanctioned by Scripture, and some persons acted upon this monstrous assumption." Soames, iii., p. 334.

² Soames, iii. p. 333.

The army which, as we have seen, had been levied to awe into silence popular discontent at the change of faith, could not prevent "serious dissensions among the people, which kept the English government in a constant state of uneasiness."¹ Bishop Gardiner was looked up to by the Catholics as their guide, by the gospellers as their shrewdest and most determined enemy. It was resolved to try his resolution, and, if possible, subdue it, that his compliance might smoothe the way to general acquiescence. Accordingly, that the whole nation might know that he had complied with the disciplinary regulations enjoined by the council, he was ordered to proceed to London, and to appear at the privy-council, where he was accused of having violated their injunctions. By means of this examination, which drew the attention of both religious parties, it became generally known that, with respect to the ceremonies prohibited to be used on Ash-Wednesday, Palm-Sunday, and Good-Friday, the administration of the sacrament in both kinds, and the removal of images from the churches of his diocese, Gardiner had complied with the royal proclamations. When further questioned as to his belief on the holy eucharist and the mass, he replied that "he had asserted the presence of Christ, in such words as he had heard the Archbishop of Canterbury dispute for it against Lambert, that had been burnt."² Hitherto the Bishop of Winchester had proved himself too wily a politician to fall into the nets spread for him. But it was resolved in the council to lay another snare which they fancied he could not escape. He was directed to preach a sermon at St. Paul's. To this Gardiner readily assented. It was next proposed to him by Cecil, on the part of the council, that his sermon should be written, and composed according to notes which were placed into his hands. Gardiner replied, that "he was willing to preach, but would not write it, for that was to preach as an offender; nor would he make use of notes prepared by other men."³

He was then privately summoned before the lord protector, shown the decision of the law-officers of the crown, if he should dare to teach any thing in opposition to the will of the king; "but he desired to speak with those lawyers, and said, no subscription of theirs should oblige him to preach otherwise than as he was convinced." The protector said he should either do that or worse. Two days before he preached, the protector sent him a message, not to meddle with those questions about the sacrament that were yet in controversy among learned men."⁴ Gardiner replied, he could not forbear to speak of the mass, and further, that he was not aware that there was any controversy about the presence of Christ. The sermon was preached on the 29th of June, the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul. In it he approved

¹ Soames, vol. iii., p. 336.

² Burnet, *Refor.*, vol. ii., p. 111.

³ Burnet, *Refor.*, vol. ii., p. 210.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

of the changes effected during the late reign; he objected not to the acts of the council, but he stated plainly and forcibly the Catholic doctrine on the mass and the holy eucharist: "upon which many of the assembly that were indiscreetly hot on both sides, cried out, some approving, and others disliking it."¹ In explaining the Catholic doctrine of the eucharist, Gardiner merely stated what was outwardly the belief of his enemies, who up to that hour celebrated mass as in the preceding reign. But it was well known that all this was merely a hypocritical compliance with public opinion, and accordingly Gardiner, though he had violated neither public law, nor regal proclamation, was arrested the day after he had preached his sermon, and consigned a prisoner to the Tower.² Thus did Cranmer, a second time, see his rival punished contrary to every principle of justice, merely because the Bishop of Winchester would not adopt, in opposition to his previous and present convictions, and the almost universal belief of Christendom, the fluctuating fancies of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Gardiner was never suffered again to leave his prison-house, as long as Cranmer and his associates ruled the nation.

Cranmer had enlightened the nation by a catechism; had increased the service of the mass by sundry prayers and exhortations; he was now busily employed on a book of prayer. The ancient service retained most of the tenets, and supposed many of the practices which had fallen under his pleasure, and, as long as it was preserved, was a bond of union between the English church and the rest of the churches of Christendom. It was resolved, therefore, to publish a form of public prayer which should supersede the mass; for which purpose, with the assistance of the bishops, who had been formerly employed in drawing up the order for the communion service, and with the help of a few other divines, the labour was commenced; four months after which, on the first of September, the youthful head of the church summoned them to his presence, and commanded them to "prepare orders for daily prayers, for administering the sacraments, and for all the public offices of religion."³

The book of common prayer is, in a great measure, a translation from the liturgy and books of prayer that for centuries had been used in England. The compilers "appear to have aimed at little more than a selection from the established liturgy of such parts as would bear to be confronted with Scripture, and with the genuine remains of the primitive church. They were, indeed, evidently anxious that their work should prove as inoffensive to Roman Catholic prejudices as possible."⁴

¹ Burnet, *Refor.*, vol. ii., p. 112.

² Bishop Godwin assigns Gardiner's statement on the eucharist as the reason of his imprisonment. *Ob hoc delictum coniectus est in carcerem.*—*Annal.* 90.

³ Heylin, p. 64. *Strype, Eccl. Mem.*, vol. ii., p. 137.

⁴ Soames, iii., p. 369.

It was not, however, entirely a mere translation or compilation. Besides omitting many portions of the mass; prayers and regulations were, in some places, added, according to the caprice or religious fancies of the compilers. By Christmas this work was ready, though, before that period, many of the bishops who had been originally on the committee engaged on the prayer-book, had retired from a task to which they were in their hearts hostile. The committee originally consisted of eighteen bishops, besides inferior clergy; eight of that number voted against the book in the House of Lords.¹ The Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Durham, and some others of the episcopal order, refused to co-operate in Cranmer's designs;² Day, of Chichester, "would by no means have his hand in the subscription;"³ he, with the Bishops of Hereford and Westminster, "protested against the bill when it passed the Lords;"⁴ so that it seems probable, that out of the whole bench of bishops none remained in the end but Cranmer, Godrich, Holbeach, and Ridley; together with a few assistant divines, May, Taylor, Haynes, and Cox.⁵ Gardiner, Tunstall, and Heath, in every respect Cranmer's equals in learning, Redmayn and Robertson, the most eminent theologians of their day,⁶ had no part in the undertaking, which, like the rest of the changes, was the work of a small knot of discontented, aspiring, and unscrupulous men, who had either fortunes to achieve, or, like Cranmer, had, by violating the vow of celibacy, rendered a separation from the church an object of personal interest and security. Let it then never be forgotten that, at a time when, to oppose the religious innovations, now designated a reformation, was to run counter to the court when the court was all-powerful, and, to their private advantage, only four bishops sanctioned the changes, and of those four, one at least had other affections besides affection to his God, influencing powerfully his opinions and conduct.

In addition to the above details relative to the authors of the book of common prayer, it may be interesting to subjoin a few particulars respecting the doctrines which it inculcated, and which have since been abandoned.

1. In imitation of all the ancient liturgies, the first prayer-book contained the following consecration of the eucharistic elements: "Hear us, we beseech thee, and with thy holy spirite and worde vouchsafe to bllesse and sanctifie these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wyne, that they may be unto us the bodie and blood of thy most derely beloved sonne." "The sign of the cross was thus to be twice made upon the elements and the bread and the chalice taken into the priest's hands."⁷

¹ Lords' Journals, 331.

² Heylin, *Refor.*, p. 65.

³ Soames, vol. iii., p. 356.

⁷ Soames, vol. iii., p. 376, 377.

² Soames, vol. iii., p. 354.

⁴ Strype's *Eccl. Mem.*

⁶ See their characters in Soames, iii., p. 357.

2. Prayers for the dead were retained, as the following extract from that portion of the new service which corresponded with the canon or most solemn part of the mass, clearly evinces: "We commend unto thy mercy, O Lord, all other thy servants, which are departed hence from us with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace. Grant unto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy and everlasting peace, and that at the day of the general resurrection, we and all they which be of the mystical body of thy Son, may altogether be set on his right hand."

3. "In baptism a cross was to be made upon the child's forehead and breast, the devil was to be exorcised to leave him;¹ he was to be thrice dipped, if able to bear it, he was then to be anointed,² and a chrysom, or white robe, was to be put upon him."³ "In confirmation, the bishop was to accost each person coming to that rite by his Christian name, make the sign of a cross upon his forehead, and address these words to him: 'N., I sign thee with the sign of the cross, and lay mine hand upon thee. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.'⁴ In the matrimonial office, the man is directed, together with the ring, to lay upon the book for transfer, by the priest's means, to the woman, some gold or silver, as "tokens of spousage;" and in blessing the couple, the clergyman was to make the sign of the cross.⁵ "Extreme unction was also yielded to those who might desire it. But it was enjoined that this unction be confined to the forehead or breast only."⁶ The following prayer accompanied this ordinance. "As with this visible oil thy body outwardly is anointed; so our Heavenly Father, Almighty God, grant of his infinite goodness, that thy soul inwardly may be anointed with the Holy Ghost, who is the Spirit of all strength, comfort, relief, and gladness. And vouchsafe for his great mercy, if it be his blessed will, to restore unto thee thy bodily health and

¹ "This custom of exorcising children, how singular soever it may seem to some people now, was the practice of the ancient church. For this, the testimony of St. Austin, to cite no more authority, is sufficient proof. '*Si diabolus,*' says this Father, '*non dominatur infantibus, quid respondebunt Pelagiani quod illi exorcisantur?*'" Soames, iii., p. 378, quoting Collier.

² "That anointing the person baptized was likewise an ancient custom appears from Tertullian, St. Cyprian, and the apostolical constitutions." Ibid.

³ Soames, iii., p. 378. "This was a relic of the ancient custom. 'Thou hast taken the white vestments, as a sign that thou hast put off the old rags of thy sins, and hast put on the chaste robes of innocence.'—Ambrose." Ibid.

⁴ Soames, Ibid. "It is not directed that, according to ancient usage, this signing should be made with chrism, which is the more remarkable, because the bishop was to precede it by praying, that the individuals presented for confirmation should 'be confirmed and strengthened with the inward unctions of the Holy Ghost.'" L'Estrange, 248.

⁵ Soames, iii., p. 379. "The sign of the cross is also a very ancient usage. Tertullian observes, that in his time it was a general custom for Christians to make a cross upon their foreheads upon every the least remarkable occasion." Collier quoted by Soames, *ubi supra*.

⁶ Soames, iii., p. 380.

strength to serve him : and send thee release from all thy pains, troubles, and diseases, both in body and mind.

"And howsoever his goodness, by his Divine and unsearchable Providence, shall dispose of thee, we his unworthy ministers and servants humbly beseech the eternal Majesty to do with thee according to the multitude of his innumerable mercies, and to pardon thee all thy sins and offences committed by all thy senses, passions, and carnal affections ; who also vouchsafe mercifully to grant unto thee ghostly strength by his Holy Spirit to withstand and overcome all temptations and assaults of thine adversary, that in nowise he prevail against thee, but that thou mayest have perfect victory, and triumph against the devil, sin, and death, through Christ our Lord, who by his death hath overcome the prince of death, and with the Father and the Holy Ghost evermore liveth and reigneth, God, world without end. Amen."

4. The form of the eucharistic bread was the same as that now in use in the Catholic church, and like it was unleavened. "In case of administering the eucharist to the sick, it was enjoined that if there were a communion that day at church, so much of the consecrated elements should be reserved as would suffice for the sick person and his friends."¹ "At the close of the burial service is a form for the administration of the Lord's supper at funerals : in deference, therefore, to popular prejudice, and in imitation of antiquity, the eucharistic *sacrifice* was still allowed to accompany the last solemn rites of interment."² "In the burial-service the deceased person's soul is commended to God's mercy."³ I need scarcely add that confession and sacerdotal absolution were retained, since they still form a part of the liturgy of the established church. "Calvin had offered his assistance to Archbishop Cranmer, as himself confesseth, but the archbishop knew the man, and refused the offer."⁴ When the work was made public, "he found fault with prayers for the dead, the use of chrism, and the allowance of extreme unction, as being destitute of Scripture warrant."⁵ Thus, as usual, each reformer, whilst he claimed to teach the pure doctrines of Christ, and the Christianity of the Scriptures, was sure to disagree with every other reformer, and to condemn some of his doctrines as superstitious and unscriptural.

There was another point mooted in connection with the public service of the altar, the sacerdotal vestments. "The priests had officiated in some garments, which were appropriated to that use, as surplices, copes, and other vestments ; and it was long under consideration whether these should continue. It was objected

¹ Soames, iii., p. 380, 381.

² Ibid., p. 382.

³ Ibid. "They prayed that his sins might be pardoned, that he might be delivered from hell and carried to heaven, and that his body might be raised at the last day." Burnet, ii., p. 124.

⁴ Heylin, p. 65.

⁵ Soames, iii., p. 386.

that these garments had been part of the train of the mass, and had been superstitiously abused, only to set it off with the more pomp. On the other hand it was argued, that as white was anciently the colour of the priest's garments in the Mosaical dispensation, so it was used in the African churches in the fourth century: and it was thought a natural expression of the purity and decency that became priests: besides, the clergy were then generally extreme poor, so that they could scarce afford themselves decent clothes; the people also running from the other extreme of submitting too much to the clergy, were now as much inclined to despise them, and to make light of the holy function; so that if they should officiate in their own mean garments, it might make the divine offices grow also into contempt. And therefore it was resolved to continue the use of them."¹

The book when finished was entitled, "The book of common prayer and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church of England." It was presented at once to the young king, by whom it was received "to his great comfort and quietness of mind."²

As a preparation for its reception, the king, by proclamation, prohibited all public preaching. He told his subjects, "that minding to see very shortly one uniform order throughout his realm, and to put an end to all controversies on religion, so far as God should give grace, for which cause at that time, certain bishops and notable men were at that time congregate, he thought fit to inhibit for a time, till that order should be set forth, as well the said preachers so before licensed, as all manner of persons whosoever they were, to preach in open audience, or elsewhere." Imprisonment was the punishment awarded to the violators of this injunction.³

We must now turn to the approbation of the prayer-book by act of Parliament, and the forcing it upon the nation: "for the great majority of men in every rank and station were riveted in their early prejudices, and hated the prospect of surrendering that seductive religious system in which their fathers had lived and died."⁴

Whilst this was the feeling of the nation, that Parliament assembled which was to brave the opposition of the kingdom, and to force, backed by foreign bayonets, on the majority, the opinions of a handful of innovators.

The meeting of Parliament had, in consequence of the violence of the plague which raged in London, been prorogued from the

¹ Burnet, *Refor.*, ii., p. 121.

² Stat. 2 Edw. VI., i.

³ Strype, *Eccl. Mem.*, ii., p. 191.

⁴ Soames, iii., p. 391. "The use of the old religion is forbidden by a law, and the use of the new is not yet printed: printed in the stomachs of eleven out of twelve parts of the realm: what countenance soever men make outwardly to please them in whom they see the power resteth." (Sir W. Paget, to the Lord Protectour. Strype, *Eccl. Mem.*, app. ii. 431.) This letter is dated July 7, 1549.

15th of October, until the 24th of November.¹ The first ecclesiastical question agitated in this session was the celibacy of the clergy. In the convocation of the preceding year, the majority of the clergy assembled had petitioned the Parliament to sanction the marriage of ecclesiastics, and Cranmer, who was still living in illegal wedlock, eagerly pressed the question on the earliest attention of Parliament. A bill for this purpose was brought into the House of Commons on the 3d of December, and hurried through a second and third reading on the 5th and 6th of the same month. But it was discovered, that, by some singular oversight, the bill only provided that married men might be ordained priests, without enacting that priests already ordained might become married men.² A second bill was therefore brought in, and, after a stormy discussion, was agreed to. It was sent up to the Lords on the 13th of December, where it lay without notice, from reasons with which we are unacquainted, for nearly two months.³ Even then a totally new bill was substituted for that of the Commons, which on a division was carried by a majority of thirty-six to twelve.⁴ To this bill the Commons assented. The bill legalizes, but does not encourage the marriage of the clergy, it even recommends celibacy. The preamble sets forth: "That it were much to be desired, that priests, and all others in holy orders, might abstain from marriage, that, thereby being free from the cares of wedlock, and abstracted from the troubles of domestical business, they might more diligently attend the ministry, and apply themselves unto their studies." "But then withal it is considered, that as all men have not the gift of continence, so many great scandals and other notable inconveniences have been occasioned in the church by the enforced necessity of a single life, in those admitted unto orders," it was therefore enacted by the authority of the present Parliament that "all such positive laws and ordinances, as prohibited the marriages of priests, or any other in holy orders, and pains and forfeitures therein contained, should be utterly void." Which act, permitting them to marry, but looked on as matter of permission only, made no small pastime among those of the Roman Catholic party; reproaching both the priests and much more their wives, as not lawfully married, but only suffered to enjoy the company of one another, without fear of punishment. And thereupon it was enacted in the Parliament of the fifth and sixth of Edw. VI., c. 12, that "The marriages of the priests should be reputed lawful, themselves being made capable of being tenants by courtesie, their wives to be endowed, as others, at the common

¹ Burnet, ii., p. 142.

² Burnet, *Reform.*, ii., p. 142.

³ Burnet, *Reform.*, ii., p. 142.

⁴ *Journals of Lords*, 323, 339. The lords in the minority were the Bishops of London, Durham, Norwich, Worcester, Chichester, Bristol, and Landaff; and the Lords Morley, Dacre, Wyndesore, and Wharton. *Ibid.*

law, and their children heritable to the lands of their fathers or mothers.”¹ “These reproaches were much heightened by many indecent marriages and other light behaviour of some priests.”²

2. The next act that passed in this session was the appointing by law the book of common prayer, as the authorized liturgy of the nation. I would direct your most serious attention to this act; as it made the performance of the religious service of our forefathers a matter of pains and penalties; substituted another form of religion in the place of the ancient worship; forced every clergyman either to accept and use the new liturgy or to abandon his parish, and thus bestowed the remaining property of the church on the receivers and preachers of another religious system, which became the established church. That you may have clear information on this important question, I will subjoin the preamble of the act of Parliament by which the adherents of the ancient faith were ousted from their benefices, the apostates rewarded, and a new system of worship and religion adopted and enforced by act of Parliament as the religion of the land. The preamble begins by stating that whereas numerous dissensions had arisen in the kingdom from the pertinacity with which many adhered to the old, and others to the new form of worship; the king, abstaining of his clemency from the punishment of offenders, had appointed certain prelates and learned men to compose one convenient and meet order of common and open prayer, which, at this time, *by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with one uniform agreement*, is of these concluded, set forth, and delivered to his highness, to his great comfort and quietness of mind, in a book entitled the book of common prayer, &c.: therefore the lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, considering as well the most godly travel of the king’s highness, of the lord protectour, and of other his highness’s counsel, in gathering and collecting the said archbishop, bishops, and learned men together, as the godly prayers, orders, rites, and ceremonies in the said book mentioned, and the considerations of altering those things which be retained in the said book, and also the honour of God, and great quietness which, by the grace of God, shall ensue upon the one and uniform rite . . . do give to his highness most hearty and lowly thanks for the same, and humbly pray that it may be enacted that all and singular ministers within this realm of England, Wales, Calice, and the Marshes of the same, or other of the king’s dominions, shall, from and after the feast of Pentecost next coming, be bounden to say and use the matins, even song, celebration of the Lord’s Supper, commonly called the mass, and administration of each of the sacraments, and all their common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the same book, and none other, or otherwise . . . that it may also be ordained, that if any

¹ Heylin, *Refor.*, p. 67. Burnet, *Refor.*, ii., p. 149.

² Burnet, *Ibid.*

manner of parson, vicar, or other whatsoever minister, that ought or should sing, or say common prayer, mentioned in the said book, or minister the sacraments, shall, after the said feast of Pentecost next coming, refuse to use the said common prayer or to minister the sacraments, in such cathedral, or parish church, or other place as he should use, or minister the same, in such order and form as they be mentioned and set forth in the said book; or shall use wilfully and obstinately standing in the same, any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of mass, openly or privily, or other open prayer, than is mentioned in the said book and set forth; or shall preach, declare, or speak any thing in the derogation or depraving of the said book, or of any thing therein contained, or of any part thereof; and shall thereof be lawfully committed according to the laws of this realm, by verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession; shall lose and forfeit to the king's highness, his heirs and successors, for the first offence, the profits of such one of his spiritual benefices or promotions, as it shall please the king's highness to appoint, coming and arising in one whole year next after his conviction; and also that the same person so convict shall, for the same offence, suffer imprisonment by the space of six months, without bail or mainprise: and if any person, once convicted of any such offence concerning the premises, shall, after his first conviction, afterwards offend, be thereof in form aforesaid lawfully convict; then the same person shall, for his second offence, suffer imprisonment by the space of one whole year, and also shall therefore be deprived, *ipso facto*, of all his spiritual promotions; and it shall be lawful to all patrons to present to the same any other able clerk, in like manner and form as though the party so offending were dead; and that if any such person or persons, after he shall be twice convicted in form aforesaid, shall offend against any of the premises the third time, and shall be thereof in form aforesaid lawfully convict; then the person so offending and convicted the third time, shall suffer imprisonment during life."¹ Besides these enormous pains and penalties on the adherents to the faith of their baptism and their country, it was also enacted, that if the person offending had no benefice or spiritual promotion, he should for the first offence suffer six months' imprisonment, and for the second be imprisoned during life: and if any one should "speak anything in the derogation, depraving, or despising of the same book," menace the minister for using it, or prevail on him to use any other, it was enacted that he should for the "first offence be fined two pounds, for the second twenty pounds, and for the third forfeit to our sovereign lord the king all his goods and chattels and suffer imprisonment during his life."²

By every penalty short of death was the new form of worship forced upon the clergy and nation. The clergy were to choose be-

¹ 2 Edw., VI. 1.

² Ibid.

tween abandoning their faith and beggary or perpetual imprisonment; the people, if they dared but judge for themselves and condemn the new service as Cranmer had condemned the old, were liable to similar acts of bloody persecution. The new liturgy was fenced round with fines and prisons, and the people and clergy gagged by the iron hand of Cranmer and the gossellers. Religious liberty had no existence even in name; men dared not express their thoughts or indulge in a laugh at the innovations, but fines and imprisonment lurked in ambush to punish the offence of exercising that liberty in defence of the creed of Christendom, of their baptism and their fathers', which the new apostles reserved to themselves. Every incumbent throughout the land, except the hypocrite or the apostate, was deprived of his benefice, to which the patrons were at once to present a more compliant minister, just as if the ousted incumbent were dead. And this prayer-book, forced upon the nation by such means, was proclaimed, by a fearful blasphemy, to have been composed "by the aid of the Holy Ghost," and yet was, within five years, rejected by the very same men as dictated by human passions and intrigue, and, even when again adopted, was so altered as to present a very different system of belief and practice to its admirers. We have seen that the eighteen bishops, supposed to have been originally engaged upon the work, dwindled at last to three; that eight bishops voted against the book in their places in the Lords; and yet, by a fiction worthy of the cause, it was proclaimed to the nation as accomplished by "one common agreement."

By the same act, it was provided that, in the two universities, it should be lawful to use the Latin, Greek, or Hebrew tongues in their public prayers, "the holy communion, commonly called the mass, excepted." An act was passed enforcing the observance of such days of fasting and abstinence as had been in use before the recent changes. The bill was "committed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, Worcester, and Chichester." In the preamble it is said, "that though it is clear by the word of God, that there is no day, nor kind of meats, purer than another, but that all are in themselves alike; yet many out of sensuality had contemned such abstinence as had been formerly used; and since due abstinence was a mean to virtue, and to subdue men's bodies to their soul and spirit, and was also necessary to encourage the trade of fishing, and for saving of flesh, from the 1st of May none should eat flesh-meat on Fridays, Saturdays, Ember-days, in Lent, or any other days that should be declared fish-days, under certain penalties,"¹ for the first offence ten shillings and an imprisonment of ten days, all to be passed in total abstinence from flesh meat; for the second offence the penalty to be doubled, and so till the offender should

¹ Burnet, *Refor.*, ii., p. 152.

amend. A proviso was added for excepting such as should obtain the king's license, or were sick, or weak.

It is foreign from the object of the present lectures to enter into many details on another subject which occupied the attention of this session of Parliament, I allude to the condemnation and death, or rather the legal murder of Somerset's brother, the unfortunate Sir Thomas Seymour, Lord Sudeley and Admiral of England. But as the protector is reckoned "the founder of the English reformation,"¹ it may not be useless to give the following particulars from an eminent writer, that some sort of judgment may be formed of the real character and principles of the man by whose agency or connivance the religious changes under Edward were so effectually promoted. "The lord admiral was a brave soldier, a stately and magnificent courtier. He paid court to Catherine Parr while she was Lady Latimer, and would have been successful if he had not been supplanted by Henry. Scarcely had that monarch breathed his last, when Seymour secretly espoused Catherine. The jealousy of power appears to have early existed between the two brothers: this was embittered by a jealousy of rank, which sprung up between their wives. The death of Catherine, in Sept. 1547, followed her marriage so soon as to occasion rumours that it was not left to nature. Lord Sudeley was then suspected of seeking the hand of the Princess Elizabeth, though then only in the fourteenth year of her age. Seymour seems pretty certainly to have taken measures for forming a party against his brother, to have excited the nobility against him, to have meditated the seduction of the young king from the protector's custody, to have aimed at the custody of the boy's person for himself, and at sharing the authority which he thought the elder brother ought not to monopolize. These projects were very likely to end in treason, but there is no appearance that they reached the mature state in which they constituted that offence: he appears to have treated the whole matter with considerable levity. It soon, however, assumed a serious aspect. On the 25th of February, 1548-9, a bill was read a first time to attain him with high treason; on the 26th it was read a second time; on the 27th it was passed unanimously. The presence of his brother, the Duke of Somerset, at the head of the lords during the three days, is a circumstance which resembles, and indeed surpassed the conduct of the judges of Anne Boleyn. Seymour was at the time a prisoner in the Tower; no man proposed to send for him; he was not heard in his own defence; no witnesses were examined against him in Parliament. The lords could only rest their bill upon the assurance of his brother, and other members of the council, that Lord Sudeley was guilty. He had demanded in vain that he should be openly tried and confronted with his accusers; the House of Commons paused at this demand;

¹ Mackintosh, *Hist. of Eng.*, ii., p. 255.

but their hesitation to condemn an unheard man in his absence was easily overruled. On the 17th of March the warrant for his execution was issued, with his brother's name at the head of the subscribers. On the 20th he was beheaded on Tower hill, where he solemnly repeated his frequent disavowal of treasonable purposes against the king or kingdom."¹

From the murder of his brother, Somerset turned his thoughts to aggrandizement and sacrilege. "The protectour having thus thrown away the chief prop of his house, hopes to repair that ruin by erecting a magnificent palace. He had been *bought* out of his purpose for building on the deanery and close of Westminster, and casts his eye upon a piece of ground in the Strand, on which stood three episcopal houses and one parish church: the parish church dedicated to the Virgin Mary: the houses belonging to the Bishops of Worcester, Lichfield, and Landaff. All these he takes into his hands, the owners not daring to oppose, and therefore willingly consenting to it. Having cleared the place and projected the intended fabrick, the workmen found that more materials would be wanting to go thorough with it than the demolished church and houses could afford unto them. He therefore resolves for taking down the parish church of Saint Margaret's in Westminster, and turning the parishioners for the celebrating of all divine offices, into some part of the nave, or main body, of the Abby church, which should be marked out for that purpose. But the workmen had no sooner advanced their scaffolds, when the parishioners gathered together in great multitudes, with bows and arrows, staves, and clubs, and other such offensive weapons, which so terrified the workmen, that they ran away in great amazement, and never could be brought again upon that employment. In the next place he is informed of some superfluous, or rather superstitious buildings on the north side of Saint Paul's, that is to say, a goodly cloister, environing a goodly piece of ground, called Pardon churchyard, with a chapel in the midst thereof, and beautified with a piece of most curious workmanship, called the 'Dance of Death,' together with a fair charnel-house, on the south side of the church, and a chapel thereunto belonging. This was conceived to be the safer undertaking, the bishop then standing on his good behaviour, and the dean

¹ Mackintosh, Hist. of Eng., vol. ii., p. 225—257. "Among the privy-councillors who set their hands to the instrument of his death were both Somerset and Cranmer. The latter's name, especially, has excited animadversion, because it had not been usual with churchmen to participate in proceedings affecting life and limb." Soames, viii., p. 419. Latimer, who was restored to his bishopric by Somerset, undertook to defend the conduct of the king, and not only arraigned the life of the admiral, but also his death. He declared him to have led a sensual, dissolute, irreligious life, and to have died in a manner suitable to his life, "dangerously, irksomely, horribly." "Whether," he added, "he be saved or no, I leave it to God: but surely he was a wicked man, and the realm is well rid of him." Latimer's fourth sermon on the 1st Edw. Later editors, ashamed of the passage, have thought proper to omit it. See also Godwin, 93; Strype, ii. 126.

and chapter of that church, as of all the rest, being no better in a manner, by reason of the late act of Parliament, than tenant at will of their great landlords. And upon this he sets his workmen, on the tenth of April; takes it all down; converts the stone, timber, lead, and iron, to the use of his intended palace, and leaves the bones of the dead bodies to be buried in the fields in unhallowed ground. But all this is not sufficient to complete the work, and most parts of the church of St. John's of Jerusalem, not far from Smithfield, most beautifully built not long before, by Dockwray, a late prior thereof, was blown up with gunpowder, and all the stone thereof employed to that purpose also. Such was the ground, and such were the materials of the duke's new palace, called Somerset House; which either he lived not to finish, or else it must be very strange that, having pulled down two churches, two chapels, and three episcopal houses, each of which may be probably supposed to have had their oratories, to finde materials for this fabrick, there should be no room purposely erected for religious offices."¹

The day appointed for the substitution of the new for the old liturgy at length arrived. There seems to have been a pretty general outward compliance with the act of Parliament: though "many members of the ecclesiastical body contrive virtually to retain the ancient ritual."² And "many of those who openly had officiated according to the new service, to avoid the penalty of the law, did celebrate their private masses in such secret places, wherein it was not easie to discover their doings. More confidently carried on in the church of St. Paul; in many chapels whereof by the bishop's sufferance, the former masses were kept up."³ To Bonner, letters were addressed by the council, prohibiting the ancient services;⁴ but the Bishop of London, foreseeing the storm which was gathering, avoided any direct interference, by committing the management of the business to the dean and chapter.⁵

The "founder of the English reformation" had plundered the church, joined with or suffered Cranmer to apostatize her ministers, and as a fitting degradation now steeped his hands, and the same Parliament that he had used as his agent for his purposes, in the blood of his murdered brother. This shows us the leaders of the reformation, and the Parliament of gospellers, in their true characters. Men that, for their own ends, could legalize murder; fill prisons with those who would not turn apostates like themselves, or murder on the scaffold an innocent intruder on their schemes.

Such scenes as these, and the exhibition of such compliances in the clergy, were poison to the public mind. Discontent

¹ Heylin, *Refor.*, p. 73. See also Soames, iii., p. 421—423.

² Soames, iii., p. 428.

⁴ One of these letters may be seen in Heylin's *Ref.*, p. 74.

³ Heylin, p. 74.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

ripened into revolt; and, though other causes conspired, "the most conspicuous, if not the most efficient cause of the commotions which followed, was the religious feelings¹ of the nation which had been so grievously outraged." "Risings occurred in Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, and Gloucestershire, which were speedily, but not without bloodshed, quelled. Disorders in Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent, were more easily composed. But the rapid diffusion of these alarming revolts indicated the prevalence of a dangerous distemper. Fears were entertained of a general insurrection of the commonalty. In so feverish and irritable a temper of the nation, there were not wanting causes which brought the religious passions into contact with the distress of the people, and melted them together into a mass of disaffection. The rapacity of the new owners of abbey lands was contrasted with the indulgence of the monks, often the most lenient of landlords, because they lived with the people, because the share of advantage allotted to each individual was so small, and because a clergy without families had so few calls upon their purse."²

In Devonshire the new liturgy had been read for the first time at the church of Samford Courteney on Whit-Sunday; the next day the parishioners compelled the clergyman to restore the ancient service. This was the signal of a general rising. "On the 10th of June, 1549, a formidable insurrection broke out in Cornwall, under a gentleman of ancient and noble lineage, Humphrey Arundel, Governor of St. Michael's Mount. The insurgents amounted to 10,000 men."³ The privy-seal, Lord Russell, was despatched with an army, composed partly of native troops, and partly of the mercenaries from Italy, Spain, and Germany, hired, as we have seen, in anticipation of such events. With him he had also three preachers, Gregory, Reynolds, and Coverdale, "to preach good doctrine and obedience to the people;"⁴ but "on arriving at Honiton, he found that the troops under his command were not equal to face the rebels in the field, and accordingly he was obliged to content himself with opposing a barrier to their farther progress."⁵ A negotiation was opened between the two parties. The insurgents in fifteen articles, which were subsequently reduced to eight, stated their demands, which amounted to the restoration of the ancient doctrines, practices, and worship, and further requiring that Cardinal Pole should be recalled and introduced into the council, besides the re-establishment of two abbeys at least in every county.⁶ "Lord Russell found means to retard the advance of the rebels by negotiation until he was reinforced. Exeter held out against the insurgents. On the 6th

¹ Heylin's Ref., p. 258.

² Mackintosh, ii., p. 259.

⁴ Strype, Eccl. Mem., ii., p. 272.

³ Ibid., conf. Heylin, p. 75.

⁵ Soames, iii., p. 443.

⁶ Burnet gives the substance of these articles, expressed according to his view of the things demanded. Vol. ii., p. 187, 188.

of August, Russell raised the siege, and pursued the revoltors to Launceston, where they were utterly routed. Severe military execution was inflicted in the country."¹ "The flame which was thus extinguished in the west, broke out with new violence in Norfolk. In July, 1549, Ket encamped on Mousewold Hill, near Norwich, with an army of 20,000 men. He repulsed the Marquis of Northampton in an assault on the city, in which Lord Sheffield was killed. The protector was obliged to recall troops from Scotland, under Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who would not have been intrusted with such an opportunity of gaining reputation and followers, if Ket had not rendered extreme measures necessary."² Warwick with difficulty subdued the insurgents. In Yorkshire similar risings occurred, and with similar results; the defeat of the insurgents and the execution of their leaders.

These insurrections, however successfully opposed, showed that the nation bore impatiently the yoke that had been imposed upon it. Eleven-twelfths of the kingdom were still at heart Catholics;³ and the clergy, by various contrivances, sought to evade the enormous penalties attached to nonconformity to the new creed and service. In these circumstances, it was evidently necessary either to make concessions to the popular opinions, or to crush the spirit of independence and attachment to the ancient creed, by punishing the acknowledged leaders of the Catholic party. Bonner was the first fixed upon as an example. We have seen by what means the penalties of the statutes had been evaded, with his connivance, in the church of St. Paul's. The bishop was, on the 11th of August, summoned before the council; there he was reprimanded, ordered to perform the new service as often as he had been used to celebrate the old; required "to preach at St. Paul's cross within the next three weeks; to administer the communion at all times when his predecessors had been used to say mass; to summon before him such as absented themselves from the English service;⁴ to be more careful in repressing adultery and fornication; and to remain at home during the time which would elapse before the delivery of his prescribed sermon."⁵ The subject of his discourse was given him in writing, and was divided into three parts. He was to show, 1st, that "the rebels in Devonshire, Cornwall, and Norfolk, did not only

¹ Mackintosh, vol. ii., p. 260.

² Ibid.

³ See the letter of Sir W. Paget, already quoted.

⁴ It is a singular, though not a surprising fact, that the first penal laws against nonconformity issued from this Parliament of reformers. The new gospellers, if they had rejected the infallibility of the church, seemed resolved to establish the infallibility of Parliament. "Although there were no Protestants nonconformists at this period, yet the last act of uniformity passed in this reign may be considered as the earliest instance of penal legislation pointed against mere dissenters. It commanded (5 and 6 Edw. VI. 1) all persons to attend public worship under pain of ecclesiastical censures, and of six months' imprisonment for the first offence, twelve for the second, and for the third confinement for life."—Mack., *Hist. of Eng.*, ii., p. 252.

⁵ Soames, iii., p. 468.

deserve death as traitors, but accumulated to themselves eternal damnation, even to be in the burning fire of hell, with Lucifer, the father and first author of rebellion.” 2d. That in religion God looks to the heart, and that in “the use of external ceremonies men ought to obey the magistrate;”¹ and, 3d, that the right and authority of the king in his minority were no less than they would be at a riper age.

On the first of September, the day appointed for the sermon, crowds, with various motives, hastened to hear the Bishop of London. In the sermon the questions of rebellion and ceremonies were discussed, but all mention of the authority of a minor king was designedly or accidentally omitted. There was, however, other matter in the discourse which touched to the quick some of the auditors. Bonner defended the doctrine of the Catholic Church on the holy eucharist, a doctrine which outwardly was still retained by Cranmer and the gospellers, but which there was reason to know was by them rejected.² Two of the gospellers, “William Latimer, parson of St. Lawrence Poultney, and John Hooper, sometime a Cistercian monk,”³ and afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, “came and informed against him, that he had wholly omitted that about the king’s age, so he had touched the other points but slightly, and did say many other things which tended to stir up disorder and dissension.”⁴ Upon this information, “there was a commission issued out to Cranmer and Ridley, with the two secretaries of state, and Dr. May, Dean of St. Paul’s, to examine the matter. They, or any two of them, had full power by this commission to suspend, imprison, or deprive him, as they should see cause. They were to proceed in the summary way, called in their courts *de plano*.

“On the 10th of September, Bonner was summoned to appear before them at Lambeth.”⁵ This was the second time that Bonner had to taste the tender mercies of Cranmer. Once he had been imprisoned by him, and now he was fully aware that a similar fate awaited him, unless he chose to compromise his conscience and make Cranmer’s opinions his own. On this occasion, the Bishop of London showed that he felt the responsibility of his situation, and demeaned himself as a man conscious that he suffered for the truth. He had, he told them, “three things, a few goods, a poor carcass, and a soul; the two first were at their disposal, but the last was at his own.” He objected to his accusers that they were “notorious heretics;”⁶ to Smith as his known enemy; and observed to Cranmer, that “his present trouble was not for the matter pretended, but for having asserted in his sermon the true presence of the Lord’s blessed body and

¹ Burnet, Ref., vol. ii., p. 196.

² Burnet says, vol. ii., p. 197, “Since the manner of Christ’s presence in the sacrament was a thing which he might yet safely speak of, he spent most of his sermon on the asserting the corporal presence.” See also Heylin, p. 78.

³ Heylin, l. c.

⁴ Burnet, ii., p. 196.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Burnet, ii., p. 197.

blood in the sacrament of the altar.”¹ A great deal of recrimination passed between Bonner and the archbishop on the subservency and inconstancy of the latter, especially on the doctrine of the eucharist. During nearly three weeks, by his ingenuity, the Bishop of London prevented his enemies from being able to pass any sentence; but eventually, notwithstanding he appealed from the enmity of Cranmer and his judges to the equity of the king, he was committed to the prison of the Marshalsea, and Cranmer pronounced the sentence of his deprivation from his bishopric. It was thus that the gospellers silenced their opponents. Because Bonner did not choose, or forgot, for the point is doubtful, to introduce into a sermon a subject specified by others, he was condemned to prison, where, had not happier times ensued, he would probably have ended his days. Twice did Bonner feel the weight of Cranmer’s hatred or policy. The Archbishop of Canterbury lived to rue the day that he had given such precedents of cruelty and injustice.

Bonner being disposed of, it was next resolved to try whether the firmness of the Bishop of Winchester had been subdued. For two years he had been a prisoner in the Tower, and during that period, he had tried in vain to obtain a trial, or even a copy of the charges against him.² He was visited in prison by a deputation from the council. To their proposals, he refused any answer whilst under confinement, as his compliance might, under such circumstances, be construed to arise from fear. Accordingly he was tried in public; but it would not tend to any useful object to enter into the particulars of the flagrant injustice which met him at every step, and which finally condemned him again to prison, and deprived him of his bishopric. A meaner cell was assigned to him in the Tower; no one but the warders were allowed to see him; his papers were removed, and he was denied, in his solitude, the comfort of his books, and refused even the use of pen, ink, and paper.³ Of course these deprivations were not effected, nor these violations of law and equity consummated, without ample compensation being rendered to those who had sacrificed their consciences. Ridley, one of Bonner’s accusers, succeeded to the bishopric of London;⁴ but though advanced in dignity, he was forced to share the revenues of his see with the hungry courtiers. The bishopric of Westminster was dissolved, and Ridley accepted its lands and revenues in lieu of those belonging to his own church, the wealth of which was distributed,

¹ Soames, iii., p. 472.

² “Considerynge,” says the council-book, “the longe imprisonment that the bishop of Winchester hath sustayned, it was now thought time he shoulde be spoken withall.”

³ Proceedings of Privy-Council, 29. The last clauses in this order are thus expressed: “That from henceforth he have neither pen, ink, nor paper to write his determinable purposes, but be sequestered from all conference, and from all means that may serve him to practise any way.”

⁴ Soames, iii. 548.

in a few days, between three of the principal lords at court, Rich, Wentworth, and Darcy.¹ Poynt, Bishop of Rochester, "a better scholar than a bishop,"² was transferred to the see of Winchester, but upon similar conditions of sacrificing a portion of its revenues. He was allowed an annual pension of two thousand marks out of that wealthy bishopric, the rest was divided amongst the courtiers.³

The gossellers had secured in prison two of the most forward and eminent of their opponents; but there was one that seemed placed, by rank and expectations, beyond their power, whom it became daily more necessary, if possible, to subdue, as the looks of the nation were directed to, and the hopes of the Catholic party encouraged by, her resistance. It was well known that the Princess Mary was firmly attached to the faith in which she had been educated. She had, on the very first indications of an intention to tamper with the national faith, remonstrated with the protector, with what little success subsequent events soon showed."⁴

The act of uniformity furnished the gossellers with the ready means of annoying, if they could not subdue her in the conscientious discharge of her duty to her Creator. That act not merely, as we have seen, regulated the public worship, but, by an intolerance only equalled by the persecuting principles of the German reformers, invaded the privacy of family worship, and rendered it penal to celebrate, or to assist at, the ancient service, even in a private house. The heir presumptive to the throne was ordered "to conform immediately to the established form of worship."⁵ But she refused to comply with so iniquitous an interference; reminded them of their oaths to maintain the last will of her late father inviolate, and wondered that so poor an indulgence should be denied the daughter of him who had raised them to whatever wealth and power they possessed. For protection from men that showed they knew not what mercy or justice was, and who had quelled all resistance by open arms and foreign troops, she appealed to her uncle, the Emperor Charles. It so happened that the English ambassador claimed, at the very moment, in Spain, that right of worshipping God according to the dictates of his own conscience, which in England was attempted to be restrained in the person of the princess.⁶ Moreover, the English cabinet had just solicited the emperor's assistance to secure our possessions

¹ This is Strype's account; Soames says, that out of the revenues of the see of London "he was allowed a pension of £1000 per annum, and was permitted to retain *in commendam*, a prebend which he held in each of the churches of Westminster and Canterbury." Vol. iii., p. 549.

² Heylin, p. 101.

³ An account of the palaces, lands, and revenues sequestered, may be seen in the writer just quoted.

⁴ Her remonstrances and Somerset's reply may be seen in Burnet, ii., p. 62.

⁵ Soames, iii., p. 434.

⁶ *Ibid.*, l. c.

at Boulogne from the attacks of the French ; it became, therefore, necessary to yield to his request, that his niece might be allowed to serve God as she listed in her own household. But, no sooner was peace secured with France, and the emperor's assistance no longer necessary, than that indulgence was again attempted to be restrained, under the pretence that the permission was only for a time, and limited to herself, to the exclusion of her household, an assertion which the emperor and Mary indignantly denied.¹ Remonstrances continually were addressed to her ; a letter was written from her brother, who claimed an equal authority with his father as head of the church, to regulate the services of his subjects ; her chaplains were summoned before the council and indicted under the statute for uniformity ; the emperor's request was treated with scorn, and Mary found herself obliged to appear in person before the council, to vindicate her right, to pray as she pleased. She left that meeting without securing her object, but defied their power in such a matter, declaring that "her soul was God's, and that she would neither change her faith, nor dissemble her opinions." The day after her useless attendance at the council-board, the emperor's ambassador declared, that unless liberty of worship were permitted her in her private house, he was commissioned to declare open war. This staggered the fanaticism of the gossellers. To persevere would be, besides the war, to lose a vast quantity of merchandise then in the ports of Spain ;² but though the council was anxious to yield, such were the lamentable principles of dark bigotry and intolerance infused into the young king's mind, "he could not be induced to give way ; for he thought the mass was impious and idolatrous, so he would not consent to the continuance of such a sin."³ Upon this the casuistry of Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet was called in to enlighten the youthful theologian ; "they told him, that it was always sin in a prince to permit any sin ; but to give connivance, that is, not to punish, was not always a sin, since sometimes a lesser evil connived at might prevent a greater."⁴ To this he, with some reluctance, yielded, and with tears bewailed his sister's obstinacy, which led her to prefer the faith of Christendom and of her fathers to that of the modern gossellers. Time was, by the compliance of the king, gained to remove the valuable property from Spain ; the emperor was amused with negotiations, whilst Mary was annoyed by the imprisonment of her chaplains, and, subsequently, by the arrest of such of her servants as refused not to be present at the old service, who were also consigned to prison. At length it was resolved to come to open compulsion ; a deputation from the council waited upon her, to inform her that they "had order to require her chaplains to use no other service, and her servants to be present at no other, than what was according to law. She answered, she

¹ Burnet, ii. 166. See also p. 276. ² Burnet, ii., p. 277. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid.

was the king's most obedient subject and sister, and would obey him in every thing but when her conscience held her; but she would lay her head on a block rather than use any other form than what had been at her father's death. As for her chaplains, if they would say no mass, she could hear none; and for her servants, she knew they all desired to hear mass; her chaplains, might do what they would, it was but a while's imprisonment, but for the new service, it should never be said in her house; and if any were forced to say it, she would stay no longer in the house."¹ She insisted that, let them treat her servants as they would, she would have none but of her own choosing, and twitted them with the impropriety of encouraging her dependants to control her in her own house. All hopes of succeeding by threats now failed: "so it was next considered, whether it was fit to go to further extremities with her."² But coming events alarmed the council. The king's health began visibly to wane, and Mary in her visits to her brother assumed a state and deportment which awed her opponents, and foretold what they were to expect in their turns, should the wheel of fortune revolve in her favour. They, by their lessons, threats, and principles, sowed the seeds of intolerance and persecution, which had their harvest-time, in days when power had passed from them. Mary, as queen, could not be expected to show more moderation towards the gospellers and the new religion, than had been extended to the heir presumptive and the ancient faith. From this time she continued, almost to the end of the reign, to enjoy in private the consolations of that faith, for the principles of which she had suffered so much.

But though Cranmer and the innovators failed to subdue the princess, and dared not proceed against her to extremities, two other opponents met with a different fate. They drowned

¹ Burnet, ii., p. 280.

² Ibid., p. 281. Throughout the whole of these proceedings runs a remarkable specimen of duplicity: "our greatest change, they said, is not in the substance of our faith, no, not in one article of our creed. Only the difference is, that we use the ceremonies, observations, and sacraments of our religion, as the apostles and first fathers in the primitive church did. You use the same that corruption of time brought in, and very barbarousness and ignorance nourished; and seem to hold for custom against truth, and we for truth against custom." The princess declined entering into a controversy with men who asserted not to have altered any article of belief, and yet practically denied the inerrancy of the church, the only source and sure foundation of all belief, and contended that the king was yet too young to be able to decide on the truth of his counsellors' assertions. "Give me leave," she said, "to write what I think touching your majesty's letters. Indeed they be signed with your own hand, and nevertheless, in my opinion, not your majesty's in effect. Because, it is well known, that although, our Lord be praised, your majesty hath far more knowledge and greater gifts than any others of your years, yet it is not possible that your highness can be judge in matters of religion. And therefore I take it that the matter in your letters proceedeth from such as do wish these things to take place, which be most agreeable to themselves: by whose doings, your majesty not offended, I intend not to rule my conscience." Fox, ii. 49, 52.

resistance in the blood of their victims. I must now, therefore, turn your attention to the sad and bloody spectacle of men who, after having risen to eminence and power by asserting the right of individuals to condemn and reform the faith and worship of a national church, imbrued their hands in the life-blood of beings conscientious as themselves, for having dared to exercise that very liberty of which these murderers had given, or were giving them the example. By letters patent the archbishop, with other prelates, divines, and civilians, had been appointed inquisitors of heretical pravity, with the design of stemming the torrent of innovation which burst forth when the flood-gates had been removed by the hands of the reformers. In these letters it was asserted to be the duty of kings, and especially of one who bore the title of defender of the faith, to see to the purity of doctrine, and, if necessary, to adjudge to death the refractory, as it is the duty of the physician to secure the health or life of the body, by cutting off the diseased limb. But as the king in person could not attend to all such cases, his power was delegated to his commissioners, who were authorized to admit the repentant to abjuration, but should deliver the obstinate to the vengeance of the secular power.¹

The first summoned before the court of inquisition was Champney, a priest at Stratford in the Bow. He had taught Christ was not God, that grace was inamissible, and that the regenerate, though they might fall by the outward, could never sin by the inward man. At the prospect of death he recanted. "Ashton, a priest, who maintained that 'Christ was not God, but brought men to the knowledge of God,' escaped in the same manner. Thumb, a butcher, and Putton, a tanner, went through the like process." They were sworn to abjure and never to return to their former opinions, and publicly bore faggots during the sermon at St. Paul's Cross.² Cranmer was the chief agent in these acts of persecution. Ashton was examined at the archbishop's palace, whither he had been summoned by two of Cranmer's chaplains.³ If his victims escaped burning, it was owing to their fears, and not to the archbishop's mercy. But a firmer religionist was now dragged on the bloody stage. "Joan Becher, or Boacher, commonly called Joan of Kent, a zealous Protestant, who had privately imported Lutheran books for the ladies of the court in Henry's reign, had now adopted a doctrine, or a set of words, which brought her to be tried before the commissioners for heresy. As her assertions are utterly unintelligible, the only

¹ Burnet, ii., p. 179. In these commissions occur the names of the principal reformers, Cranmer, Ridley, Thurlby, Redman, Latimer, Coverdale, and Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Rym. xv. 181, 250. "In April, 1549," says Mackintosh, ii., p. 273, "commissions were issued to Cranmer to inquire into heretical pravity, being nearly the same words by which the power of the court of inquisition is described."

² Strype, Eccl. Mem., vol. ii., p. 349.

³ Soames, iii., p. 427.

mode of fully displaying the unspeakable injustice of her sentence, is to quote the very words in which she vainly struggled to convey a meaning: "she denied that Christ was truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh being sinful he could take none of it, but the Word, by the consent of the inward man in the Virgin, took flesh of her." The inquisitors before whom she was tried were Cranmer, Smith, Cook, Lyell, and Latimer. On her persisting in her opinions and words, Cranmer excommunicated her, as preparatory to delivering her to the secular power. Her death was now doomed, but though the "king was moved to sign a warrant for burning her, he could not be prevailed on to do it."¹ In this emergency, who but Cranmer was a fitting person to be employed on the fiendish task of reasoning the young king out of his conscience, and to persuade him that by murder he was doing a service to God. "Cranmer was employed to persuade him to sign the warrant. He argued from the law of Moses, by which blasphemers were to be stoned: he told the king he made a great difference between errors in other points of divinity, and those which were directly against the apostles' creed: that these were impieties against God, which a prince, as being God's deputy, ought to punish."² Whether Edward's repugnance arose from conscientious scruples, or from compassion for the condition of her soul in a future world, may be doubted;³ but his opposition had the effect of delaying her execution. She was consigned to prison, where she was detained until the 2d of May of the following year. I shall, however, give the remaining details of her sad story. During her imprisonment several attempts were made by Cranmer and Ridley⁴ to alter her views, but without success. Her death-warrant had been signed by the king, who, as he set his hand to it, said, with tears in his eyes, to the archbishop, "If I do wrong, since it was in submission to your authority, you must answer for it to God."⁵ What a picture of horror does the hoary apostate here present, as he forces the boy Edward to set his hand to the death-warrant of a poor deluded woman, for daring to differ in opinion from one who had differed from the whole church.

When condemned to die, she taunted the archbishop on his constant changes, which had led him to one act of murder for opinions which he had himself since embraced. "It is a goodly matter to consider," said she, "your ignorance. It was not long ago since you burned Ann Ascue for a piece of bread; and yet

¹ Burnet, *Refor.*, ii., p. 179.

² *Ibid.*

³ Burnet assigns Edward's hesitation to mercy; Fox to anxiety for her future lot. "When Joan Butcher should be burned, all the council could not move him to put to his hand, but were fain to get Dr. Cranmer to persuade with him, and neither could he with much labour induce the king so to do, saying, 'What, my lord, will you have me to send her quick to the devil in her error?' So that Dr. Cranmer himself confessed, that he had never so much to do in all his life, as to cause the king to put to his hand, saying that he would lay all the charge thereof upon Cranmer before God." Foxe, 1179.

⁴ *Ibi.*

⁵ Mackintosh, *Engl.*, ii., p. 273, 274.

came soon after to believe and profess the same doctrine for which you burned her: and now, forsooth, you will needs burn me for a piece of flesh, and in the end you will come to believe this also, when you have read the Scriptures and understand them." At the stake in Smithfield she maintained the same spirit and firmness, and when Dr. Scorey endeavoured to convert her, she scoffed at him, and said, "he lyed like a rogue," and bade him "Go read the Scriptures."¹ The fires of Smithfield that burnt Cranmer were first lit by his own hand for other victims. *He* fell for denying the faith of his baptism and of Christendom; *they*, for carrying out his own principles further than he pleased to press them.

¹ Strype, Eccl. Mem., vol. ii., p. 348, 349.

§ 3.

Further Changes.—Three Bishops in Prison.—Fall of Somerset.—Foreign Religionists.—Calvinistic Spirit.—Latimer's Sermon.—The "godly Reformation."—Cranmer and Hooper.—Removal of Altars.—"Pirates of the Court."—The Reformation reformed.—Striking Remark of Mackintosh.—Increase of the Calvinistic Party.—New Liturgy and new Penalties.—Articles of Faith.—Death of Somerset.—Fate of Van Parr.—The Lady Mary before the Council.—Her Interview with Ridley.—Warwick's Designs.—The English Liturgy forced upon the Irish.—Service in an unknown Tongue.—The King's ill Health.—Lady Jane Grey.—Scene at the Council-board.—Cranmer.—Treason and Perjury.—Last Days of Edward VI.—State of the Kingdom.

IN the session of the Parliament held towards the termination of the year 1549, a further act of intolerance towards the ancient faith was passed, by which the Catholic books of public and family worship were confiscated and destroyed. "To make sure work, there passed an act for taking down such images as were still remaining in the churches; as also for bringing in of all antiphonaries, missals, breviaries, offices, horaries, primers, and processions, with other books of false and superstitious worship. The tenour of which act was signified to the subject by the king's proclamations, and seconded by the missives of rehbishop Cranmer, to the suffragan bishops, requiring them to see it put into execution with all care and diligence. Which so secured the church on that side, that there was no further opposition against the liturgie by the Romish party, during the rest of this king's reign. For what can any workman do when he wants his tools, or how could they advance the service of the church of Rome, when the books by which they should officiate it, were thus taken from them?"¹

Besides the above act, another affecting the mode of ordaining the clergy was introduced. It was agreed that "such form and manner of making and consecrating archbishops and bishops, priests, deacons, and other ministers of the church, as by six prelates, and six other learned men of this realm, learned in God's law, by the king to be appointed and assigned, or by the most number of them, shall be devised for that purpose, and set forth under the great seal, before the first of April next coming, shall be lawfully exercised and used and no other."² "The same em-

¹ Heylin, *Refor.*, p. 78.

² Heylin, *Refor.*, p. 82. Of this work Heylin observes: "This book, being finished, was made use of, without further authority, till the year 1552. At what time, being added to the second liturgie, it was approved of and confirmed, as a part thereof, by act of parliament, An. 5. Edw. VI. c. 1, and of this book it is we finde mention in the 36th article of Queen Elizabeth's time, in which it is declared that, 'whosoever were consecrated and ordered, according to the rites thereof, should be reputed and adjudged to be lawfully consecrated and rightly ordered,' which declaration of the church was afterwards made good by act of Parliament, in the eighth year of that queen, in which the said ordinal of the third of King Edward the Sixth is confirmed and ratified."

played on the liturgie were engaged on the ordinal, with the exception of the Bishop of Chichester.¹ Bishops Tunstall, Aldrich, Heath, Day, and Thirlby protested against this arrangement. When completed, the new scheme of ordination omitted, in the consecration of bishops, the rubrics 'enjoining the use of gloves, sandals, mitre, ring, or crosier.' In that office, and in the one for ordaining priests, was omitted also the practice of anointing; there was also laid aside the delivery to priests of the chalice and paten containing the sacramental elements, and the simultaneous pronouncing of that commission by which the bishop authorizes them to offer sacrifice to God, and to celebrate masses as well for the living as the dead."² The words of our Saviour communicating the power of forgiving or retaining sins, were retained in the new system. It is not here the place to enter into the validity of the orders conferred by the new ordinal; it will be sufficient to observe, that it was composed principally by men who considered ordination an unnecessary rite; and that in the ensuing reign the statute authorizing the ordinal was repealed, and the ordinations made in conformity with it, reputed, both by the bishops and Parliament, invalid, principally because the anointing of the candidates, and the porrection of instruments were omitted, and that no form of words was preserved significative of the orders conferred.

This alteration, like the rest, was used as a sword to smite those who dared to oppose the innovation. Heath, though he had voted against the new ordinal, was named one of the commissioners for its compilation. He disapproved of the work produced, but was required by his colleagues to sign it, and his refusal was punished with imprisonment as an act of "contempt."³ There were now three bishops confined in prison for being bold enough to show that they had consciences.

The year which produced these changes witnessed the fall of Somerset. The Earl of Warwick had silently, but effectually, formed a party against the protector. Somerset, embarrassed with revolts at home, and foreign wars, had formed the design of delivering our possessions at Boulogne to the French for a sum of money;⁴ his employment of foreign troops to overawe the country had given serious umbrage; to the nobility he had rendered himself obnoxious by his arrogant carriage; the murder of his brother was a brand upon his forehead; his sacrilegious pillage and destruction of so many places consecrated to God was odious even to the partakers in similar pillage; he was also accused of "having sold many of the chantry lands to his friends at easy rates, for which they concluded he had great presents."⁵ He did not fall without a struggle. He issued orders in the king's name for a levy of troops, under the pretence of

¹ Heylin, *Refor.*, p. 83.

⁴ Burnet, *ii.*, p. 209.

² Soames, *Refor.*, *iii.*, p. 526.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

³ Burnet, *ii.*, 143.

serving as a guard to the royal person. This was met by a counter order from the heads of the opposite party. Somerset hastened at the head of about five hundred men with the boy Edward to Windsor Castle; "took down all the armour that was either there or at Hampton court, and armed such as he could gather about him for his preservation." But he found himself, in his hour of trial, friendless. From the first all his influential followers had abandoned him, except Paget and Cranmer. The latter, when the political horizon darkened, as usual prepared, by temporizing, for the impending storm; the former was busied in endeavouring to effect a reconciliation between the rival parties. "At Windsor, when the protectour understood, that not only the city of London, but the lieutenant of the Tower, of whom he had held himself assured, had forsaken him, he resolved to struggle no longer. Cranmer and Paget persuaded him to dismiss his followers, and wrote to the council at London that all their wishes should be granted." Somerset was called before the council, and articles of misdemeanours and high treason were laid to his charge. He was at once sent prisoner to the Tower.¹ His fall astonished and alarmed the gospellers, "and all the reformed, both in England and abroad, looked on his fall as a public loss to that whole interest, which he had so steadily set forward." "Many also began to fall off from going to the English service, or the communion, hoping that all would be quickly undone that had been settled by the Duke of Somerset." But whatever might have been the earl's real wishes, policy required that he should secure his position by gaining the confidence or affection of the young king, and this he felt assured would be best attained by yielding to his prejudices or convictions on the subject of religion. "Finding the king so zealously addicted to the carrying on of the reformation, that nothing could recommend any one so much to him as the promoting it further would do, he soon forsook the Popish party, and was seemingly the most earnest on a further reformation that was possible."² In the Parliament which soon afterwards assembled, it was enacted, that any individual, whether clerk or layman, who should keep in his possession any Catholic prayer books, should be fined for the first and second offence, and for the third, imprisoned during the king's pleasure.³

The council held frequent meetings to decide on the fate of Somerset. It was resolved at length to require a confession, under his own hand, of his crimes and treasons. "On his knees he read it before the king and council, and had signed it on the 13th of December. So he was fined by act of Parliament in £2000 a year of land, and he lost all his goods and offices. Upon this he wrote to the council, acknowledging their favour in bringing off his matter by a fine; what he had done amiss was rather

¹ The above account is abridged from Burnet, *Refor.*, ii., p. 217—222.

² *Ibid.*, p. 224.

³ *St. 3 Ed. VI. 10.*

for want of true judgment, than from any malicious meaning; he humbly desired they would interpose with the king for a moderation of his fine, and that he might be pardoned and restored to favour; assuring them that for the future he should carry himself so humbly and obediently, that he should thereby make amends for his former follies. So on the 6th of February he was set at liberty, giving bond of £10,000 for his good behaviour; and being limited that he should stay at the king's house of Sheen, or his own of Sion, and should not go four miles from them, nor come to the king or the council, unless he were called. On the 10th of April he was restored to favour, and sworn of the privy-council."¹ Somerset was thus humbled to the dust, and Warwick and his supporters reaped the honours and emoluments which fell from the feeble hands of the ambitious but abject Somerset.

Edward's attachment to the new religionists, and the steady subserviency of the archbishop, preserved Cranmer from disgrace. The native clergy and prelacy, though compliant, he had found indisposed, or even secretly opposed, almost universally, to his changes. He therefore resolved to surround himself with more zealous partisans. Foreign religionists, of every nation and sect, found a ready protector in the archbishop, and their leaders an open asylum in his palace. Melancthon had been invited over to England, but his journey being delayed, Cranmer wrote letters offering his protection and support to "Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr, two great and eminent divines, but more addicted to the Zuinglian than the Lutheran doctrines, in the point of the sacrament."² They accepted the invitation. "Martyr, having spent some time in the archbishop's house at Lambeth, was despatched to Oxford, where he was made the king's professor of divinity, and about two years after made canon of Christ church."³ At Oxford he soon embroiled himself with the English divines, by his novel opinions on the holy eucharist. "Bucer, being right heartily welcomed by Cranmer, was sent to take the chair at Cambridge."⁴ To Bucer, Calvin addressed letters of warning, that he should resist openly the remains of Catholicity preserved in the Anglican church.⁵ John a Lasco, a Pole, also shared Cranmer's hospitality and protection. The nave of the fine ancient church, behind Broad street, in the city of London, was assigned to him and his congregation, which consisted, besides a few German, chiefly of Netherlanders and French.⁶ At Glastonbury was another foreign sect of Frenchmen and Walloons, under the ministry and superintendence of Valerandus Pollanus. John Knox was appointed chaplain to the king and itinerant preacher throughout the kingdom. Uten-

¹ Burnet, ii., p. 228.² Heylin, Ref., p. 79.³ Ibid.⁴ Ibid.⁵ Ibid.⁶ Soames, iii., p. 564.

hoof and Pierre Alexandre were stationed at Canterbury; Faggio, Tremelio, and Cavalier were licensed to read lectures on the Hebrew language at Cambridge. These, and other foreigners, added to the religious differences which had arisen in England, all the absurdities and novelties of other lands. Cranmer to them extended, not merely toleration but protection; like all apostates, however, towards the creed which he had abandoned he breathed hatred and extermination. From this policy of Cranmer, arose that diversity of sects which has ever since divided and distracted England, and which seems not unlikely to prove eventually the ruin of the established church.

With the exception of Knox,¹ the foreign teachers had willingly accepted offices under Cranmer; but a native preacher exhibited more obstinacy or conscience. John Hooper, formerly a Cistercian monk, had distinguished himself as an active gospeller, of bold and fervent declamation. His opinions had been formed, during a temporary flight, in the religious school of Germany, where, like Cranmer, he formed a close intimacy with some of the heads of the German party, especially with Bullinger, and where, forgetting or despising his vows, he also married. "On King Edward's accession, Hooper returned to England, taking with him the cordial love and regrets of his Helvetian friends. He was appointed chaplain to the Earl of Warwick. That nobleman afterwards recommended him to the see of Gloucester, then vacant by the death of Wakeman, who had been its first bishop, and last Abbot of Tewksbury."² But an unexpected difficulty was raised by Hooper. He refused to wear the usual garments of the episcopal order. They were mere human inventions, and why should he submit to any human being, especially as all such ceremonies were branded by St. Paul as beggarly elements? Besides, there was the oath of canonical obedience to the metropolitan,³ and he acknowledged, after having rejected the papal supremacy, no authority but God, and no rule but the Scripture as he himself interpreted it. Cranmer was equally inflexible, and called in to his assistance, Ridley, Bishop of London. The two gossellers now argued that "traditions in matters of faith were justly rejected, but in matters of rites and ceremonies, custom was oft a good argument for the continuance of that which had been long used."⁴ As to St. Paul, the application of the apostle's words made by Hooper, "only related to the observance of the Jewish ceremonies." Here then

¹ He had the honesty to refuse a living when offered him, "because many things were worthy of reformation in England, without the reformation whereof, no minister did or could discharge his conscience before God." Strype, ii. 399.

² Soames, iii., p. 500.

³ This is the account given by Burnet and Heylin. The annotator to Burnet asserts it to have been the oath of supremacy, and quotes Fuller and Parsons as authorities for this correction.

⁴ Burnet, Reformation, ii., p. 245.

began a contest, which every man of judgment must have foreseen would sooner or later arise, "that has since had such fatal consequences, that of it we may say with St. James, 'How great a matter hath a little fire kindled.'"¹ In this emergency recourse was had, not to papal interference,—that, of course, would have been unscriptural,—but to the judgment of two foreigners, Martin Bucer, who accordingly argued very learnedly that to the pure all things are pure; and Peter Martyr, who agreed in Bucer's decision. The Helvetic divines applauded Hooper's constancy, and urged him to abide in his resolution. Warwick interfered to settle the difference, and not succeeding, obtained a letter from the king, in which the archbishop was desired to proceed at once to the consecration of the preacher, without requiring compliance with the matters obnoxious to Hooper's conscience, and at the same time discharging the metropolitan from the penalties of *præmunire*, which he had pleaded in support of his unwillingness to tolerate any deviation from the usual and legal ceremonial.² But Cranmer remained resolute, and "wisely taking into consideration of what danger and ill consequence the example was, humbly craved leave not to obey the king against his laws; and the earl finding little hope of prevailing in that suit, which would not be granted to the king, leaves the new bishop to himself."³ Hooper's zeal or indignation was roused. He denounced, in his fiercest language, from the pulpit, the habits, the council, and the ordinal. But Cranmer forbade him to preach;⁴ "he was summoned before the council, and remaining obstinate, he was committed to Cranmer's custody, there to be reformed, or farther to be punished, as the obstinacy of his case required. After a fortnight's residence under Cranmer's roof, Hooper continuing unchanged, he was, by order of the council, committed to the Fleet, and there allowed to have intercourse only with the chaplain of the prison."⁵ There he had time to cool, and the dangers which threatened the new fabric of the church were, for a time, warded off, by the archbishop's accredited method of disposing of dangerous opponents. The foreign divines, being mostly Calvinistic, wrote and preached boldly against the prelatist customs of the established church. John a Lasco was particularly remarkable,⁶ but the unexpected imprisonment of the refractory preacher silenced those whom Cranmer now, perhaps, had reason to lament having invited and supported. Notwithstanding his repeated declarations that to yield would be to sacrifice conscience to interest, Hooper was consecrated in the usual episcopal vestments, took the required oath, and accepted from the king a patent empowering him to govern the diocese of Gloucester. We shall soon meet with him again: by the union

¹ Burnet, *Refor.*, ii., p. 245.

² The letter is preserved by Heylin, *Refor.*, p. 91.

⁴ Burnet, *ii.*, p. 248.

⁵ Soames, *iii.*, p. 566.

³ *Ibid.*

⁶ Heylin, p. 92

of the bishoprics of Worcester and Gloucester, his promotion, like that of most his fellow bishops, became the signal for fresh spoliation of the revenues of the church. As a sort of compromise, and to preserve some kind of appearances favourable to the consistency of the new prelate, it was agreed that he should wear the usual attire of the episcopal order, when preaching before the king, or upon other occasions of more than ordinary solemnity, but should be excused from that necessity at all other times. "And thus we have the first beginning of that opposition which hath continued ever since against the liturgie itself, the cap and surplice and other rites and customs of 'the Anglican church.'"¹

This Calvinistic spirit soon began to spread rapidly. Some of the clergy appeared "in stockings of divers colours, the upper part white and the nether stock russet;"² "nay, such a peccancy of humour began then manifestly to break out, that it was preached at St. Paul's cross, by the curate of St. Katherine Christ Church, that it was fit the names of churches should be altered, and the names of the days in the week changed; that fish-days should be kept on any other days than on Fridays and Saturdays, and the Lent at any other time, except only between Shrovetide and Easter."³ Others eschewed the church and pulpit and took to preaching out of trees, and, avoiding the altar, celebrated the communion-service in the churchyards on the tombs of the dead.⁴ To such wild fancies do men grow, when once they break those bonds and neglect those rules which wise antiquity ordained, for the preservation of peace and order.

The authority of the episcopal body, having been retrenched or nearly destroyed by Cranmer, was unable to apply any remedy to these and similar disorders; it was deemed therefore advisable to restore their powers to some extent. Latimer, in a sermon preached before the king, urged in the most earnest terms the restoration of the ancient discipline, and portrays, in lively colours, the utter relaxation of morals which followed in the wake of the godly reformation. "Lechery," he exclaimed, "is used in England, and such lechery as is used in no other part of the world. And yet it is made a matter of sport, a matter of nothing, a laughing matter, a trifle not to be passed on, nor reformed. Well, I trust it will be amended one day, and I hope to see it amended, old as I am. And here I will make a suit to your highness, to restore unto the church the discipline of Christ, in excommunicating such as be notable offenders. Nor never

¹ Heylin, p. 92. "The regular clergy, in those days, appeared not commonly, out of their own houses, but in their priests' coats, with the square cap upon their heads; and if they were of note and eminency, in their gowns and tippets. This habit also is decryed for superstitious; affirmed to be a popish attire, and altogether as unfit for ministers of the holy gospel, as the chimere and rochet were for those who claimed to be the successors of the Lord's apostles." Heylin, p. 93.

² Heylin, p. 93.

³ Ibid., p. 94.

⁴ Ibid., l. c.

devise any other way, for no man is able to devise any better than that God hath done, with excommunication to put them from the congregation, till they be confounded."¹

Besides these evils, there was another of greater magnitude, which began seriously to be felt as a heavy curse on sacrilege and innovation. The lay impropriation which had been created at the suppression of the monasteries, entailed the payment of pensions during life to some of the ejected monks, and had placed the patronage of many parishes in the hands of the nobility and gentry. Those "who were charged with pensions to the monks, out of a covetous desire to be freed of those pensions, or to discharge their lands of such encumbrances, which by that means were layed upon them, had placed them in such benefices as were in their gifts. This filled the church with ignorant and illiterate priests."² As some remedy to this evil, and a proof of its magnitude, "it was ordained by the advice of the council, that of the king's six chaplains, which attended in ordinary, two of them should be always about the court, and the other four should travel in preaching abroad."³

From these scenes and dissensions, we must now turn to Cranmer's further alterations. In the early part of this year, rendered memorable in Bishop Hooper's life by his dispute about episcopal attire, Hooper had made an attack upon altars. In preaching before the court, he said, "It would be very well that it might please the magistrate to turn the altar into tables, according to the first institution of Christ, and thereby to take away this false persuasion of the people, which they have of sacrifices to be done upon the altars. Because," said he, "as long as altars remain, both the ignorant people, and the ignorant and evil persuaded priest, will dream always of sacrifice." This was enough to put the thoughts of the alteration into the heads of some great men about the court, who thereby promised themselves no small hopes of profit, by the disfurnishing the altars of the hangings, palls, plate, and other rich utensils, which every parish more or less had provided for them. And that this consideration might prevail upon them as much as any other, if perhaps not more, may be collected from an inquiry made about two years after, in which it was to be interrogated, "what jewels of gold, and silver, or silver crosses, candlesticks, censers, chalices, copes, and other vestments, were then remaining, in any of the cathedrals or parochial churches; or otherwise had been embezzled or taken away: the leaving of one chalice to every church,

¹ Heylin, *Refor.*, p. 94.

² *Ibid.*

³ Their circuit was arranged as follows: "The first year, two in Wales, and two in Lincolnshire; the second year, two in the Marches of Scotland, and two in Yorkshire; the third year, two in Devonshire, and two in Hampshire; the fourth year, two in Norfolk, and two in Essex; the fifth year, two in Kent, and two in Sussex; and so throughout all the shires in England."—Heylin, p. 95

with a cloath or covering, for the communion table, being thought sufficient."¹

Bishop Ridley was one of the first to enforce this injunction. "Of this change a conspicuous example was set in St. Paul's cathedral, where it was observed by the congregation assembled on the festival of St. Barnabas, that the high altar was removed, the wall behind it taken down, and a communion-table placed in its room."² Popular indignation was aroused, and the pillage of the chalices, and sacred vessels, and ornaments was not effected without much difficulty.³ To the majority of the nation it seemed a crime which called signally for Heaven's vengeance: they had read, in the holy records, of the Almighty's wrath being fearfully exhibited when Belshazzar profaned the vessels consecrated to the service of the altar, and almost wondered that a similar or more awful manifestation did not terrify the plunderers from the profanation. Not only was the diocese of London agitated by opposition to this fresh and strange attack on the house of God, "but the flame spread also to other parts of the kingdom, and the pulpits everywhere resounded with the din of controversy upon the sort of convenience proper for celebrating the Lord's supper. Among those who took a prominent part in this contention, was Day, Bishop of Chichester, who preached in his diocese against the removal of altars, so soon as he thought their permanence endangered. Some of his clergy followed their diocesan's example, and Sussex was thrown into a considerable state of ferment by the agitation of this question. The council being informed of this fact, on the 7th of October, ordered Dr. Cox, the king's tutor, to go into the country, for the purpose of infusing from the pulpit correct opinions into men's minds upon the matters under discussion. This measure was followed by a circular letter addressed on the 24th of December from the council to the different prelates, enjoining them to remove altars within their respective dioceses, and to provide for reconciling the people to this alteration by sending discreet preachers to such places as most required their instruction."⁴ But the Bishop of Winchester, wearied with compliance with Cranmer's fancies, resolved to make a stand in defence of what seemed the last link which connected the new system with the old, and the rest of the Christian world. "On the 7th of December, he appeared before the council, at Westminster, and plainly said that he could not conscientiously adopt the prescribed course; that altars, in his opinion, were of very high antiquity in the church, were sanctioned by holy fathers, strengthened in their claims to respect by ancient doctors, everywhere established by immemorial custom, and he thought even supported by authority of Scripture. 'Upon these grounds,' he added, 'it is out of my power to act as your lordships require; for I would rather lose all that I ever had in

¹ Heylin, *Refor.*, p. 95.

² Soames, *iii.*, p. 571.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 573.

the world than condemn my own conscience.'"¹ Upon this refusal, four days were given him for consideration; Cranmer and Ridley were employed in endeavouring to overcome his opposition, but in vain. "On the 11th of December, he was again summoned before the council, and asked whether he would obey his majesty's command for the demolition of altars. His answer was, 'I am very thankful for the clemency which has been exercised towards me, but I cannot consent to do any thing disproved by my conscience. I therefore pray you to do with me what you think requisite, for I never will give any assistance in the demolition of altars. I think it a less evil that my body should suffer, than that my soul should be corrupted by a compliance which appears to me criminal.'"² "On receiving this reply, the council unanimously determined upon committing the bishop to the Fleet."³ A court of delegates, in the following year, deprived both him and Heath of their bishoprics, and, notwithstanding this severe and monstrous punishment, they were kept in custody till the commencement of the next reign.³ Thus was a fourth bishop consigned, by Cranmer and the gospellers, to the gloom of a prison, for adhering to the principles of the ancient faith, and for refusing to make the new apostles the guides of their consciences.

Cranmer, about this period, enlightened the nation by his opinions on the holy eucharist, in a work, the most extensive published under his name, entitled, a "Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour, Christ: with a confutation of sundry errors concerning the same, grounded and established upon God's holy word, and approved by the consent of the most ancient doctors of the church." In it he rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, which, a few years previously, under the inflexible Henry, he had publicly defended against Lambert. Gardiner, from his prison, wrote a reply, which was published in France. To this Cranmer rejoined, and Gardiner replied under the name of Marcus Antonius Constantius, in a vindication which Cranmer endeavoured to overthrow, but died before he had completed his answer.⁴

The severities exercised on the four imprisoned bishops were expected to subdue the resistance of the rest of the prelacy. But "some there were, who, though they outwardly complied with the king's commands, yet was it done so coldly and with such reluctancy as laid them open to the spoil, though not the loss of

¹ Soames, iii., p. 574.

² Ibid., p. 576, 577.

³ Day, after two years' imprisonment, petitioned to be released, on the ground that deprivation was a sufficient punishment for a conscientious dissent from an injunction: but added, that if this indulgence "were to be bought at the hazard of his conscience, he thought it better to want it, than to purchase so poor a commodity at so dear a rate." —Strype, ii. 390.

⁴ Soames, iii., p. 501.

their bishoprics. Of which last were Kitching, Bishop of Landaff, Salcot, Bishop of Salisbury, and Sampson of Coventry and Lichfield. Voysie, also, of Exeter, was either deprived of his bishopric, or, as some say, resigned it, within a few months after the sentence passed on Gardiner. Tonsal, of Durham, was cast into prison on the 20th of December, 1551, where he was detained until the dissolution of his bishopric by act of Parliament."¹ In all these instances the greedy gospellers at court seized on the richest lands and the main part of the revenues of the obnoxious prelates. For further spoil for the insatiable reformers, the bishoprics of Worcester and Gloucester were united; "not that Hooper was suffered to enjoy the temporal patrimony of that wealthy bishopric, but that he was to exercise the jurisdiction and episcopality, with some short allowance for his pains. The pyrates of the court were too intent on all advantages, to let such a vessel pass untouched, in which they might both finde enough to enrich themselves, and yet leave that which was sufficient to content the merchant."² Which of the gospellers did not suffer the bishopric assigned to him to be plundered in return for the boon conferred upon him; and which of the reformed ever scrupled to lay his sacrilegious hands on the property and valuables of the church, whenever opportunity offered? And these were thy gods, O Protestantism!

Each succeeding year had brought with it fresh changes. With a liturgy secured and forced upon the people by every penalty short of death, and composed under the special auspices of Cranmer, with the churches stripped of every valuable and ornament but a single chalice and a table, it might have been expected that, after having pared down the tree of life to the quick, there remained nothing further to be done. But the reformation was now to be reformed. It was discovered that the liturgy written under the guidance of the Holy Ghost was very imperfect and in some things very ungodly; and Parliament, the new substitute for church authority, was to promulgate a new code of articles as the standard of orthodoxy and the essentials of religious truth.³

¹ Heylin, *Refor.*, p. 100, 101.

² *Ibid.*, p. 101.

³ "Each of the reformed churches left undetermined the momentous question which their separation from Rome had brought into discussion, respecting the competent judge in cases of a disputed interpretation of holy writ. Wherever the church was reformed by the government, as in all Lutheran, and in most Calvinistic countries, as well as in England, the received opinion was that this authority belonged to the civil lawgivers of each country; a doctrine which, if understood of the belief, the feelings, and the worship of religion, entirely overthrows its nature, but, if limited to its legal endowments and privileges, is no more than an identical proposition. All these churches agreed in the grosser departure from their own principles, which led them to punish even with death a dissent from the creeds which they, by their dissent from human authority, had built on the ruins of a system, adopted by all nations for many ages; they acted as if they were infallible, though they waged war against that proud word. In order to escape the visible necessity of granting that liberty of judgment to all mankind, which could alone justify their own assaults on popes and councils, they in effect vested a despotic power over the utterance of religious opinions, in lay sovereigns, who had not

The amendments of the liturgy were first attended to. The destruction of altars rendered these changes imperatively necessary: for in the book of prayer the term altar was made use of, as the word mass had been originally employed to express the communion service. But though sundry anomalies vitiated the book of prayer, these would possibly have been sooner retained and explained away, than altered after the work had been so solemnly ascribed to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, had not other causes forced Cranmer to give way. The Calvinistic party gained strength daily. And "Calvin, having broken the ice, resolved to make his way through it to the mark he aimed at, which was to have the church depend upon his direction, and not to be less estimable here than in other places."¹ He had addressed several letters to Somerset: "so now he sets upon the king, the council, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, in hope to bring them to his bent. In those to Cranmer, he certifies him that in the service of the English church, as then it stood, there remained a whole mass of Popery, which did not onely darken, but destroy God's holy worship. He had his agents in the court, the country, and the universities, by whom he drives on his designs, in all parts at once. And he so far prevailed that in the convocation, which began in the former year, 1550, the first debate amongst the prelates was of such doubts as had arisen about some things contained in the common prayer-book, and more particularly touching such feasts as were retained, and such as had been abrogated by the rules thereof; the form of words used at the giving of the bread, and the different manner of administering the holy sacrament."² "Upon these subjects a communication was made by the prelates to the Lower House. The members of this replied, that not having duly considered the matters in debate, they were unable to form at once a satisfactory judgment upon them."³

Cranmer, however unwillingly, was forced to yield to the pressure of the new party. The king had warned him that unless he proceeded at once to expunge or alter the obnoxious passages, the task should be assigned to more willing hands, or undertaken by himself.⁴ The metropolitan gave way. He applied to Bucer and Martyr for their opinions, which pointed out several things to be omitted, explained, and improved.⁵ The work "was intrusted, under royal authority, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Ely, and others of the episcopal order."⁶ When the alterations were completed, the difficulty arose how to promulgate the changes by authority, without exhibiting to the nation and to Christendom the national church, subjecting its decisions on faith and worship to be revised, rejected, or approved, by the

even the recommendation of professing to know the subject in dispute." Mackintosh, ii., p. 254.

¹ Heylin, p. 107.

² Ibid.

³ Soames, iii., p. 593.

⁴ Ibid., p. 595.

⁵ Strype's Cran. 209, 252. Burnet, ii., p. 249.

⁶ Soames, iii., p. 594.

lay branches of the legislature. To obviate if possible this inconvenience, the amended service and the ordinal were appended to an act inflicting additional pains and penalties on those who neglected to attend at the new service. But the device was discovered; the various parts of the bills were examined separately in the Lords, united in the Commons, and passed without any alterations. In the preamble to the bill, we see evident tokens of the soreness of the compilers, at the necessity in which they found themselves of undertaking the proposed changes. It was said, that "there was nothing contained in the first book but what was agreeable to the word of God and the primitive church, very comfortable to all good people desiring to live in Christian conversation, and most profitable to the estate of this realm. 2. That such doubts as had been raised in the use and exercise thereof, proceeded rather from the curiosity of the minister, and mistakers, than of any other worthier cause."¹ Some explanations were indeed necessary if any thing like uniformity was to be observed in the public services of the new religion; for "the change of altars into tables, the practice of the church of strangers, and John a Lasco's book in maintenance of sitting at the holy table, made many think that posture best which was so much countenanced. And what was like to follow upon such a liberty, the proneness of those times to heterodoxies, and profaneness, gave great cause to fear. Somewhat was, therefore, to be done to prevent the mischief; and nothing could prevent it better than to reduce the people to their ancient custom, by some rule, or rubrick, by which they should be bound to receive it kneeling. So for the ministers themselves, they seemed to be as much at a loss in their officiating at the table, as the people were in their irreverences to the blessed sacrament, which cannot be better expressed than in the words of some Popish prelates, by whom it was objected unto some of our chief reformers. Thus White of Lincoln chargeth it upon Bishop Ridley, (to omit his prophane calling of the Lord's table, in what posture soever situated, by the name of an oyster-board,) 'That when their table was constituted, they could never be content in placing the same; now east, now north, now one way, now another; until it pleased God of his goodness to place it quite out of the church.' The like did Weston, the prolocutor of the convocation in the first of Queen Mary, in a disputation held with Latimer, telling him, with reproach and contempt enough, that 'the Protestants, having turned their tables, were like a company of apes, which knew not which way to turn their tails; looking one day east, and another west; one this way, and another that way, as their fancies lead them.' Thus finally, one Miles Hubbard, in a book printed in 1556, doth report the business: 'How long were they learning to set their tables to minister the communion upon? First, they

¹ Heylin, *Refor.*, p. 107, 108.

placed it aloft, where the high altar stood, then must it be removed from the wall, that one might go between: the ministers being in contention on whether part to turn their faces, either towards the west, the north, or south.' A rubrick, therefore, is resolved upon, by which the minister should be pointed to a certain place; and by the rubrick then devised, the north side was thought fitter than any other."¹

"When at length the reviewed book of common prayer appeared, it was found that most of the alterations suggested by the learned foreigners were adopted. It was reduced very nearly to the form in which it has reached our own age. In confirmation the use of oil, and the sign of the cross, were to be laid aside. Extreme unction was abandoned; prayers for the dead omitted, as were also passages provided for the consecration of the eucharist. A rubric was added, explanatory of the kneeling required of those who receive the Lord's supper. This posture was said to be enjoined to show the communicant's humility, not as a mark of adoration to Christ, as if corporally present.² The use of circular wafers was likewise interdicted, and the sacramental bread was merely to be the same that is ordinarily seen at tables. In baptism, besides the unction, were omitted the sign of a cross upon the child's breast, the exorcism, the chrisom, and the trine immersion. In the matrimonial office was omitted the delivery of gold or silver, as tokens of spousage; in that for the sick all mention of private confessions;³ and of reserving portions of the sacramental elements for such persons, incapable of attending at church, as might desire to communicate on days in which the eucharist should be publicly administered. The Romanist of information is compelled to admit that our liturgy comprises the best parts of his own, translated into the vernacular tongue, and that such portions of our service, as are not found in authorised papal books of devotion, are either taken from the sacred volume, or are closely conformable to its language and sense."⁴

That in less than four years it should be found necessary to publish another, and so essentially different a form of public worship, which practically declared that the first was unscriptural and ungodly, is a lamentable but decisive proof that the reformation was by the judgment of the reformers not a work pleasing in the sight of God. These changes showed that, with all their

¹ Heylin, *Refor.*, p. 107.

² "Upon Queen Elizabeth's accession, this rubric was laid aside. For it being the queen's design to unite the nation as much as she could in one faith; it was therefore recommended to the divines, to see that there should be no definition made against the corporal presence, but that it should remain as a speculative opinion, not determined, but in which every one might be left to the freedom of his own mind." Wheatley, 329.

³ "The rubric in King Edward's first book, enjoining ministers to recommend confession in cases where they find a sick person oppressed by their consciences with some specific iniquity, and to absolve such persons, if anxious for that satisfaction, thus concludes: 'and the same form of absolution shall be used in all private confessions.'" Soames, iii. 605.

⁴ Soames, iii., p. 603—606.

appeals to Scripture, their belief had been unscriptural, though enforced by every human agency, of fine and imprisonment, as the only true worship of God. We shall ere long meet with further changes, and condemnations of the labours of the reformers by other and later gospellers. Of course with the new liturgy there were fulminated fresh pains and penalties on contraveners. By the new statute, to which the liturgy and ordinal had been appended, the bishops were to coerce with spiritual censures all persons who should absent themselves from the amended form of service, the magistrates with corporal punishment all those who should employ any other service in its place. To hear, or be present at any manner of divine worship, or administration of the sacraments, or ordination of ministers, differing from those set forth by authority, subjected the offender on the first conviction to imprisonment during the space of one year, and on the third during the term of his natural life.¹

There was another work which had become exceedingly necessary, on which Cranmer had been for some time engaged, the compilation of a body of articles stating what were the doctrines retained or adopted by the new church of England. This was, indeed, no easy task. Cranmer had signed every fresh statement of doctrine which appeared in Henry's time, and since the faith of the nation had been left principally to his dictation, his mind had every year undergone some fresh change. Not merely on the important subject of the eucharist had he gradually believed less, but on almost every other question, except the primary articles of revelation, had he exhibited some change. To produce a satisfactory code of belief, Cranmer advocated a general assembly of delegates from the foreign Protestant divines, that England might be enlightened by their discoveries.² "It was found, however, impossible to await for an event so much to be desired. So long as the Anglican church should continue unprovided with a public declaration of her tenets, it was evident that discordant opinions would resound from her pulpits."³ That a church without a creed of faith might no longer exist, Cranmer procured, or received, an order from the council to prepare a body of doctrines which, having obtained the seal of approbation from the boy at the head of the church, might be promulgated as the test and standard of orthodoxy. Whether Cranmer had any colleague to share with him the responsibility of this labour, or whether a more than papal authority was entrusted to him, is doubtful. By some, Ridley is thought to have been his coadjutor;⁴ by others it is conjectured that rough copies of the articles were circulated amongst the admirers of the recent changes, and the members of the council, and their suggestions duly considered by the metropolitan;⁵ by others the work is pro-

¹ Stat. 5 Ed. VI., 5.² Soames, iii., 647.³ Ibid.⁴ Ibid.⁵ Burnet, Refor., ii., p. 268.

nounced to have had Cranmer solely for its parent.¹ One thing is clear, that the confession of Augsburg furnished much assistance in the arduous undertaking.² In May, 1552, Cranmer received an order to lay his lucubration before the privy-council.³ But the production was found to contain little else than an ebullition of hostility to the ancient faith.⁴ In vain did the king openly recommend, and Hooper argue in favour of this production. Few, and those suspected, subscriptions were obtained;⁵ and Gardiner, from his prison, increased the difficulty by publishing replies to Hooper's vindication.⁶ "Meanwhile it was determined to form the articles of religion upon a more extended scale, and in September, 1552, Cranmer was again employed upon them. When completed they were presented by him to the sovereign, and they were then submitted to certain of the royal chaplains. These ecclesiastics made some alterations in them, and this occasioned them to be sent once more to Cranmer. He was then at Ford, near Canterbury, where he gave to the work another day's consideration. On the 24th of November, he returned it to the council as fit for inspection by the convocation, and he accompanied it by a letter, suggesting that subscription to it ought to be made obligatory upon the whole clerical body."⁷ This was an extraordinary proposal. For why should the opinions of any one man, or of any body of men, bind the understandings of others, after those very men had acted in opposition to the opinions of a far larger body, and had proclaimed by their conduct that even the whole of Christendom had fallen into error? Why reject the authority of the church, and be compelled to submit to that of the king? But Cranmer had the example of most of the reformed churches in his favour, which, after denouncing and rejecting the authority of the church as a snare and a yoke to conscience, ended in establishing their own.

The articles when completed were in number forty-two, and do not differ very materially from the well-known thirty-nine articles of Elizabeth.⁸ It is a remarkable fact in the history of these articles, that they do not seem to have received the sanction of convocation, and assuredly were never ratified by Parliament. In the title, they were merely said to have been "agreed upon

¹ Heylin, *Refor.*, p. 108.

² Soames, iii. 648.

³ Strype, *Mem. Cran.*, p. 390.

⁴ This appears from a contemporary publication edited by Archbishop Lawrence, *Bamp. Lec.*, 390.

⁵ Soames, vol. iii. 650.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 651.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 651, 652.

⁸ "Of the forty-two articles of belief promulgated in this reign, the principal propositions omitted under Elizabeth were, a condemnation of those who asserted that the resurrection was already past, or that souls sleep from death to the last judgment, as well as of those who maintain the final salvation of all men, or the reign of the Messiah for a thousand years, which last opinion the forty-first article styles 'The fable of the Millenaries, a Jewish dotage.' The doctrine of the presence of Christ in the communion, was expressed in terms more unfavourable to the church of Rome than those chosen by Elizabeth's divines." Mackintosh, *Engl.*, vol. ii., p. 274.

by the bishops and other learned men."¹ Their approbation, however, entailed that of the king, by whose authority the production was published in Latin and English. In the universities an oath was exacted from every person who took any degree, that he would look on the articles as true and certain, and would defend them in all places as agreeable to the word of God.² And a short time before Edward's death, the articles were also ordered to be subscribed by all churchwardens, schoolmasters, and clergymen.³

Besides a new liturgy and code of belief, a further change was also found requisite. In consequence of the alterations introduced, it became necessary to reform the ecclesiastical laws, and to revise whatever related to the government of the church, and the exercise of the several functions in it. "The appeals, allowed by every country, to Rome, had hitherto preserved a consistency of decision and unity of legislation. But the whole system of canon law was so interwoven with papal authority, and so favourable to the most extravagant pretensions of the Roman see, as to become incapable of execution in a Protestant country."⁴ An act had been passed as early as 1549, providing, that the king should have full power to nominate sixteen ecclesiastics, and the same number of laymen, "to order and compile such laws ecclesiastical as should be thought convenient." A work was accordingly composed for this purpose by Cranmer, and translated into Latin by Sir John Cheke and Dr. Haddon. This work, however, was not prepared for the royal confirmation before the close of Edward's reign. "The book not having received the royal confirmation, is not indeed law, but it is of great authority, and conveys the opinions of our first reformers on problems, which the law of England has not yet solved."⁵ "In Queen Elizabeth's time, this work was published under the title of *Reformatio legum*. The whole compilation is digested under fifty-one heads, and is concluded by a supplementary chapter on the rules of administering justice. The first head asserts the doctrine of the Trinity, and denounces the penalty of *death*, with confiscation of goods, against such as should deny the Catholic faith. The third and fourth divisions relate to the punishment of heresy and wilful blasphemy. Prosecutions for these offences⁶ were to be instituted in the diocesan courts, with liberty to appeal to the archbishop, and from him to the king. Persons accused were to stand committed until trial, in default of giving security for their appear-

¹ Soames, iii., p. 706.

² By a strange inconsistency, in the same oath, they were made to swear to prefer the authority of Scripture to the opinions of men, and yet to hold and defend the opinions of Cranmer, expressed in the articles as the very truth.

³ Wilk., Conc., iv. 79.

⁴ Mackintosh, ii., p. 275.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ "In the second place, certain opinions upon the Trinity, the Saviour, the Scriptures, original sin, justification, the mass, and purgatory, were pronounced heretical." Soames, iii., p. 709.

ance when called upon. If they refused to appear, after lawful citation, they were to be excommunicated and committed. In case of recantations, they were publicly to renounce their heterodoxy, to swear against a relapse, and to profess their belief in the contrary doctrine. If after conviction they should refuse to do these things, they were to be delivered over to the secular arm. If a clergyman were convicted of heresy, his recantation was not to recover his preferment for him."¹ Here, then, was *death* again assigned as the punishment for exercising that liberty of conscience which Cranmer was daily claiming for himself, and denying to all others. There is another subject treated of in this body of the canon law, which deserves attention, I mean the question of divorce. By the tenth article, divorce was allowed for adultery, and the unoffending party was suffered to marry; but the sentence of a court was declared to be necessary for the dissolution. "Desertion, long absence, mortal enmities, the lasting fierceness of a husband to his wife, were adjudged to be lawful grounds of divorce. Separation from bed and board was abolished, being superseded by the extension of divorce."² It is impossible to reconcile this enactment with the avowed opinions of its authors, without believing that they considered the answers of Christ in the gospel, on divorce for adultery, as confined to the national legislation of the Jews, and not intended to have legal force in other countries."³ I need scarcely remark what evils would have flowed from this system, which would have introduced a successive polygamy, nor show how it would have been opposed to the direct institution of marriage, and have enabled inconstant husbands, as soon as they were tired of their wives, to make the situation of the helpless female so uneasy that they must consent to divorce. Every Christian, then, has occasion to thank the watchfulness of an overruling Providence, which prevented the foul designs of Cranmer and his gospellers from spreading ruin in every family, and legalizing vice and sensuality. Besides these regulations, "the privilege of making a will was denied to married women, slaves, children under fourteen years of age, insane persons, heretics, persons under sentence of death, and others."⁴ Commutation of penance for money was allowed in certain circumstances, but, "in case of a relapse into the same fault, no pecuniary penalty was to skreen the guilty party from undergoing personally the exposure appended to his transgression."⁵ Finally, excommunication is asserted to cut off the offender from the society of the faithful, the protection of God, and the expectation of future happiness; and

¹ Soames, iii., p. 710.

² "Mere separation from bed and board is pronounced unreasonable, and contrary to Scripture." Soames, iii., p. 703.

³ Mackintosh, ii., p. 275, 276.

⁴ Soames, iii., p. 718.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 719.

to consign him to everlasting punishment, and the tyranny of the devil.¹

The death of Somerset now calls for a few moments of attention. The reconciliation between the late protector and his successful rival, Warwick, since created Earl of Northumberland, was not real. Under a fair surface of friendship, the sores of fear and anger still rankled. "On the 17th of October, 1551, the duke and duchess of Somerset, with many of their friends, were committed to the Tower; and on the first of December following the duke was brought to trial, as conspiring to seize the king, and for felony under the riot act of the preceding session, in assembling to imprison the Earl of Warwick. The lords unanimously acquitted him of the treason; they convicted him of the felony. It is probable that Somerset meditated a revolution as violent as that by which he had been deposed. After his condemnation, the axe not being carried naked before him as he left Westminster Hall, the people, who hailed this circumstance as a proof of his acquittal, expressed their joy by loud acclamations. "On the 22d of January, 1552," says the diary of his royal nephew, "he had his head cut off, upon Tower Hill, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning."² He died in the profession of the new religion, which he had contributed so effectually to establish.

The nation was horrified by another execution, not on political grounds, like those of which Somerset fell, but for religious opinion. "In April, 1551, the disgraceful spirit of persecution again revived, and an unfortunate Hollander, named George Van Parr, settled in London as a surgeon, after being excommunicated by the congregation of his own countrymen, was condemned to the stake for Arianism. Before the end of the month, this iniquitous sentence was carried into execution."³ The sufferer had led a life of uncommon strictness; "he used not to eat above once in two days; and before he did eat, would lie some time in his devotion prostrate on the ground."⁴ "He suffered with great constancy of mind, and kissed the stake and faggots that were to burn him."⁵ "All this they made use of to lessen the credit of those who had suffered formerly; for it was said, they saw now that men of harmless lives might be put to death for heresy by the confession of the reformers themselves; and in all the books published in Queen Mary's days, justifying her severity against the Protestants, these instances were always made use of; and no part of Cranmer's life exposed him more than this did. It was said, he had consented both to Lambert's and Anne Askew's death, in the former reign, who both suffered for opinions which he himself held now; and he had now procured the death

¹ The excommunicated person, when admitted again to his privileges, was to be absolved by the priest.

² Markintosh, ii., p. 265. ³ Soames, iii., p. 546. ⁴ Burnet, Refor., ii., 180. ⁵ Ibid.

of these two persons, Joan Boacher and Van Parr; and when he was called to suffer himself afterwards, it was called a just retaliation on him."¹ From the account already given of Cranmer's opinion as recorded in his digest of canon law, and from his conduct in procuring the death of Boacher, it is clear that these murders "were truly the effect of those principles by which he governed himself."²

The fire which burned this unfortunate victim, again enkindled all the former ferocity of the gospellers against the Lady Mary. She had continued, favoured by circumstances, and the interference of the emperor, to hear mass in her palace. But after the conclusion of a treaty of peace with France, the emperor's friendship was a matter of less consequence, and it was resolved to subdue her constancy, and to force her to conform to the new religion. She alleged a promise made to her cousin, the emperor, that she should be thus indulged, and Charles confirmed her allegation. But the council overruled, or explained away the promise. A long letter was addressed to her, with the strange and hopeless purpose of persuading her that the new religion was the old, and the religion of her baptism and of her fathers, a mere novelty.³ This proving ineffectual, "on the 18th of March, she was called before the king in council, at Westminster, and being told, that connivance hitherto flowed from an expectation of seeing her ultimately rise above the prejudices in which she had been educated, it was intimated, that she must immediately relinquish the illegal form of worship. In reply, she thus addressed the king: "My soul is God's; my faith I will not change; my opinion I will not dissemble; I therefore desire your highness rather to take my life than to restrain me from hearing mass."⁴ In September, Ridley was instructed to visit her, and we have an account of that visit, which illustrates admirably the sort of tolerance preached and practised by the reformers. "He went to wait on her, she then living at Hunsden, where she received him at first civilly, and told him, she remembered of him in her father's time, and at dinner sent him to dine with her officers. After dinner, he told her, he came not only to do his duty to her, but to offer to preach before her next Sunday: she blushed, and once or twice desired him to make the answer to that himself. But when he pressed her further, she said, the parish church would be open to him, if he liked to preach in it, but neither she, nor any of her family, should hear him. He said, he hoped she would not refuse to hear God's word: she said, she did not know what they called God's word, but she was sure that was not now God's word that was called so in her father's days. He said, God's word was the same at all times. She answered, she was sure he durst not for his ears have avowed these things in her father's time which he did now; and for their books, she thanked God

¹ Burnet, ii., p. 180.² Ibid., p. 181.³ Soames, iii., p. 614.⁴ Ibid., p. 615.

she never had, so she never would read them.”¹ “When at length her visitor took his leave, Mary said, ‘My lord, I thank you for your civility in coming to see me, but for your offer to preach before me, I thank you not a whit.’ The bishop then retired into another room, and there Sir Thomas Warton offered him a glass of wine. This he had no sooner drunk, than he said, with an air of concern, ‘Surely I have done amiss. I ought not to have taken any refreshment in a place where God’s word had been refused. Rather was it my duty to have departed instantly, and to have shaken off the dust from my feet, as a testimony against this house.’”² The blasphemy and fanaticism of this prelate, and the malignity of persecution which his words breathed, are a sample of the spirit which animated these precious reformers. When the fires which they had themselves kindled reached their own persons, they could not but recollect the time that they had hardened brother against sister, insulted a helpless female, the heir presumptive to the crown, and instilled into her mind in the most effectual of ways, that of practical suffering, the bloodiest lessons of intolerance and persecution. Did not Cranmer, Ridley, and the gospellers, teach Mary those lessons of cruelty, which so unsparingly were put into practice against themselves?

Their fears, indeed, were with reason excited that a speedy and severe retribution awaited them. The health of the young king visibly declined. In the spring of the year 1553, he had suffered severely from successive attacks of the measles and small-pox, and a violent inflammation of the lungs, too long neglected and with difficulty subdued, sowed the seeds of consumption in his debilitated frame. In this emergency every eye was turned to the star which soon would be in the ascendant. The gospellers knew that from her they deserved no mercy, as they had shown none; and her adherence to the ancient faith, and the contempt in which she held the new religionists and their system, heightened by injudicious persecution into more active feelings of abhorrence, seemed to foreshow that the knell of the new church, built at so much pains and cemented with blood, would ring with that which announced the dissolution of the young king. Northumberland also felt the precarious tenure by which he held his power, and his enormous wealth. He resolved to prepare for the coming storm. Every situation about the court was filled by his relatives or friends; pensions bestowed on those who resigned their offices to more active and ready agents; and a secret intrigue, which there is reason to believe had been in operation ever since the Lady Mary had refused to deny her faith and conform to the gospellers, was now more eagerly prosecuted.³ This was no less than to exclude Mary from the succession. The history of this enormous villany brands the reformers as traitors to their sovereign, as they had been apostates to their God. It

¹ Burnet, Ref., ii., p. 282.

² Ibid.

³ Burnet, Refor., ii., p. 283.

shows that, as rapine, sacrilege, and murder, had been their ready instruments in destroying the old, and establishing the new system, they were ready for their ends to use and sanctify any means, even to convulsing the nation by civil war, and deposing from her undoubted rights the heir presumptive to the throne. They had sworn to the succession as settled by the late king, but that oath had been violated in so many particulars, that the perjury probably scarcely occurred to their thoughts. The plot was matured and carried into effect in the following manner :

“The Earl of Warwick began to form great projects for himself, and thought to bring the crown into his family. The king was now much alienated from the Lady Mary; the privy-council had also embroiled themselves so with her, that he imagined it would be no hard matter to exclude her from the succession. There was but one reason that could be pretended for it, which was, that she stood illegitimated by law, and that, therefore, the next heirs in blood could not be barred their right by her. This was as strong against the Lady Elizabeth, since she was also illegitimated by a sentence in a spiritual court, and that confirmed by Parliament; so, if their jealousy of the elder sister’s religion, and the fear of her revenge, moved them to be willing to cut her off from the succession, the same reason that was to be used in law against her, was also to take place against her sister.”¹

From the Parliament, which had assembled on the day after Somerset’s death, he feared no opposition, as it was filled with his partisans. The favour of the gospellers had been propitiated by causing the liturgy and articles to obtain the consent of both houses of Parliament, and by inflicting fresh penalties on those of the old religion that would not conform to the new, and by extending the benefits of the new system, in a French translation, to the islands of Guernsey and Jersey. For Wales no such provision was made, and in Ireland, where it was the policy of government to endeavour, by all ways, to extend the use of the English language, it was thought preferable to expose the hypocrisy of the late outcry against public service in a tongue unknown to the hearers, than to confirm the natives in their affection to their native tongue. That nation was required, by a royal proclamation, to make use of the liturgy in the English tongue, a language then perfectly unintelligible to the mass of the nation. By Brown, Bishop of Dublin, and four of his brethren, the new service in English was adopted; by Dowdal, Archbishop of Armagh, and the rest of the prelates, it was rejected with scorn. Brown’s obsequiousness obtained for him, during the brief period of Edward’s life, the title of Primate, but the English service made no progress, and the old was universally retained, except where the presence of an armed force rendered obedience compulsory.² Another regulation was also made, remarkable as a

¹ Burnet, Ref., ii., p. 283.

² Leland, l. iii., c. 8.

specimen of the character of the age, and of the irreligion of the country, by which a person guilty of brawling and fighting in the churches or its precincts, should be excommunicated, and in certain cases of grosser violence, "should be punished with the loss of one of his ears."¹ But the last scene of Edward's life was drawing to a close. Ill health prevented him from meeting the last Parliament of his troubled reign in the usual manner, and the session was opened in his palace at Whitehall. The first measure was to meet the growing demands on the impoverished monarch. "Such was the rapacity of the times, and the unfortunate condition of the king's condition, that his minority was abused to many acts of spoil, and rapine, even to a high degree of sacrilege. For, notwithstanding the great and most inestimable treasures which must needs come in by the spoil of so many shrines and images, the sale of all the lands belonging to chantries, colleges, free chapels, &c., and the dilapidating of the patrimony of so many bishopricks, and cathedral churches, he was not only plunged in debt, but the crown-lands were much diminished. Besides which spoils, there were many other helps, and some great ones too, of keeping him both before-hand, and full of money, had they been used to his advantage. The lands of divers of the halls, and companies in London, were charged with annual pensions, for the finding of such lights, obits, and chantry priests, as were founded by the donour of them. For the redeeming whereof they were constrained to pay the sum of £20,000, to the use of the king, by an order from the council-table."² Besides other means adopted to relieve the royal distress, it was resolved to strip the church of the few remaining valuables that could be turned into money; for which purpose "a commission was speeded into all parts of the realm, under pretence of selling such of the lands and goods of chantries, &c., as remained unsold; but, in plain truth, to seize upon all hangings, altar-cloths, fronts, parafronts, copes of all sorts, with all manner of plate, which was to be found in any cathedral, or parochial church. To which rapacity the demolishing of the former altars, and placing the communion-table in the middle of the quires, or chancels of every church, as was then most used, gave a very good hint, by rendering all such furnitures, rich plate, and other costly utensils, in a manner useless."³ "Which general seizure being made, they

¹ Heylin's Ref., p. 126.

² Ibid., p. 131.

³ Heylin, Ref., p. 132. He has preserved the most material parts of the royal injunction authorizing this act of sacrilege, for the purpose "that it may be left to the reader's judgment whether the king, being now in the sixteenth year of his age, were either better studied in his own concerns, or seemed to be worse principled in matters which concerned the church." The instructions were, 1. To take careful inventories of the valuables belonging "to any churches, chapels, fraternities, or gilds; one inventory of the effects taken, another of those left. 2. "Because information hath been made, that in many places great quantities of the said plate, bells, jewels, ornaments, hath been embezzled by certain private men, contrary to his majestie's express commandment,"

were to leave one chalice, with certain table-cloths, for the use of the communion-board, as the said commissioners should think fit; the jewels, plate, and ready money, to be delivered to the master of the king's jewels in the Tower of London; the copes of cloth of gold and tyssue, to be brought into the king's wardrobe; the rest to be turned into ready money, and that money to be paid to Sir Edmond Peckham, the king's cofferer, for the defraying of the charges of his majestie's household." But others were as ready to rob the churches as the king and his commissioners; so that "notwithstanding the great care of the king on one side, and the double diligence of the commissioners on the other, the booty did not prove so great as the expectation. In all great fairs, and markets, there are some forestallers, who get the best penny-worths to themselves, and suffer not the richest and most gainful commodities to be openly sold. And so it fared also in the present business, there being some who were as much beforehand with the king's commissioners in embezzeling the said plate, jewels, and other furnitures, as the commissioners did intend to be with the king, in keeping always most part unto themselves. For when the commissioners came to execute their powers in their several circuits, they neither could discover all, or recover much of that which had been purloined, some things being utterly embezelled by persons not responsible, but more concealed by persons not detectable, who had so cunningly carried the stealth, that there was no tracing of their footsteps. And some there were who, being known to have such goods in their possession, conceived themselves too great to be called in question; connived at willingly by those, who were but their equals, or either were, or meant to be offenders in the very same kind. So that although some profit was hereby raised to the king's exchequer, yet the far greatest part of the prey came to other hands: insomuch that many private men's parlours were hung with altar-cloths, their tables and beds covered with copes, instead of carpets and coverlids: and many made carousing cups of the sacred chalices, as once Belshazzar celebrated his drunken feast in the sanctified vessels of the temple. It was a sorry house, and not worth the naming, which had not somewhat of this furniture in it, though it were only a fair large cushion made of a cope, or altar-cloth to adorn their windows, or make their chairs appear to have somewhat in them of a chair of state. Yet how contemptible were these trappings, in comparison of those vast sums of money, which were made of jewels, plate, and cloth of tyssue, either conveyed beyond the seas, or sold at home, and good lands purchased with the money, nothing the more blessed

the commissioners should make diligent inquiries, and enter and seize on, in the dwelling-places of all such persons, whatever property of this description could be discovered. P. 132, 133.

to the posterity of them that bought them, for being purchased with the consecrated treasures of so many temples.”¹

It became necessary, in consequence of the positive failure of this sacrilege, to try their fortunes in other quarters. “Some cause is therefore to be thought on, which might pretend to an increase in the king’s revenue, and none more easy to be compassed, than to begin with the suppression of such bishopricks, and collegiate churches, as either lay furthest off, or might best be spared. In reference whereunto it was concluded, in a chapter held at Westminster, by the knights of the garter, that from henceforth the said most noble order of the garter should be no longer entitled by the name of St. George, but that it should be called the order of the Garter only; and that the feast of the said order should be celebrated upon Whitsun-even, Whitsunday, and Whitsun-monday, and not on St. George’s day, as before it was. And to what end was this concluded, but the dissolving of the free-chapel of St. George in the castle of Windsor, and the transferring of the order to the chapel of King Henry the Seventh, in the abbey of Westminster? Which had undoubtedly been done, and all the lands thereof converted to some powerful courtiers, under the pretence of laying them to the crown, if the king’s death, which happened within four months after, had not prevented the design, and thereby respited that ruin, which was then intended. The like preservation happened, at the same time also, in the church of Durham, as liberally endowed as the most, and more amply privileged, than the best in the king’s dominions. No sooner was the Bishop Tonsal committed to the Tower, which was on the twentieth of December, 1551, but presently an eye was cast upon his possessions. Which, questionless, had followed the same fortune with the rest of the bishopricks, if one, more powerful than the rest, had not preserved it from being parcelled out as the others were, on a strong confidence of getting it all unto himself.”² Northumberland having failed, in 1552, in his project of depriving Tonsal of his bishopric, brought that amiable prelate before a new court, constituted by his own authority, by which the Bishop of Durham was condemned and stripped of all his ecclesiastical preferments. The see of Durham being considered void, an act was passed for the suppression of that diocese, and for the creation of two in its stead, one at Durham and another at Newcastle. Within a month after the dissolution, the bishopric was converted into a county palatine, annexed for the present to the crown, but destined to reward, at a convenient opportunity, the services of the house of Dudley.³

An unsuccessful attempt was also made to disturb Cranmer in his possessions. Timely information was, however, conveyed to him in a letter from Sir William Cecil, secretary of state. The

¹ Heylin, Ref., p. 134.

² *Ibid.*, p. 135.

³ Strype, Eccl. Mem., ii., p. 507. Heylin, Ref., p. 136.

archbishop had not failed to increase his revenues during the recent confiscations. "In the first year of Edward, Cranmer had obtained from the crown, for a valuable consideration, certain manorial, landed, and tythe properties, in the counties of York and Nottingham, formerly parcels of the endowments attached to the monasteries of Arthington, Kirkstall, and Welbeck. Of these estates, the parsonages of Whatton and Aslecton appear to have passed, almost immediately after the acquisition, to Thomas Cranmer, the purchaser's nephew, and the head of his family; for that gentleman died in possession of them before the end of this reign. The other property was intended, probably, as a provision for his own family."¹ This acquisition drew the eyes of the envious upon the metropolitan, and during the royal progress, in the summer of 1552, reflections were made upon the wealth and avarice of the episcopal order, especially of the primate.² The storm, however, soon blew over without any injury to the prelate.

A delusive improvement had taken place in the young king's health, a change soon followed by a return of the usual symptoms of consumption, in such a form as rendered it clear that his death was certain and near. Northumberland hastened to execute the darling scheme of his ambition. Should he succeed in excluding Mary and Elizabeth from the throne, the right of succession would devolve on one of the representatives of the two sisters of Henry VIII.; Margaret, Queen of Scotland, and Mary, Queen of France. Margaret was the elder: but her descendants had been overlooked in the will of the late king, and the animosity of the nation against Scotland would readily induce it to acquiesce in the exclusion of the Scottish line. There remained then the representative of Mary, the French queen, who was Frances, married to Gray, formerly Marquis of Dorset, and lately created, in favour of his wife, Duke of Suffolk. But Frances had no ambition to ascend a disputed throne; and easily consented to transfer her right to her eldest daughter, Jane, whom Northumberland accordingly united to his only child unmarried, his fourth son, Guildford Dudley.

Northumberland, "finding that nothing went so near the king's heart as the ruin of religion, which he apprehended would follow upon his death, when his sister Mary should come to the crown; upon that he and his party took advantage to propose to him to settle the crown, by his letters patent, on the Lady Jane Gray."³ "It was easy to practise on the religious sensibility of young Edward, whose heart was now softened by the progress of infirmity and the approach of death. It was scarcely necessary for Northumberland to remind him, gently and seasonably, that it was his duty not to confine his exertions for the interests of religion to the short and uncertain period of his own life; that

¹ Soames, iii., p. 755.

² Soames, iii., p. 725.

³ Burnet, Ref., p. 356.

he was bound to provide for the security of the protestant cause, after he himself should be no more ; and that without the most energetic measures for that purpose, he must leave the reformers of the church and the faithful servants of the crown, exposed to the revenge of those whom they had incensed by their loyalty and their religion. The zeal and rigour of Mary were well known, and their tremendous consequences could be prevented only by her exclusion. The Princess Elizabeth, who had only a secondary claim, dependent on the death of her elder sister, had been declared illegitimate by Parliament, and the will under which she must claim would be in effect deprived of all authority by the necessary exclusion of Mary. Mary, Queen of Scots, the granddaughter of Margaret Tudor, was educated a Catholic, and had espoused the Dauphin. She was necessarily the irreconcilable enemy of the pure and reformed church, which Edward had been the providential instrument of establishing in England. If the will of Henry VIII. was valid, why should not Edward, in whose hands the royal prerogatives were as full and as entire as in those of his father, supersede by a new will the arrangements of the former, and settle the crown in such a manner that it might continue to be the bulwark of the protestant faith ? Only to the house of Suffolk, it was possible to look for the maintenance of the reformation. Northumberland could not fail to remind the young king of the excellent qualities of his playmate, and the companion of his studies, Lady Jane Grey. That house, with its experienced statesmen and veteran commanders, already in possession of the whole authority and force of the realm, in their hands the securities of the protestant religion would be entire, perfect, ready for instantaneous action. In those of all other claimants, there was wanting either the will, or the strength to protect the reformed faith. By these, and the like reasons of policy, or topics of persuasion, was Edward induced to make a new testamentary disposal of the crown."¹ That his advisers might not be exposed to the revenge of their powerful adversaries, the youth took the whole responsibility of the measure on himself ; sketched with his own pen a rough draught of the new entail, and when it had been fairly transcribed, signed the copy with his name above and below, and on each margin.²

On the 11th of June, 1553, Montague, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and two judges of that court, were commanded to attend his majesty at Greenwich, and were then ordered by him to reduce his notes of an intended new settlement of the crown, to the form of letters patent. He said "that he had considered the inconveniences of the measure, but thought them outweighed by the consideration that if he should de cease without an heir of his body, the realm and succession must go to the Lady Mary,

¹ Mackintosh, *Hist. Eng.*, ii., p. 280, 281.

² The will is in Strype's *Cranmer*, app., p. 164.

who might marry a stranger born, whereby the laws might be changed and the proceedings in religion be totally altered. Wherefore he directed them to draw up a settlement of the crown upon Lady Jane, the heiress of the house of Suffolk. "The judges required time to consider this alarming proposal. On the 12th, they were brought before the privy-council. They represented the danger of incurring the penalties of treason, to which they, and indeed all the Lords, would be liable by an attempt to set aside in this manner a settlement made under the authority of Parliament. Northumberland rushed into the council trembling with anger, and, in a tone of fury, among other tokens of rage, called Montague a traitor, offering to fight in his shirt any man in this cause."¹ The judges were commanded to retire, but received orders the same evening to present themselves on the following day, with the exception of the solicitor-general, at the council-table. On their admission, "the king, 'with sharp words and an angry countenance,' reproved them for their contumacy. Montague represented that the instrument, if made, would be without effect, because the succession could not be altered without the authority of Parliament, which had established it. To which the king answered, 'We mind to have a Parliament shortly: we will do it, and afterwards ratify it by Parliament.'"² The judges yielded after this promise: but stipulated for a commission, under the great seal to draw the instrument, and them a full pardon for having drawn it. To this Edward assented, and the instrument was accordingly prepared.³

But another difficulty here presented itself "amongst the lords of the council: some of which, not well satisfied with these proceedings, appeared as backward in subscribing to the instrument, before it went unto the seal, as the great lawyers had done at the first, in being brought to the employment. But such was the authority which Dudley and his party had gained amongst them, that some for fear, and some for favour, did subscribe at last: a zeal to the reformed religion prevailing in it upon some; a doubt of losing their church lands more powerfully over-swaying others; and all in fear of getting the displeasure of the mighty tyrant, who, by his power and practices, carried all before him."⁴

We will separate Cranmer for a few moments from the herd of counsellors and traitors, that his conduct on this occasion may be carefully examined. Like the rest to whom the measure was

¹ Mackintosh, ii., p. 282. "He behaved himself in such an outrageous manner, as put both Montague and Justice Bromely in a very great fear, that he would have struck them." Heylin, *Life of Jane*, p. 153.

² Mackintosh, i. c.

³ See Montague's statement in Fuller, i. viii. 2—5. Gosnold refused even after this stipulation; but at length "he also being sorely threatened, consented to it the next day. They were all required to set their hands to it, but both Gosnold and Hales refused. Yet the former was wrought on to do it, but the latter, though a most steady man for the reformation, would upon no consideration." Heylin, *Refor.*, Jane, p. 153.

⁴ Heylin, *Refor.*, i. c.

proposed, the archbishop, so clear and enormous was the treason, at first demurred. "While the measure was in agitation, he had vainly endeavoured to convince the king of its impropriety. Upon one occasion he argued long upon the subject with Edward, the Marquis of Northampton and the Lord Darcey being present. Earnest application was made to Cranmer for his signature. He replied, 'I cannot set my hand to this instrument without committing perjury. For I have already sworn to the succession of the Lady Mary, according to his late majesty's testament.'"¹ It would be then not merely treason, but treason aggravated by perjury, according to Cranmer's own judgment, for him to become a party to the plot. And yet, with that pliancy or want of conscience which had raised him to his lofty station and kept him there, Cranmer, at the request of Edward, signed the royal device.² They that had overturned the altars of their God, were fitting instruments to subvert the throne of their king. Thus does history exhibit, in its unerring page, vice after vice, lust, rapine, sacrilege, acknowledged perjury and treason, as the weapons in the armoury of the new apostles, for the overthrow of virtues and faith, which they were pleased to designate superstition and idolatry.

"The archbishop, together with twenty-three others, chiefly, if not entirely, privy-councillors, signed a written promise, pledging the oaths and honours of the subscribers, to maintain the order of succession as limited in the former instrument."³

"The king had no sooner caused these letters patent to passe the seal, but his weakness more visibly increased, than it did before. And as the king's weakness did increase, so did the Duke of Northumberland's diligence about him; for he was little absent from him, and had alwaies some well-assured, to espy how the state of his health changed every hour; and the more joyful he was at the heart, the more sorrowful appearance did he outwardly make. Whether any tokens of poyson did appear, reports are various. Certainly his physicians observed an invincible malignity in his disease, and the suspicion did the more encrease, for that the complaint proceeded chiefly from the lights; a part, as of no quickness, so, no seat for any sharp disease. The bruit whereof being got amongst the people, they break out into immoderate passions, complaining that, for this cause his two uncles had been taken away; that for this cause the most faithful of his nobility, and of his council were disgraced, and removed from court; that this was the reason why such were placed next his person who were most assuredly disposed, either to commit,

¹ Soames, iii., p. 762.

² Soames, p. 763. "The king did use so many reasons to him, in behalf of religion, and plyed him with such strong persuasions in pursuance of them, that at the last he suffered himself to be overcome by his importunities, and so subscribed it with the rest, Heylin, 153. Cranmer's name is at the head of the list of councillors.

³ Soames, Ref., iii., p. 763.

or permit, any mischief; that now it did appear, that it was not vainly conjectured some years before, by men of judgment and foresight, that after Somerset's death the king should not long enjoy his life. But the duke regarded not much the muttering multitude; knowing full well that rumours grow stale, and vanish with time, and yet somewhat to abate, or delay them for the present, he caused speeches to be spread abroad, that the king began to be in a recovery of his health, which was the more readily believed, because most desired it to be true. To which report the general judgment of his physicians gave no little countenance, by whom it was affirmed that they saw some hopes of his recovery, if he might be removed to a better and more healthful air. But this Duke Dudley did not like of, and therefore he so dealt with the lords of the council, that they would by no means yield unto it, upon pretence of his inability to endure any such remove."¹

The crafty Northumberland "had another game to play, which was the getting into his power the Lady Mary, whom, of all others, he most feared, as the most likely person to destroy his whole contrivance. For well he knew that, if she stood upon her right, as no doubt she would, she was not only sure of a strong party in the realm, who still remained in good affections to the church of Rome; but that her party here would be backed and countenanced by her alliances abroad, who could not but prefer and support her interests against all pretenders. He therefore must make sure of her, or else account all void and frustrate which was done already. And that he might make sure of her, he so prevailed, that letters were directed to her, in the king's name, from the lords of the council, willing her forthwith to resort to the king, as well to be a comfort to him in his sickness, as to see all matters well ordered about him. The lady, suspecting no lurking mischief, addressed herself with all speed to the journey, expressing great joy that either her company or her service should be esteemed needful to the king. But as she was upon the way, and within half a day's journey of the court, she received advice both of the king's desperate estate, and of the duke's designs against her;² whereupon she returned in haste to her house at Hoveden."³

Writers of great authority inform us that, at this period, the care of the king was intrusted to a female empiric, and the ordinary physicians dismissed, that the symptoms of approaching death soon appeared after her treatment, and that the physicians, when recalled, pronounced him to be at the point of death.⁴ On the evening of the 6th of July, 1553, the king expired, in the six-

¹ By the French ambassador the disease is represented as having been a pulmonary consumption: "Les medecins out peu d'esperance, etant en doute qu'il ne crache son poulmon." Noailles, 13 mai, 1553. *Embassade*, ii. 25.

² Mackintosh, ii., p. 284.

³ Heylin, p. 154.

⁴ Heylin, 139. Hayward, 327. Burnet, ii., p. 358.

teenth year of his age, and in the seventh of his reign.¹ The knowledge of his death was carefully concealed from the public; the guards round the palace were doubled, and all communication interrupted between his chamber and the other apartments. The event was, however, communicated that same evening by the same nobleman, the loyal Earl of Arundel, to the Princess Mary. In the next lecture we shall take up the chain of events at this period.

To attempt to delineate the character of a boy of sixteen would be useless, as his passions had not developed themselves. The religious changes were evidently not his, but the work of others. His opinions his youth was forced to take on trust; and whilst we admire the early indications of an attachment to learning, and of a mind deeply imbued with piety, we cannot but regret that these kindly and holy sentiments were perverted, during his lifetime, to hostility towards his sister, and, on his death-bed, to the violation of her rights, and the principles of the constitution. This is the only reign of any monarch, since the introduction of the gospel, that left no public works of piety to posterity; "the times of his predecessors were for building up, and his unfortunate reign was for pulling down."² His death was, probably, no real loss to the church of England. His mind was tinged with Calvinism, and the remnants of prelacy would very likely have perished between the rapacity of the courtiers, and the zeal of the new religionists.³ The state of the nation, both as to faith, morality, and temporal prosperity, is represented as lamentable. Scarcely a year elapsed without some fresh change in religion, each of which alterations tended to strip the church of its possessions and authority; the poor branded with burning irons, and declared by law slaves; the churches deprived of every ornament and every valuable; the clergy publicly insulted; internal divisions between an increasing herd of struggling sects; Boulogne lost; revolution at home, and the joining strife of ambitious and unscrupulous politicians, render this reign a lamentable instance of the dangers and evils of a minority cast in times so troublous and pregnant with startling changes.

¹ "He had lived fifteen years, eight months, and eight days over: of which he had reigned six years, five months, and eight days over." Heylin, p. 140.

² Heylin, p. 141.

³ "Edward's death I cannot reckon for an infelicity to the church of England: for being ill-principled in himself, and easily inclined to embrace such counsels as were offered to him, it is not to be thought, but that the rest of the bishopricks, before sufficiently impoverished, must have followed Durham, and the poor church be left as destitute of lands and ornaments as when she came into the world in her natural nakedness." Heylin, Ref. Pref., p. 4.

LECTURE V.

A. D. 1553—1558.

§ 1.

Measures to secure the crown to the Lady Jane Grey.—Rising in Mary's favour.—Public rejoicings.—First acts of Mary's reign.—Fate of Northumberland.—Dies a Catholic.—Acts of violence, &c.—Elizabeth professes herself a Catholic.—Cardinal Pole.—Mary meets her first Parliament.—Restoration of the Catholic worship.—Oxford and Cambridge.—Wyatt's rebellion—Death of Jane.—The "Spirit in the wall."

THE death of Edward the Sixth, we saw, in the preceding lecture, concealed by the policy of Northumberland for two days. But Mary had, by the loyalty of the Lord Arundel, been a second time made acquainted with the intrigues of the ambitious protector. That nobleman had taken the necessary measures for securing, if possible, the crown to his family. When the council separated, which was after midnight, Clinton, the lord admiral, took possession of the Tower, with the royal treasures, the munitions of war, and the prisoners of state. While the death of the king was unknown, the officers of the guards, and of the household, the lord mayor, six aldermen, and twelve of the principal citizens, were summoned before the council, informed of the recent settlement of the crown, and required to take an oath of allegiance to the new sovereign.

On the fourth morning after the demise of the crown, it was resolved to communicate the intelligence to the Lady Jane, the elected sovereign, now in the sixteenth year of her age. "It was on the 9th of July, that Northumberland and Suffolk communicated to Lady Jane the tidings of Edward's death, and of her own elevation to the throne. She fainted at the announcement, apparently as much affected by the latter as by the former of these occurrences. Afterwards, describing the transaction, in a letter to Mary, she says, 'As soon as I had with infinite pain to my mind, understood these things, how much I remained beside myself, stunned and agitated, I leave to those lords to testify who saw me fall to the ground, and who knew how grievously I wept.'"¹

On the following day, Jane was conducted by water to the Tower, the usual residence of our sovereigns preparatory to their coronation. On the 9th of July, the principal officers of state, together with the royal guard, swore allegiance to Jane, as Queen

¹ Mackintosh, *Hist. of Eng.*, ii., p. 286, 287.

of England.¹ A proclamation announced to the nation the death of Edward, and the succession of Jane, with such reasons as could be devised for the alteration in her favour. The people had been so long accustomed to look to Mary as the rightful successor to the crown, that scarce a voice was heard to hail the advancement of the house of Suffolk; and a vintner's boy, who ventured to express his disapprobation, was instantly arrested, and on the following morning, paid the penalty of his temerity by the loss of his ears.²

On receiving information of the plot devised against her, Mary hastened to Kenninghall in Norfolk, from which place a letter was received, on the same evening that Jane had been proclaimed, addressed to the council, "in which she asserted her pretensions to the crown, under authority of Parliament, and her father's will, and intimates that there were other circumstances advancing her right. She then gently reprimands the councillors for omitting to send her information of the late king's demise, acquaints them with her knowledge of their hostile preparations, but expresses herself willing to pardon what they had hitherto done, and concludes with desiring them to proclaim her queen without delay."³

This communication produced such a reply as was to be expected to a defenceless woman, without money and without followers. With her enemies were the army, and the influence and power of authority, fenced by every security that the regal authority and treasure could bestow. Accordingly, in a letter signed by Cranmer, the chancellor, and twenty-one councillors, she is required to abandon her false claims, and to submit as a dutiful subject to her lawful sovereign.⁴ The die was now cast, and Jane was paraded with all the pomp of royalty before the public.

Northumberland had now reached the height of his ambitious desires; but his fall was at hand. The very day that the defiance had been returned to Mary, brought the alarming intelligence that the Earls of Bath and Sussex, the eldest sons of the Lords Wharton and Mordaunt, with other noblemen and gentlemen, had joined their injured sovereign with their tenants and dependants, and that a formidable army might soon be expected to range itself under her standard. "The concealed followers of the ancient religion threw off the mask; the lukewarm, the hesitating, the timid stood aloof. Scarcely any but those adherents to the reformation, who were ready to sacrifice all for it, could now be relied on, if there were an appearance of a serious struggle. Even they must have felt many painful misgivings at the prospect of the triumph of the tyrannical Northumberland. Though he was now the champion of the Protestant cause, the sincerity of his attachment to it was much, and, as it appeared afterwards, not unjustly doubted."⁵

¹ Strype, *Eccles. Mem.*, vol. iv., p. 2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³ Soames, iv., p. 4.

⁴ Foxe, iii., p. 12. Soames, iv., p. 5.

Strype, iii., rec. 2.

⁵ Mackintosh, ii., p. 228.

Northumberland resolved, if possible, to crush the power of his opponents at its birth. But to whom should he intrust the care of the queen and of the capital, or the equally important command of the army. To the leaders among the gospellers, at least, he could look with some security; and they were required to denounce from the pulpit the followers of Mary, and to vindicate, as best they might, the claims of Jane. Ridley in this office was singularly zealous. On the 16th of July, he "preached a sermon at St. Paul's cross, in support of the title of Jane, with severe animadversions on the religion of Mary; almost the only perilous act of homage to the unfortunate Jane after she began her fleeting reign."¹ The work of treason and rebellion was supported throughout the kingdom by the Protestant preachers, the end, no doubt, sanctifying the means. "The faithful preachers very painfully, in their several places, set before the people their imminent danger, and showed them, that this judgment of the loss of their excellent king, was come upon them for their unprofitableness under those opportunities of grace and spiritual knowledge they enjoyed under him; and that this was the effect of God's angry hand."² But the torrent of their eloquence was poured in vain. The people had not yet learned that religious opinions could affect hereditary right, and the Catholics were inflamed, by these harangues, to a deeper enthusiasm in the cause of a princess whose interests were thus connected with their own.

"Northumberland was desirous of watching over the capital and the court, while Suffolk was to put himself at the head of the army, against the followers of Mary; but Northumberland was persuaded, either treacherously, according to general opinion, or at least fatally, to take the armed force into his own veteran and victorious hands, and leave Queen Jane and the council to Suffolk, who had no name in war."³ He hastened his departure; anxiously implored his colleagues to be faithful to their trust and oaths, and after receiving the highest protestations of their attachment, placed himself at the head of the army. "Passing through Shore-ditch, he found the streets to be thronged with people, but could hear nothing of their prayers for his prosperous journey. Insomuch that, turning to the Lord Gray, he could not choose but say unto him: 'the people press to see us, but no one bids, God speed us.'"⁴

In the mean while the princess was not idle. She had caused herself to be proclaimed in Norwich, and, at the head of a small party of friends, hurried to Framlingham castle, where an easy communication was offered for aid and counsel from the emperor, and, in case of misfortune, for flight. There she was hailed with enthusiasm by the chief nobility of the neighbourhood. The

¹ Mackintosh, ii., p. 228.

³ Mackintosh, ii., p. 288.

² Strype, Eccl. Mem., iv., p. 17, 18.

⁴ Heylin, Refor., p. 160.

Earl of Essex, the Lord Thomas Howard, the Jerninghams, Bidingfields, Sulyards, Pastons, and others of family and power swelled the number of her followers. In the counties of Oxford, Buckingham, Berks, and Middlesex, ten thousand men had assembled, and, under the command of Hastings, Peckam, and Drury, threatened the capital. Six ships, which had been ordered to watch the coast of Norfolk, having been driven by stress of weather into Yarmouth, were gained over by Henry Jerningham, who was there engaged in levying troops for Mary; the captains and men placed themselves under his orders, and secured a timely supply of arms for the multitudes that flocked to the royal standard. In a few days Mary found herself at the head of thirty thousand men, all volunteers, who refused to receive pay, and eager to give further proof of their loyalty.

The news of these unexpected successes filled the court and council with dismay. They who had been the ready tools of Northumberland's policy, as long as his measures increased their power and wealth, resolved to bend before the coming storm, and to secure, if possible, by an appearance of zeal in the cause of Mary, whilst yet her success was in some degree doubtful, her favour, or at least her pardon. The Earl of Pembroke, Sir Thomas Cheyny, with divers others, "endeavoured to get out of the Tower that they might hold some secret consultation with their friends in London; but were so narrowly watched that they could not do it."¹

Northumberland, at the head of a well-disciplined army of eight thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, hastened towards Framlingham, but, unequal to the emergency, instead of breaking the tumultuous and ill-appointed forces of his enemies at a blow, retraced his steps, and urgently implored the council to strengthen his power by effective reinforcements. This hesitation and timidity confirmed the worst fears of many of his colleagues, who, taking advantage of Northumberland's recommendation, that the safety of the city should be provided for, "represented to the queen and the duke her father, that the supplies expected and all things necessary to the same, could not be raised, unless they were permitted personally to attend the business."² Suffolk yielded to their arguments, or dared not oppose their pleasures. When suffered to leave the Tower, the Earls of Shrewsbury and Pembroke, Sir Thomas Cheyny, and Sir John Mason separated, as if to comply with Northumberland's requisition, but in reality to meet again at Baynard castle, a seat of the Earl of Pembroke. Thither most of the council followed them, with other lords known to be well-affected to the Princess Mary. There too they were joined by the lord mayor, the recorder, and a deputation of aldermen. The meeting was opened by Mary's tried friend, the Earl of Arundel. In a set speech he inveighed

¹ Heylin, *Refor.*, p. 162.

² *Ibid.*, p. 163

against the ambition and tyranny of Northumberland; asserted the right of Henry's daughters to the throne; and showed the necessity of repairing by their zeal the faults they had been guilty of.¹ Pembroke then arose, grasped the hilt of his sword, uttered a cordial assent to Arundel's harangue, and professed his readiness to jeopard his life in Mary's quarrel. The citizens, being informed of the meeting of Baynard castle, thronged the adjoining streets; and when informed of the result of the deliberation, rent the air with their joyful acclamations. With difficulty the procession of lords, accompanied by the mayor and aldermen, forced their way to St. Paul's cross, where Mary was proclaimed, by Sir Christopher Baker, principal king at arms, the undoubted Queen of England, France, and Ireland. "The proclamation being ended, they went together, in a solemn procession, to St. Paul's church, where they caused the *Te Deum* to be sung with the rites accustomed."² The joy of the people seems to have known no bounds; and as "the night closed in, the merry bells resounded, bonfires blazed, wine and ale were distributed to those who walked about the streets, and money was profusely scattered among the happy groups."³ The intelligence of these proceedings was conveyed to Jane; but there was little need of this message. For "the noise of these loud acclamations, which were made at the proclaiming of the new queen, passing from one street to another, came at last to the Tower, before the message had been sent to the Duke of Suffolk, where they were heard by the Lady Jane."⁴ The Earl of Pembroke received the command of the Tower from Suffolk, who now joined with the rest of the councillors in promoting the cause of Mary. The next morning Jane left Sion House. Her reign had lasted nine days. The Earl of Arundel and the Lord Paget hurried with the news of this astounding revolution to Framlingham. Orders signed by the council were despatched to Northumberland, requiring him to disband his forces, and to acknowledge Mary for his lawful sovereign. "The herald who conveyed this communication was also charged to declare in all places upon the road, that, if the duke should not immediately submit, he was to be treated as a traitor, and that 'the late king's council would persecute him to his utter confusion.' Northumberland, however, having received private advices from London, had, previously to the herald's arrival in Cambridge, resolved upon abandoning his hopeless enterprise. He even went into the market-place to hear Queen Mary proclaimed, and that ceremony being concluded, he threw his cap into the air in token of exultation. But he had sinned past all forgiveness. On the following morning the Earl of Arundel arrested him by Mary's orders, and on the 25th of July, he was sent to the Tower, together with several of his

¹ Heylin, p. 163.² Ibid., p. 164.³ Soames, iv., p. 25.⁴ Heylin, p. 164.

family and confederates.”¹ It required a strong guard to protect the prisoners from the vengeance of the populace.

During these events Elizabeth had preserved a strict neutrality ; but now, when her sister had obtained the ascendant, she met her at the head of a splendid cavalcade at Wanstead, in the vicinity of London. The royal sisters rode together in triumphal procession through the streets, which were lined with the different crafts in their gayest attire.² “The day before, that is, on the second of August, she had bestowed the great seal on Gardiner, who had atoned for his former hostility to her mother’s marriage by recent services as well as sufferings, and was still more recommended to her by the importance of employing his abilities in her councils. The first act of Mary’s reign was gracious, and must have been grateful to her. On the afternoon of her entrance into the Tower, she found there three several sufferers for her party, and others who at least suffered from the same enemies. She had the satisfaction of releasing the aged Duke of Norfolk, and her kinsman, Edward Courtenay, whom she soon after created Earl of Devonshire. The haughty Duchess of Somerset owed her liberty to the generosity of a princess from whom no gratitude was due to her. The Duke of Suffolk was committed to the Tower, but enlarged and pardoned in a few days.”³ On the same day that she exercised these deeds of mercy, she ordered a dole of eight pence to be distributed to every poor householder in the city.

Thus were rebellion and treason quashed. A pregnant page, indeed, in the history of the reformers, is here presented us by the rise and fall of the unhappy Jane. Sworn to fulfil in all things the will of Henry, that oath was violated ; the death-bed of the boy Edward made the scene of treachery and intrigue ; the succession to the throne changed on no other pretence than the religion of Mary ; the gospellers proved to the world, that they deemed the religion which they had engendered, or the power and interests which they had gained, sanctified the vilest means and the blackest crimes. Power, not conscience ; self, not God, stood revealed as their aim, and the spring of all their actions.

Mary’s first duty was the punishment of the traitors. “On the 18th of August, 1553, the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Warwick, were tried for high treason in the court of the lord steward, that office being for the time granted to the Duke of Norfolk. On the 19th, four other leaders were attainted and tried by a jury ; all the culprits were convicted.” Northumberland still hoped for pardon from the mercy of the queen. He appealed to Gardiner for his assistance, declaring to him, “As for religion, you know, my lord bishop, that I can be of none other but your own. Indeed, I

¹ Soames, *Hist. of Refor.*, iv., p. 27, 28. ² *Ibid.*, p. 28. ³ Mackintosh, ii., p. 290.

never was of any other. I never was so foolish as to believe any of the religion which was set up in King Edward's time."¹ Gardiner, we are told, was deeply moved by the earnest supplication of one once so powerful, but from whom he himself had tasted no mercy. He appealed to the queen in his behalf, but in vain. "On the Monday after his condemnation, in company with his fellow-prisoners, he attended mass, and received the eucharist in one kind."² He was condemned to die on Tower-hill. "On reaching the scaffold, Northumberland stripped off his damask gown, and leaning on the eastern rail, thus addressed the spectators. 'I am come hither to undergo a death most horrible and detestable, but one that I have justly merited. This end however is not altogether of my own procuring, but has been incensed by others, whom I pray God to pardon, for I will not name or accuse any man here. I was led by false teachers and preachers some time before King Henry's death, and I have been so ever since, which is a great part of this my death. Wherefore, beware, good people, lest ye be led and deceived by these seditious and lewd preachers, who have opened the book, and know not how to shut it again. Return home again to the true religion, to the Catholic faith, which hath been taught you of old. Since this new teaching has come among us, God has plagued us with wars, commotions, rebellions, pestilence, and famine. Wherefore, good people, obey the queen, and be content to receive again the true Catholic faith. An example of such as refuse this we have in Germany. How that country has been seduced, and how it is now brought to ruin, are facts known to the whole world. By our creed we are taught to say, "I believe in the holy Catholic faith," and such is my very belief, as my lord bishop can testify. All this I say not from having been commanded so to do, but of my own free will.'"³ After a short interval of prayer, the duke submitted his head to the axe. It is due to the memory of Mary, to notice carefully, that, goaded as she had been by unequalled treachery since the death of Edward, and insulted and persecuted during his life, only three of the traitors were put to death on this occasion; an instance of moderation, in the moment of triumph, after similar provocation, unequalled in the annals of those times. Notwithstanding the remonstrance of the emperor, she resolutely refused to shed more blood, and pleaded earnestly the cause of her rival, Jane. Even Cranmer, the chief instrument in so many of her troubles, amongst the last to resist her lawful claim to the throne, and her unfeeling persecutor on religious matters in the days of his power, was not so much as

¹ Soames, iv., p. 41.

² Ibid.

³ Soames, iv., p. 44, 46. He was known in Edward's reign to have no other religion than interest, and on one occasion spoke so contumeliously of the new service, that Archbishop Cranmer, in a moment of zeal or passion, challenged him to a *duel*. *Ad duelum provocaret*. Parker, *Ant. Brit.*, p. 341. "He offered to combat with the duke," Morrice, *apud Strype*, 430.

imprisoned, but merely ordered to confine himself to his palace at Lambeth.

Next to the painful task of punishing or terrifying her enemies, was the pleasing duty of rewarding her friends. Gardiner received the seals as chancellor; Tunstal, the deprived Bishop of Durham, was restored to his dignity, and received a seat in the council; Bonner, Heath, and Day, were released from prison, and reinstated, after a brief interval, in their former sees.¹

On the manner of treating the rebels, her projected marriage, and the restoration of the old religion, Mary had consulted the only friend who had never forsaken her, her uncle, the emperor. By his advice, she had been principally guided hitherto in her conduct, and in the matter so dear to her heart and conscience, the interests of religion, she resolved to follow the same counselor. She was to do nothing hastily, nor of her own authority, but to await the assembling of Parliament, and in every alteration to have the sanction of its authority. On arriving at the Tower of London, she sent for the lord mayor and the aldermen of the city, and told them, "that though her conscience was stayed in matters of religion, yet she meaneth graciously not to compel or strain other people's consciences, otherwise than God shall, as she trusteth, put in their hearts a persuasion of the truth." But it soon became evident to the gossellers and to the nation, that, as she had through much persecution, if not at the peril of her throne and life, shown her sincere attachment to the faith of her fathers, so was it an object of her anxious solicitude, to arrest the progress of the schism, and to restore the ancient faith. Policy, as well as conscience, now acted on her zeal, since the reformation had so lately, in the persons of its leaders and authors, identified itself with rebellion.

Accordingly, at the funeral of the late king, which had been neglected during the recent troubles, though Cranmer, by the emperor's advice, was suffered to officiate according to the established form, in Westminster abbey, she caused a solemn dirge and high mass to be chanted for him, on the following morning, in the Tower, in the presence of the nobility and courtiers,² to the number of about three hundred persons. As during the lifetime of her brother, so now she continued to attend at the private mass, celebrated in the palace, and it was understood, that no greater pleasure could be afforded her, than by imitating her example. It was not to be expected that the joy of the friends of the ancient faith, at finding themselves practically free from the pains and penalties attached to the celebration of, and attendance at, the

¹ Soames, iv., p. 28. In a letter of Bishop Bonner's, written on the day after his restoration, he remarks of Cranmer: "This day it is looked for, Canterbury must be placed where it is meet for him. He is become very humble, and ready to submit himself in all things; but that will not serve." *Ibid.*, p. 30.

² Soames, iv., p. 29.

Catholic worship, or the disappointment of the gospellers, at the danger of their institutions, should pass over, without these feelings exhibiting themselves in acts of imprudent zeal and violence. Accordingly, an aged ecclesiastic having ventured to celebrate that worship in which he conscientiously believed, in the church of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield, was rudely insulted by the indignant crowd.¹ The council reprimanded and imprisoned the priest. On the very next day, a similar act of violence showed that the reformers were resolved to resist by violence the public performance of any form of worship but their own. Bourn, a chaplain of Bishop Bonner, chose to preach, in imitation of the reformers, at St. Paul's cross. "The corporation of London, and some of the nobility, attended on this occasion, as did also Bishop Boner. Having taken for his text the passage upon which Boner had discoursed in the same place, four years previously, the preacher, reminding his auditory of this, warmly panegyrised that prelate, adverted to the hardships which he had recently undergone, and attacked severely the policy of King Edward. As this indiscreet harangue proceeded, murmurs arose among the congregation, women and boys became violently excited, and even some clergymen,² who were present, encouraged the general feeling of disgust. At length, caps were thrown in the air, stones were levelled at the preacher, a voice cried out, 'pull him down;' upon which, one who could never be known, flung a dagger at the preacher's head, which after was found sticking in a post of the pulpit."³

Acts of atrocity and violence such as these, recoiled on the party in whose support they were perpetrated. It offered Mary an opportunity of forbidding, after the example of the two last monarchs, all preaching in public without license, and called forth a proclamation in which she declared that it was well known "what her own religion was, which she was minded to observe and maintain for herself during her life, and would be glad the same were of all her subjects quietly embraced; yet that, of her gracious disposition and clemency, she minded not to compel any of her subjects thereunto, until such time as further order, by common consent, might be taken therein. She forbid all her subjects, at their peril, to move seditions. She willed them to live together in quiet sort and Christian charity, and forbear those 'new-found develish terms,' as the proclamation calls them, of papist or heretic, and such like."⁴

After the atrocities and the pains and penalties of the preceding reign, this proclamation and exhortation to charity was an oasis in

¹ Soames, iv., p. 31.

² One of these reformed preachers, the minister of St. Ethelborough, was placed in the pillory, on the 13th of August, for having promoted the tumult. Strype, Eccl. Mem., iv., p. 33.

³ Heylin, Ref., p. 22.

⁴ Strype, Eccl. Mem., p. 38, 39.

the desert, which earned the queen much favour, a feeling deeply increased by the sacrifices made to restore the purity of the currency, and the remission of the subsidies which had been granted to the crown in the last reign. But the gossellers looked forward to the assembling of Parliament as ominous to their cause. They, however, consoled themselves, for a time, with the hope that better times would dawn in the event of Elizabeth's succession. Rumours even were busily circulated of an intention to raise a party in her favour in opposition to the reigning sovereign, which caused her arrest to be advised to Mary, who indignantly rejected the counsel. She would try by argument, and not by violence, to overcome the prejudices or opinions of her sister. Accordingly, after some show of resistance, at the end of one week's instruction, Elizabeth declared herself convinced of her error, and of the truth of the Catholic faith, accompanied her sister to mass, opened a chapel in her own house, and wrote to the emperor for leave to purchase, in Flanders, a chalice, cross, and the ornaments usually employed in the celebration of the Catholic worship.¹ Nor was this a solitary instance. Now that the iron hand of persecution was removed, the ancient religion spontaneously revived, and after the proclamation named above, "before the expiration of many days, the Roman Catholic ritual was introduced again into a very large proportion of the churches."² This fact is peculiarly deserving of attention, as it proves the rigour and atrocity of laws, which could so far extort compliance as to drive a large majority of the nation into hypocritical conformity to a creed, which their eagerness to return to their former faith showed to be contrary to their convictions and consciences.

The defection of Elizabeth must have seemed a deathblow to the hopes of the gossellers. Cranmer, in the retirement of his palace, had leisure to contemplate the means by which the ancient worship had been proscribed, and to anticipate the gradual destruction of that system which, through so much evil and blood, he had endeavoured to establish. In Bonner's letter, we have seen that reports were current and credited, that he had shown himself as ready as ever to temporize, and bend the knee and conscience to power. In this he had a precedent in Bishop Ridley, who flattered himself that, though he had insulted her in her household, had preached at St. Paul's cross in support of Jane and condemnation of Mary, that his insolence and treason would meet a ready pardon from the well-known clemency of the queen. "He went to Framlingham to make his apologies and offer his submission. He was, however, repulsed and committed to the Tower as a traitor."³ Of the archbishop, "it had been reported, soon after Mary's triumph, that, anxious to gain favour with the

¹ Compare the despatches of Noailles, 138, 141, 160, with those of Renard in Griffet, xi., xxiv.

² Soames, iv., p. 38.

³ Ibid., p. 48.

successful party, he had offered to celebrate King Edward's obsequies by officiating in a mass of *requiem*. The event quickly showed this to be an impudent fiction. At length it became notorious that mass had been restored in the cathedral of Canterbury, and this fact was urged as an irrefragable proof of the primate's time-serving disposition."¹ Cranmer for once placed himself in opposition to the ruling powers. He hastened to publish a denial of the truth of these reports, in language which betrays, by its scurrilous violence, the irritation of the writer's mind, though it has the merit of unusual boldness. "It was not I," says Cranmer, "that did set up the mass at Canterbury, but it was a false, flattering, lying, and dissembling monk. The mass is the invention of the devil, the father of lies, who is persecuting Christ and his true word and religion with lying. With the help of M. Peter Martyr,² and other four or five which I shall choose, I will defend the doctrine and religion set out by our sovereign lord, King Edward VI., and will prove that the doctrines and worship of that period are the same as those used during fifteen hundred years past."³ This intemperate and scurrilous piece was quickly circulated, and publicly read to the people in the streets. The council, indignant that, in return for the leniency shown him, the archbishop should dare to throw firebrands among the people, summoned him before them, on the morning following that on which his declaration had appeared. "After a long and serious debate, he was committed to the Tower, as well for the treason committed by him against the queen's highness, as for the aggravating the same offence by spreading abroad seditious bills, and moving tumults to the disquietness of the present state."

The author of the divorce between Henry and Catherine; the founder of the new religion under Edward; the bitter and insolent persecutor of Mary in the last reign, and he that had imprisoned so many prelates for nonconformity; one of the council that, after having sworn to administer, according to its literal meaning, the last will of Henry, had altered the succession; to the last Mary's implacable enemy, even when Jane's hopes were almost

¹ Soames, iv., p. 51.

² Martyr had been ordered, a few days after Edward's death, to suspend his lectures at Oxford. He was received by Cranmer into his palace. When the archbishop had been consigned to prison, Martyr was allowed to leave the country. He settled at Strasburg.

³ Strype's Cranmer, 305. This last extraordinary assertion, in which Cranmer declares the faith under Edward to have been the same as that of the first fifteen centuries, is singularly enough contradicted in the preceding sentence of the same fiery document. "I, with the said M. Peter Martyr, and other four or five which I shall choose, will, by God's grace, take upon us to defend, not only the common prayers of the church, the ministration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but also all the doctrine and religion set out by our said Sovereign lord King Ed. VI. to be *more pure* and according to God's word, than any other that hath been used in England these thousand years." The whole may be seen in Strype's Cranmer, or in Foxe, p. 1332.

lost, Cranmer, had no reason to complain of severity and injustice when he was doomed to prison as a notorious traitor. Dr. Cox, the late king's tutor, was imprisoned in the Marshalsea, under a similar charge. Latimer was also "committed close prisoner to the Tower, for his 'seditious demeanour,' as it is expressed in the council-book."¹

It may easily be supposed that Mary's accession, and her conduct on attaining to the throne, were matters of earnest attention and sincere pleasure to the see of Rome. "At the time of Edward's death, Cardinal Pole was living in retirement at a Benedictine monastery, situated at Maguzzano, a healthy spot upon the lake Guarda. He had there no sooner been informed of recent occurrences in England, than he despatched Vincent Parpaglia, an intimate friend, with a letter to the Pontiff, Julius III., exhorting him to take advantage, if possible, of the favourable conjuncture which seemed to have arrived. His holiness, however, needed not this admonition. Upon the first intelligence from our island, he addressed, under advice of the consistory, a brief to Pole, demanding his opinion as to the course most eligible to be pursued. After the lapse of two or three days, news reached Rome, that Mary had gained possession of the English crown. Upon this, Pole was appointed, with the unanimous consent of the consistory, papal legate for England. The bearer of this nomination met Parpaglia near Bologna; when that person, finding himself anticipated, immediately returned with the Roman messenger to Maguzzano. Pole seems to have accepted the office of English legate with little or no hesitation; but he suggested that it might be desirable to feel his way before he should leave Italy, by means of some secret agent. For this purpose he despatched Henry Penning to England, charged with several letters, among which was one to the queen, another for Bonvisi, an Italian merchant, and a third was for Cardinal Dandino, papal ambassador at Brussels, upon whom the messenger was to call. Dandino had, however, been beforehand with the English cardinal. He had already sent into our island one of his suite, John Francis Commendone, a Venetian of distinguished abilities, and eventually a cardinal, with instructions to observe particularly the state of public opinion, and to obtain, if possible, a private audience of the queen. Commendone left Brussels secretly and alone. He embarked at Gravelines, having previously hired there two servants, one a thorough master of French, the other of English, to act as guides and interpreters. To these men he represented that he was the nephew of an Italian merchant, recently dead in London, and that he wanted to visit that capital for the purpose of winding up his uncle's affairs there. When he arrived in the English metropolis, he found a high degree of agitation generally prevalent, and he observed, with uneasiness,

¹ Soames, vol. iv., p. 49.

that those who were about the queen displayed a considerable anxiety to keep her from holding any confidential communication with foreigners, especially with such as might be likely to serve the Pope, or the emperor."¹ At length he met with an Englishman, named Lee, an old acquaintance, then a servant of the royal household. Through him Commendone procured more than one audience of Mary, and he departed with a letter written by the queen to the Pope, in which she expressed her anxiety that her kingdom should be reconciled with the Holy See; promised that, as far as in her lay, her kingdom should resume the faith of the Catholic church, and obedience to the sovereign Pontiff; but that it would be necessary, on account of the distracted state of parties, to proceed with temper and prudence; and expressed a hope that no unnecessary obstacle would be thrown in the way of a reconciliation by his Holiness, or the papal legate.

Preparations on a magnificent scale had been made to celebrate the queen's coronation, which took place on the first of October. As usual, the rite was performed in the abbey-church of Westminster, and the ancient ceremonial was revived. Gardiner assisted at the office, at the head of ten other bishops; mass was celebrated: and a general pardon issued,² with the exception by name of sixty individuals, who had been consigned to prison or to their own houses by the council, for treasonable and seditious acts committed since the queen's accession.

Four days after this event, the queen met her first Parliament. Both Peers and Commons attended their sovereign, according to the ancient usage, to a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost, celebrated in Westminster Abbey. Similar means had been resorted to, as under the last king, to secure the return of members most favourable to the queen's views. There were two objects of paramount interest in the eyes of Mary; the removal from herself of the stain of illegitimacy, and the restoration of the ancient worship. To the first she anticipated no opposition, but the second was fraught with difficulty, if not with danger. Not that the doctrines of the Catholic church would not readily be publicly acknowledged by the majority of the nation, which doctrines, four short years before, had been the acknowledged creed of the kingdom, but that the jurisdiction of the Pope would be bitterly contested. The latter article had been now for more than thirty years denied, and represented as the scourge of the country, and its introduction deprecated from the press and pulpit as the worst evil that could befall this country. It was feared that the acknowledgment of the papal supremacy would entail the restoration of ecclesiastical property, in which, though at first confined to a few, thousands had, in various ways, become sharers. The session opened by two acts of mercy; one restoring the law of treason to the state in which it was left by King Edward III.,

¹ Soames, vol. iv., p. 63.

² Ibid., p. 78, 79.

and the other, the law of felony to the state in which it stood at the accession of King Henry VIII. By the council it was designed to follow up these popular measures by an act repealing, at one blow, all the statutes bearing upon religion, which had been enacted since the commencement of King Henry's disputes with Rome. This would at once have asserted the queen's legitimacy, and have given to the ancient religion a legal establishment.¹ "By the Lords, this measure was favourably received; but it excited a violent clamour out of doors, and the ministry became apprehensive that the bill would be lost in the Lower House. Alarmed by the rising spirit of opposition, the queen unexpectedly came down to the House, on the 21st of October, gave the royal assent to the three bills which had been passed, and prorogued the Parliament for three days. When the legislators met again, a greater degree of caution was observed in proposing ecclesiastical subjects to their consideration. A bill was introduced, confirming the marriage between the queen's parents, and it passed without any difficulty; the mention of a papal dispensation being avoided in it." The preamble contains the following passage: "That Thomas Cranmer did most ungodly, and against law, judge the divorce upon his own understanding of the Scriptures, and upon the testimonies of the universities, and some bare and most untrue conjectures." Not a voice was raised in either House of Parliament against the bill, though it was equivalent to an act of bastardy against Elizabeth.

The next motion was so framed as to avoid all objections touching the papal supremacy. In it there was no mention of ecclesiastical property, none of the spiritual supremacy of the crown; it merely "repealed all acts and statutes which had been made in derogation to the doctrine of the church of Rome in the time of her brother, which had been passed in his minority, when all affairs were carried by faction and strong hand, contrary to the judgment of the best and soundest part of the clergy and laity; by which one blow she pulled down all which had been done in the reformation in seven years before. For by this act they took away all former statutes for administering the communion in both kinds; for establishing the first and second liturgie; for confirming the new ordinal; for abrogating certain fasts and festivals which had been formerly observed; for authorizing the marriage of priests and legitimation of their children; not to say anything of the statute, as not worth the naming, for making bishops by the king's letters patent, and exercising their episcopal jurisdiction in the king's name only. So that upon the matter, not only all things were reduced to the same estate in which they stood at Edward's coming to the crown, but all those bishops and priests which had married by authority of the former statutes, were made uncanonical and

¹ Soames, vol. iv., p. 85, 86.

² Soames, Hist. Ref., vol. iv., p. 86, 87.

consequently obnoxious to deprivation. So that for want of canonical ordination on the one side, and under colour of uncanonical marriages on the other, we shall presently find such a general remove amongst the bishops and clergy, as is not anywhere to be paralleled in so short a time."¹ "By this same repealing act, it was further enacted, that none should be molested for using heretofore, or until the 20th of December following, the divine service mentioned in the said act, nor for the using of the old divine service and administrations of the sacraments, in such manner as was used in the church of England before the making of the said acts. But from and after the 20th of December, no other kind or order of divine service should be used, but what was commonly used in the last year of the reign of King Henry VIII."² In the House of Lords this bill was passed without a dissentient voice; in the Commons it was discussed on the second reading, for two days; but though the number of members favourable to the new doctrines amounted to one-third of the assembled Parliament,³ there seems eventually to have been no division.

"Another act was also passed, which the Commons sent up to the Lords, against all those who by any overt act should molest or disquiet any preacher, because of his office, or for any sermon that he might have preached; or should any way disturb them when they were in any part of the divine offices, that either had been in the last year of King Henry, or should be afterwards set forth by the queen; or should break or abuse the holy sacrament, or break altars, crucifixes, or crosses."⁴ So completely did the Commons wish to sweep away all remnants of that worship, by them so recently established or confirmed, and to secure the reception of the ancient religion, that they proposed to enforce a law passed in the last reign, to compel, by penalties, attendance at public worship; but "this fell in the House of Lords, not so much from any opposition that was made, as that they were afraid of alarming the nation too much by many severe laws at once."⁵

The attainders for high treasons were by the same Parliament confirmed; "and now Cranmer was legally divested of his archbishoprick, which was hereupon void in law, since a man that is attainted can have no right to any church benefice; his life was also at the mercy of the queen. But it being now designed to restore the ecclesiastical exemption and dignity to what it had been anciently, it was resolved that he should still be esteemed archbishop, till he were solemnly degraded, according to the canon law."⁶

¹ Heylin, p. 28.

² Strype, *Eccl. Mem.*, iv., p. 86.

³ Noailles, ii., p. 247.

⁴ Burnet, *Hist. of Ref.*, vol. ii., p. 399.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Burnet, *Hist. of Ref.*, vol. ii., p. 402. Cranmer had shown more courage or imprudence than was to be expected from his character, in publishing his declaration; in

About this time "an order was sent to John à Lasco and his congregation to be gone, their church being taken from them, and their corporation dissolved. And a hundred and seventy-five of them went away in two ships to Denmark, on the 17th of September, with all their preachers, except two, who were left to look to those few who were left behind; and, being engaged in trade, resolved to live in England, and follow their consciences in matters of religion in private, with the assistance of those teachers. But à Lasco, after a long and hard passage, arrived at Denmark, was as ill received there as if it had been a popish country, when they understood that he and his company were of the Helvetian confession: so that, though it was December, and a very severe winter, they were required to be gone within two days, and could not obtain so much as liberty to leave their wives or children behind them till they could provide a place for them. From whence they went, first to Lubeck, then to Wismar, and Hamburgh, where they found the disputes about the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament had raised such violent animosities, that, after much barbarous usage, they were banished out of all those towns, and could find no place to settle in, till about the end of March, that they came to Friesland, where they were suffered to plant themselves."¹ "And so farewell to John Alasco. It was an ill wind that brought him hither, and worse he could not have for his going back. The like haste made the French Protestants also; and that they might have no pretence for a long stay, command was sent unto the mayor of Rie and Dover, on the 16th of September, to suffer all French Protestants to cross the seas, except such only whose names

prison his pusillanimity soon returned, as appears from the following passages of a letter written by him to implore the mercy of the queen. "Most lamentably mourning and moaning myself unto your highness, Thomas Cranmer, although unworthy either to write or to speak unto your highness, yet having no person that I know to be a mediator for me, and knowing your pitiful ears ready to hear all pitiful complaints, and seeing so many to have felt your abundant clemency in like cases, am now constrained most lamentably, and with most penitent and sorrowful heart, to ask mercy and pardon for my most heinous folly and offence in consenting and following the testament and last will of our late sovereign lord K. Ed. VI., your grace's brother." He next hints, ambiguously indeed, but intelligibly enough, that no further opposition need be feared from him in questions of religion, and even at length makes the discovery that the tenets which he had, in his declaration, declared to be doctrines of devils, may be held by those who prefer God's true word: "Now as concerning the state of religion, as it is used in this realm of England at this present, if it please your highness to license me, I would gladly write my mind unto your majesty. I will never, God be willing, be author of sedition, to move subjects from the obedience of their heads and rulers; which is an offence most detestable. If I have uttered my mind to your majesty, being a Christian queen and governor of this realm, (of whom I am most assuredly persuaded, that your gracious intent is, above all other regards, to prefer God's true word, his honour and glory,) if I have uttered, I say, my mind unto your majesty, then I shall think myself discharged. For it lies not in me, but in your grace only, to see the reformation of things that be amiss. To private subjects it appertaineth not to reform things, but quietly to suffer that they cannot amend." Strype, *Mem. Cran.*, app., 909.

¹ Burnet, *Refor.*, ii., p. 392, 393.

should be signified unto them by the French ambassador. But, notwithstanding these removes, many, both Dutch and French, remained still in the kingdom, some of which being after found in Wiat's army, occasioned the banishing of all the rest, except denizens and merchants only, by a public edict."¹ With the Parliament, the convocation, according to custom, was summoned by the queen, who still retained the title of head of the church. Cranmer being attainted of treason, Bonner, Bishop of London, was chosen to preside, in the room of the archbishop, over the deliberations of the assembled clergy; "being privileged in respect of his see, to preside in all such provincial synods, which were either held during the vacancy of the see of Canterbury, or in the necessary absence of the metropolitan."² "Weston, Dean of Westminster, was presented prolocutor by the Lower House, and approved of by Bonner. In the two houses of convocation six only were found to defend the recent change of religion; the rest showed themselves zealous in support of the ancient faith. The matters for discussion were principally the catechism published in the last reign, as it was pretended by the authority of convocation; and the sacrament of the eucharist, especially the doctrines of the real presence and transubstantiation. On these two subjects all, except six, subscribed the Catholic belief; and the catechism was condemned, and repudiated as the work of a few individuals, which had been falsely palmed upon the public, as sanctioned by the authority of the clergy in convocation."³

The 20th of December had been fixed upon as the day on which the ancient service of the Catholic church was to be restored in all places of public worship. We have seen that in numerous places this regulation had been anticipated, and that a faithful people eagerly rejected a service in which they had never willingly taken a part, for the devotions of their earlier years and of their fathers. As a specimen of the spirit of the times, and of the real religion of the nation, it may be well to examine in what way the universities of Oxford and Cambridge conducted themselves in this matter. "At Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, the mass began early to be said, namely, in September; about which time trouble came to one Mr. Garth, of Peter-house, because he would not suffer a boy of his house to assist in saying mass in Pembroke-hall. One Mr. Pierson, who had the cure of a parish in the town of Cambridge, being ordered to say mass refused it. For this, on the 3d of October, the vice-chancellor admonished him, and within two days discharged him from mi-

¹ Heylin, *Refor.*, p. 26.

² Heylin, p. 29. "On the 10th of December, 1553, the dean and chapter of Canterbury gave out commissions to several persons to exercise archiepiscopal jurisdiction in their names, and by their authority. In such commissions it is stated that the see was vacant, Thomas Cranmer, the late archbishop thereof, having been convicted of high treason, and attainted." Collier, ii., p. 354. Harmer, p. 128.

³ Burnet, iv., p. 411. Heylin, p. 29.

nistering in his cure any more. October 28, the whole popish service, in Latin, was celebrated in King's College, by some zealous men of the house. At the Round-church, in Cambridge, the curate still ministered the English service: but he was summoned, November 3, before the vice-chancellor, who commanded him to minister so no more, saying that he would have one uniform order of service throughout the town, and that in Latin, with mass; and this order was established November 12; so forward was that university become, and so soon was the impression of the good precepts of Bucer, and other learned men there, worn off."¹ At Oxford, matters proceeded much in the same manner. Gardiner, as Bishop of Winchester, made a visitation of Magdalene College, "to restore Dr. Owen Oglethorp, the president, who in the former reign was ousted, and Dr. Walter Had-don placed in his room; and partly and chiefly to purge the college, which, of all the rest in that university, seemed most addicted to the gospel. The issue, in short, of this visitation was, that fourteen or fifteen of the house were turned out, and that before any of the papal laws were yet in force." Amongst these were Thomas Birkley and Thomas Bentham, afterwards made bishops, who had both distinguished themselves, during the late innovations, by the fury of their zeal.²

Though the nation was generally grateful for this return to the ancient creed, there was, as was to be expected, a party to whom it was deeply hateful. The same spirit that had placed an usurper on the throne, on account of the religious principles of Mary, was now secretly at work to deprive her of the crown. Reports were industriously circulated "that King Edward still survived. In some companies the Lady Jane's pretensions were canvassed with unusual interest. But a circumstance transpired which was eagerly seized upon by the malcontents, as suitable to give a specious appearance of patriotism to their treasonable designs, the projected marriage of the queen with Philip, son of the Emperor Charles. The natural antipathy to a foreigner, whose character was artfully misrepresented, was carefully worked upon; it was represented that England would become a mere province in the hands of the Spanish monarch; that the Inquisition with all its horrors would follow in his footsteps; that the ecclesiastical property would be restored to its primitive uses, and that an army of 8000 veteran mercenaries, reeking from the blood and pillage of America, was coming to take possession of the ports, the Tower, and the fleet. Whilst the popular discontent was enkindled by these and similar tales, a conspiracy had been formed "which

¹ Strype, Eccl. Mem., vol. iv., p. 83.

² Strype, Eccl. Mem., vol. iv., p. 84. "Birkley, before Ogelthorp the president, and many others that were assembled to even prayer, took the wafer from the altar out of the pix, and broke it to pieces with his hand, and stamped it under his feet. Bentham openly in the quire shook the censer out of the hands of them that ministered, that incense might not be offered to an idol." Ibid.

had in its first outline some chance of success. Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger was to take the field in Kent. The Duke of Suffolk was to raise his tenants in the midland counties. Sir Peter Carew was the expected leader in Devonshire. The conspirators had at first decided to postpone the rising till the arrival of Philip, who was expected in April, should raise to its highest point the unpopularity of the marriage. The discovery of their designs, in the middle of January, broke their measures. They took up arms to escape from their enemies before their preparations were in forwardness, and Carew fled to France. The Duke of Suffolk, a Protestant so zealous as to have already forgotten the recent mercy shown to him, displayed his boldness by an attempt to excite his tenants in Warwickshire to revolt. His success was small: his followers were routed by Lord Huntingdon, and he was himself betrayed to his enemies by one of his park-keepers. On the 20th of January, 1554, the day on which Suffolk left London, Sir Thomas Wyatt raised the standard of insurrection at Maidstone.¹ "There he issued a proclamation, in which he stated himself to have no other object than to preserve the national independence, by setting aside that insidious foreign connexion, against which all the council, with only two or three exceptions, had contended. As to religion he said nothing; but private assurances were given to some who inquired his sentiments upon that head, that he was favourably disposed towards the reformation."² Wyatt established his head-quarters at Rochester, and was joined by no contemptible number of the men of Kent. His varied fortunes and final discomfiture are well known. With him perished the hopes of the insurgents. The reformers were deeply implicated in this insurrection. Suffolk, its main stay, and Wyatt were well known to have for their real object the interests of the new religion; and a secret conspiracy hatched in the metropolis, by the same party, alone emboldened Wyatt to march on London. Poinet, the Protestant Bishop of Winchester, on the failure of the revolt, fled to the continent.³

Mary's former compassion towards her enemies was now openly stigmatized as weakness and impolicy. Only three had paid the penalties of the former treason; but it would be rashness and folly, it was argued, with the late events before her, to arrest the arm of the law any longer. Accordingly, on the day after the action at Temple Bar, the queen signed a warrant for the execution of "Guilford Dudley and his wife," which was to take effect at the expiration of three days. Had her father, the

¹ Mackintosh, *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. ii., p. 303.

² Soames, *Refor.*, vol. iv., p. 11.

³ Burnet denies that Poinet was engaged in the plot; but it is affirmed by Heylin and Stow. Poinet wrote a revolutionary book to justify resistance to the queen; the piece is entitled, "A treatise of political power and of the true obedience which subjects owe to kings and other civil governors."

Duke of Suffolk, not drawn this act of severe justice on his unfortunate daughter, Jane would probably never have experienced any thing but mercy from her whose throne she had usurped. She met her fate with constancy, sincerely pitied on account of her youth and amiable qualities; her father, by his ingratitude, the neglect of his daughter's safety, and the dastardly eagerness with which he endeavoured to save his own life by disclosing the secrets and friends of the insurrection, died the traitor's death, despised and abhorred. Even on this occasion, the conduct of Mary, compared with that of other princes under similar circumstances, and especially with that of Elizabeth, was temperate and merciful.¹ Elizabeth with difficulty succeeded in vindicating her character from the imputation of having concurred in the plot. "At Ashridge she had received propositions and suggestions from the chiefs of the revolvers, who probably intended, in due time, to act in her name; but her consent or acceptance was not shown, nor even seriously alleged. Her utmost offence seems to have been the misprision, or concealment, of projects of revolt, which was not a capital crime."

Scarcely had the insurrection been suppressed, and its fearful penalties been paid, than an attempt, ridiculous in itself but formidable in such times, was made to work on the superstitions of the multitude, to excite them to hostility against the queen, the projected marriage, and the Catholic religion. "Extraordinary sounds were heard to issue from a wall in Aldersgate street, and considerable crowds were soon collected, in consequence, round the spot. An address to the bystanders was evidently meant by the invisible agent, but unfortunately, the sounds uttered were somewhat inarticulate. There were, however, persons in the street who professed themselves able to distinguish the words which thus mysteriously fell upon the ear. These interpreters informed such as listened to them, that the voice denounced innumerable woes to the nation, if the Spanish match, the mass, auricular confessions, and other Roman catholic usages were not immediately abandoned. The wonder of Aldersgate street, known as the 'spirit in the wall,' and pronounced of an origin undoubtedly angelic, speedily became the talk of London. At length the lord mayor found himself called upon to interfere, and the whole affair immediately assumed a very intelligible character. Elizabeth Crofts, a girl of eighteen, had undertaken, it appeared, to deliver these oracular denunciations through a tube applied to a fissure in the wall. Among those who favoured

¹ Sixty individuals suffered in consequence of partaking in Wyatt's insurrection. In a rising of much less danger, Elizabeth sacrificed hundreds. Compare the treatment of the insurgents in 1745 with that of Mary, and her character will not suffer by the contrast. Amongst those who perished on this occasion was a writer against the Catholic religion, and private secretary to the late king, named William Thomas. He was convicted of a design to murder the queen. While in prison he made an attempt upon his own life. Collier, ii., p. 362, quoted by Soames, iv., p. 129.

the crowd with information as to the precise import of her half-articulate effusions, were, of course, individuals concerned in arranging the plot. The principal, with seven accomplices, were committed to prison, and the girl did public penance for her imposture at St. Paul's cross."¹ When we meet with invectives so violent against the Catholic religion, on account of the visionary prophecies of Elizabeth Barton, who probably believed in the truth of her own denunciations, we are surprised that similar follies, enacted deliberately for the purpose of exciting sedition and hostility to the Catholic faith, should not teach our adversaries moderation, and the necessity of describing these extravagances as they really were, as the childish attempts of visionaries and knaves, in support of a cause which in principle and practice repudiated such attempts, as alike injurious and vile.

Other factious attempts, and the diffusion of opinions aimed at the subversion of the throne, caused the queen to assemble a second Parliament, which it was at first determined to hold at Oxford, but which was eventually assembled as usual at Westminster, on representations apparently made to the queen by the inhabitants of the metropolis. The chief object of the queen was, to silence an opinion which had been propagated, that females are prohibited by Scripture from exercising sovereign authority. Passages were carefully selected in favour of this sentiment from the Old Testament, and they who had been guilty of treason, and some of perjury, to place a female on the throne, in the person of Lady Jane Grey, now made the discovery, when it served their own religious and seditious purposes, that the word of God condemned the submission of man to female government. Nor did the constitution, they argued, confer any authority on queens; it was to kings only that the royal prerogatives were granted. Accordingly, "the first act passed was one to declare that the royal prerogatives were inherent in the crown, whether possessed by a male or a female. The true reason of this enactment, probably, was to provide against the crude and seditious doctrines, broached by some of the reformers, who had incautiously maintained that females are incapacitated, upon constitutional and religious grounds, from assuming the sceptre."² Thus, at every turn, did Mary meet with treachery, sedition, and the most dangerous doctrines from the reformers, until her mind, already imbibed by the persecution she had undergone under the last reign from the same party, became gradually imbued with the opinion that the gossellers, and their system, were inconsistent with her own safety, and the peace of the kingdom.³

¹ Soames, iv., p. 130.

² Soames, vol. iv., p. 142.

³ It may be well to add further evidence of Wyatt's insurrection having had for its real, though concealed object, the restoration of the new religion: "It cannot be denied but that the restitution of the reformed religion was the matter principally aimed at in this rebellion, though nothing but the match with Spain appeared on the outside of it. Which appears plainly by a book writ by Christopher Goodman, associated with John

“Another act confirmed the queen’s matrimonial treaty, and thus gave legislative authority to Gardiner’s judicious and patriotic stipulations for guarding the national independence. By another act the bishopric of Durham was restored to the state in which it stood before Northumberland’s project for its dismemberment.”¹ These two bills were all that passed during this session of Parliament: others were proposed and passed the Commons, but were rejected in the Lords. As they exhibit the spirit of the Lower House, it may be useful to enumerate them. “A bill passed the Commons to revive the repealed statutes against Lollardy, and another to render more effective some particulars in these statutes. The Lords, however, rejected these bills. The Commons also entertained another bill intended to repress erroneous opinions and books, but this was laid aside on the third reading. Amidst the display of zeal for Romanism, it seems to have occurred to such members of the Lower House as had been enriched by the Reformation, that their measures might lead to a call for the surrender of abbey-lands. Now, this was a mode of showing their abhorrence of Protestantism, which, though magnanimous, was repugnant to the feelings of the members. They passed, accordingly, a bill to prevent the Bishop of Rome, or any other person, meaning, probably, any legate of the papal see, from troubling individuals possessed of estates, once conventual. This bill also the Lords rejected as unnecessary; the Bishop of Rome having no authority in England. Assurances were at the same time given, that there existed no intention to disturb individuals in the enjoyment of properties formerly belonging to monasteries. The Parliament was dissolved upon the 25th of May.”²

The suppression of the late insurrection, and the ready zeal shown by the assembled Houses of Parliament, presented a favourable opportunity for restoring the ecclesiastical polity of the kingdom to its original form. By the repeal of the nine statutes, the canon law had been restored to its former authority. This entailed the removal of the married clergy from their benefices; but it was provided in a body of articles directed on the 3d of March, to each of the bishops, that “such priests as, with the consent of their wives or women, openly in the presence

Knox, for setting up presbytery and rebellion in the kirk of Scotland, in which he takes upon him to show ‘how far superior magistrates ought to be obeyed.’ For having filled almost every chapter of it with railing speeches against the queen, and stirring up the people to rebel against her, he falleth amongst the rest upon this expression, viz.: ‘Wyat did but his duty, and it was but the duty of all others that profess the gospel, to have risen with him for maintenance of the same. His cause was just, and they were all traytors that took no part with him. O noble Wyat, thou art now with God, and those worthy men that dyed in that happy enterprise.’ But this book was written at Geneva, where Calvin reigned; whom in his comment upon Amoz, he entituleth by the name of Proserpine, and saith, that she exceeded in her cruelties all the devils in hell.” Heylin, *Hist. of Q. Mary*, p. 35.

¹ Soames, vol. iv., p. 142, 143.

² *Ibid.*, p. 144.

of the bishop, do profess to abstain, be used more favourably. In which case, after the penance effectually done, the bishop according to his discretion and wisdom, may upon just consideration, admit and receive them again to their former ministrations, so it be not in the same place, appointing them such a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their benefice, whereof they be deprived, by the discretion of the said bishop or his officer, as he shall think may be spared of the same benefice."¹ As having contravened the same canonical prohibition, four of the seven Protestant bishops, who still retained possession of their sees, were at the same time superseded by Catholic prelates. For this purpose "a royal commission was issued, on the 26th of March, empowering the lord chancellor, together with his brethren, Tunstal, Boner, Parfew, Day and Kitchen, to deprive Archbishop Hollgate, and the Bishops Ferrar, Bird and Bush, as being regulars who had broken their vows of celibacy. Another instrument, dated on the preceding day, authorised the same commissioners to cashier from their several sees, for other alleged misdemeanours, the Bishops Taylor, Hooper and Harley."² Of these, the two latter had married, but their dismissal appears to have been chiefly grounded upon the fact that they held their bishoprics during pleasure, and that their consecration, according to the ordinal introduced under Edward, was invalid.³ There appears also to have been reason of complaint against these prelates on other grounds, since, in the motives assigned for their deprivation, the queen states that, "It hath been credibly brought

¹ Heylin, p. 36. It has been computed that, taking the diocese of Canterbury as an example, the number of the married was to that of the unmarried clergymen as one to five. Harmer, 138. The articles may be seen at length in Heylin. Burnet gives the following summary of them: "After a long and invidious preamble of the disorders that had been in the time of King Edward, she commanded them to execute all such ecclesiastical laws as had been in force in her father's reign; that the bishops should in their courts proceed no more in the queen's name; that the oath of supremacy should be no more exacted of any of the clergy; that none suspected of heresy should be admitted to orders; that they should endeavour to suppress heresy, and punish heretics; that they should suppress all naughty books and ballads; that they should remove all married clergymen and separate them from their wives; but for those who renounced their wives, they might put them into some other cure, or reserve a pension out of their benefices for them; that no religious man who had professed chastity, should be suffered to live with his wife; that care should be taken of vacant churches; that till they were provided the people should go to the neighbouring churches; that all the ceremonies, holy-days, and fasts, used in King Henry's time, should be again observed; that those who were ordained by the new book in King Edward's time, not being ordained in very deed, the bishop, if they were otherwise sufficient, should supply what was wanting before, and so admit them to minister; that the bishops should set forth a uniform doctrine of homilies, and compel the people to come to church, and hear divine service; that they should carefully look to all schoolmasters and teachers of children; and that the bishops should take care to set forth the premises, with all kind of virtue, godly living, and good example; and endeavour to keep down all sort of vice." Burnet, Ref., vol. ii., p. 428, 429.

² Soames, vol. iv., p. 137.

³ Ibid. Thus Taylor was deprived "*ob nullitatem consecrationis ejus; et defectum tituli sui quem habuit a R. Ed. vi., cum hac clausula, dum bene se gesserit.*" Harmer, 134.

to our knowledge, that, both by preaching, teaching, and setting forth erroneous doctrine, and also by inordinate life and conversation, contrary both to the laws of almighty God, and the use of the universal Christian church, they have declared themselves very unworthy of that vocation and dignity in the church.”¹ In addition to these deprivations, Goodrich of Ely, at the end of a few weeks, made, by his death, another vacancy.² These sees were soon filled by prelates favourable to the ancient faith.³

§ 2.

Marriage of the Queen with Philip of Spain.—Negotiations with Rome.—Cardinal Pole, Legate.—Proceedings in Parliament.—Act of Reunion.—Public rejoicings. Mary’s Wrongs.—Spirit of the Age.—Pole deprecates Violence.—Gardiner.—Discussion in the Privy-council.—Victims of Persecution.—Conspiracy.—Conduct of the Catholic Prelates.

THE long-delayed marriage between Mary and Philip was at length celebrated, on the festival of St. James, the patron saint of Spain, with a splendour which has seldom been surpassed. The union was solemnized in the cathedral-church of Winchester, before crowds of noblemen collected from every part of Christendom. To impress upon the nation and his enemies his forgiveness of the malicious reports propagated to his discredit, “he prevailed with the queen for the discharge of such prisoners as stood committed in the Tower, either for matter of religion, or on the account of Wyatt’s rebellion, or for engaging in the practice

¹ Soames, vol. iv., p. 138.

² *Ibid.*, p. 139.

³ The following is Heylin’s account: “Doctor Nicholas Heath succeeded Holgate in the see of York, and leaves the bishoprick of Winchester to Dr. Richard Pates, who had been nominated by King Henry VIII., anno 1534, and having spent the intervening twenty years in the court of Rome, returned a true servant to the Pope, every way fitted and instructed to advance that see. Goodrich of Ely left this life on the 10th of April, leaving that bishoprick to Dr. Thomas Thurlby, Bishop of Norwich, one that knew how to stand his ground in the strongest tempest, and Dr. John Hopton, heretofore chaplain and controulour of Queen Mary’s household, when but princess onely, is made Bishop of Norwich. Barlow of Wells having abandoned that dignity which he could not hold, had for his successor Dr. Gilbert Bourn, arch-deacon of London, and brother of Sir John Bourn, principal secretary of estate; sufficiently recompensed by this preferment, for the great danger which he had incurred the year before, when the dagger was thrown at him, as he preached in St. Paul’s church-yard. Harley of Hereford is succeeded by Purefew, otherwise called Wharton, of St. Asaph, who had so miserably wasted the patrimony of the church in the time of King Edward, that it was hardly worth the keeping. For the same sins of protestantism and marriage, old Bush of Bristow, and Bird of Chester, the two first bishops of those sees, were deprived also; the first succeeded to by Holiman, once a monk of Reading; the last by Coles, sometime fellow of Magdalen, and afterwards master of Baliol college in Oxon. Finally, in the place of Dr. Richard Sampson, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, who left this life on the 25th of September, Dr. Randolph Bayne, who had been Hebrew reader in Paris in the time of King Francis, was consecrated bishop of that church; a man of better parts, but of a more inflexible temper than his predecessors.” P. 40, 41.

of the Duke of Northumberland. And being gratified therein according unto his desire, the lord chancellor, the Bishop of Ely, and certain others of the council, were sent unto the Tower on the 18th of January, to see the same put in execution; which was, accordingly, performed, to the great joy of the prisoners, amongst which were the Archbishop of York, ten knights, and many other persons of name and quality. But nothing did him greater honour amongst the English, than the great pains he took for the enlargement of the Earl of Devonshire, and the Princess Elizabeth, committed formerly on a suspicion of having had a hand in Wyat's rebellion, though Wyat honestly disavowed it at the time of his death."¹

The queen had now secured the principal objects of her wishes. The ancient worship had been everywhere restored, and in most places eagerly adopted; the enforcement of the pristine canons had removed the obnoxious prelates and ministers, or had secured their compliance; and the total cessation of all opposition to her marriage, and the apparent popularity of her husband, proved that the failure of the late insurrection had broken the power of her enemies and added to the strength of her government. But there was still one measure wanting to destroy the late schism, and to unite the church of England with the rest of Christendom. To effect that union was her next attempt, for which purpose an active correspondence had for some time been carried on with Pole, the accredited agent of the Pontiff, and his deputed legate to the English court. It behoved Mary to proceed with extreme caution in the projected acknowledgment of the papal supremacy. To some, though comparatively a small party, it was a matter of conscientious scruple to reject that supremacy; to others, and they were now a very numerous and influential portion of her subjects, any return on this point seemed to peril their possession of ecclesiastical property, by whatever means acquired. It had, therefore, been the object of the queen's earnest endeavours, supported by Gardiner, to obtain from the Pontiff a bull confirming all past alienation of the property of the church. But the court of Rome showed much unwillingness to come into the views of the English government. "The first bull addressed to Pole in quality of legate for England, dated August 5, 1553, is couched in general terms. The second, dated March 8, 1554, empowers the cardinal to receive and absolve heretics, sectaries, and canonical offenders of all kinds, upon their unfeigned repentance and submission; to permit, after due penance, the ministrations of clergymen who had married, if they should dismiss their wives; and to recognise the legality of marriages hitherto contracted by penitent clergymen, not being bishops, such individuals, however, being restrained from officiating. Immovable goods belonging to the church, and now unduly detained from her,

¹ Heylin, p. 39, 40. See also Buraet, Ref., vol. ii., p. 449.

were to be restored, if it should seem expedient to the legate. With respect to movable goods, thus alienated, he was authorized to make agreements with their actual possessors; and to apply the proceeds of such agreements to the encouragement of learning and religion."¹

Such an arrangement as this did not satisfy the wishes of the queen. The emperor's ministers agreed with the English government in the necessity of far different arrangements, and "therefore Pole was not only prevented from revisiting his native shores, but he was also treated with increasing coldness at the imperial court, after the receipt of his instructions from Rome."² Another brief was issued on the 28th of June, which "authorized the legate to remove all apprehensions from such holders of ecclesiastical property as might be recommended to him by the queen's intercession. With these favoured individuals he was empowered to 'treat, compound, and dispense,' and do whatever might seem necessary and opportune. The property, however, was described as unduly detained, and such things as were of great magnitude and importance were to await confirmation from the Roman see."³ But these concessions did not satisfy the mind of Gardiner. That prelate was well acquainted with Pole's opinions relative to the confiscated property; with what reluctance he had been brought to agree in the necessity of abandoning the major part of it to its present possessors; and that it still was the legate's conviction that all the property belonging to the parochial livings ought to revert to its original destination. The chancellor feared that, in virtue of his credentials, Pole would feel himself authorized in establishing a legatine court, and in harassing by processes in it the holders of ecclesiastical property. In these apprehensions the imperial court shared. Renard, the imperial ambassador at the court of England, was instructed to visit Pole, and to endeavour to come to some more satisfactory agreement. Pole assured the ambassador that he meant in every thing to act with the concurrence of the English government, and stated "as a fact, for which he could personally vouch, that this determination was agreeable to the Pontiff. With respect to fuller powers, I have such already. Besides the two bulls with which the court of England is acquainted, his holiness has intrusted me with a third. By this I am allowed, in general terms, to do whatever may seem opportune to me for placing the souls of my countrymen in safety; and Julius has promised me, on the word of a Pontiff, to ratify every arrangement that I may make."⁴ Renard expressed his satisfaction at this welcome and unexpected intelligence, and "told Pole that he was instructed to offer him the archbishopric of Canterbury. The cardinal, after expressing himself highly obliged by this offer, said that he was unable at

¹ Soames, vol. iv., p. 242, 243

² Ibid., p. 244.

³ Soames, iv., p. 245.

⁴ Ibid., p. 251, quoting Pallaviemo.

that time to accept it, because his present commission placed him wholly at the Pope's disposal, and because he felt himself precluded from thinking of his own private affairs, until he had accomplished the public objects intrusted to his management."¹

Under these circumstances a Parliament had been convoked for the middle of November. In the writs which had been issued, the queen dropped the title of supreme head of the church, an omission which was urged in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, as invalidating the proceedings of this Parliament.² According to the precedent of the preceding reign,³ Mary had ordered the sheriffs to recommend to the electors candidates distinguished for their attachment to the ancient faith. Of the concurrence and zeal of the House of Peers Mary was assured; and it soon became apparent, from the character of the members returned, that but little opposition would be encountered in the Lower House of Parliament.⁴

"On the 12th of November, a Parliament was holden at Westminster, to complete that imperfect restoration of religion which had been faintly sketched in the former year. This national assembly was, at its opening, honoured by the unwonted, or, rather, the unexampled presence of two sovereigns, King Philip and Queen Mary; of whom the first, though in England only titular, was distinguished from all others by a statute, which made it treason to compass his death. A bill passed both Houses in four days, 'for the restitution in blood of the Lord Cardinal Pole;' an act in itself of just reparation, but thus hastened, by alacrity in paying homage to the rising religion of the court. The Lords were unanimous. Lord Paget, who had been raised by Somerset, and Sir William Cecil, afterwards distinguished in a policy more acceptable to Protestants, were among the most forward persons in their respective parts of the reconciliation."⁵ In the bill drawn up for this purpose, it was declared that the only reason of Pole's attainder "was his refusal to consent to the unlawful divorce of the queen's mother from her father, and that the cardinal was restored to all the rights which his uprightness alone had caused him to forfeit."⁶ The king and queen attended in person to give the royal assent to this act of justice; and we are told that "the impression of the great seal, which was put to

¹ Soames, iv., p. 253.

² Burnet, *Refor.*, ii., p. 455.

³ Lansdowne MSS., iii., p. 19. It was also continued under Elizabeth. Strype, i., p. 32. Clarendon Papers, 92.

⁴ Renard, Noailles, and the Venetian ambassador, draw a lamentable picture of the religion of the English gentry and nobility, who had figured as the supporters of a reformed faith, in the two preceding reigns. The latter represents them as without any other religion than interest, and ready at the call of the sovereign to embrace Judaism or Mahomedanism. "Il medesimo fariano della Macometana, ove della Judea, purché il re mostrassi di credere e volere così, e accommodoriansi a tutte, ma a quella più facilmente della quale ne sperassero aver maggior licentia e liberta di vivere o vero qualche utilità." MSS. Barber, 1208.

⁵ Mackintosh, ii., p. 312.

⁶ Burnet, ii., p. 456. See also Phillip's *Life of C. Pole*, ii., p. 120.

this act, was for greater honour taken off in gold.”¹ The cardinal had been desired, immediately on the return of Renard from his satisfactory conference, to hasten to England. The Lord Paget, Sir Edward Hastings, Sir William Cecil, with a numerous train of gentlemen, proceeded to Brussels to escort the legate. At Dover he was received by the Lord Montague and the Bishop of Ely; and as he advanced, his retinue was swelled by the accession of the country gentlemen, till it amounted to eighteen hundred horse. “At Gravesend, the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Bishop of Durham awaited the cardinal’s approach, and presented him with a copy of the act reversing his attainder. He then embarked on board a royal barge, and placing at the prow a silver cross, as the ensign of his dignity, he proceeded up the Thames to Greenwich. He there found other persons of high rank in attendance; and thence, after a short stay, he made his way to Westminster. The chancellor, Gardiner, received him on landing, and conducted him to the king, who met him at the palace-gate, having left the dinner-table to welcome his approach. The queen, being unwell, did not go farther than the head of the stairs, when she offered to her long-lost cousin some apologies for his recent detention upon the continent. The cardinal, after a short conference with their majesties, and the delivery of his credentials, was conducted to the archiepiscopal residence at Lambeth, which had been prepared for his accommodation.”²

On the 28th of the month, both Houses were summoned, by a royal message, to repair to the court; where, after a few words from the chancellor, Pole returned thanks for the act which had been passed in his favour, exhorted them to repeal all the statutes enacted in derogation of the papal authority, assuring them that “the see apostolic whence he came had an especial respect for this realm, as even of God it had been especially favoured. This was the first of all islands which received the light of Christ’s religion: for the Britons received Christianity from the apostolic see, not in parts, as other countries did, but altogether at once. And after infidel strangers possessed the land, our heavenly Father forgot not the region which once he loved. He so illumined the hearts of the Saxons, that, within a very short space, they forsook the darkness of heathen errors, and embraced the light of Christ’s religion. This benefit must be ascribed to God, but the instruments by which our island gained it, came from Rome. With the church established in that city, our forefathers continued henceforth in bonds of strictest unity. Divers of the Saxon kings even thought it not enough to profess obedience to the Roman see, but they left their native realms, and personally offered homage to the Pontiffs, from whom they had derived such mighty spiritual advantages.” “The church,” he proceeded, “must have and adhere to one head, as the bond and centre of

¹ Life of Pole, l. c.

² Soames, iv., p. 258, 259.

unity, and acknowledge him as the vicar of God endued with power from above; for all power is of God; and He, for the conservation of quiet and godliness, hath divided it on earth into two distinct branches, the imperial and the ecclesiastical. The former of these within this realm is vested in their most excellent majesties, here present; the latter is, by the authority of God's word, and the examples of the apostles and fathers, attributed to the see of Rome. From this see I stand the deputed legate and ambassador. But certain impediments must be removed on your parts, before my commission can take full effect. I protest before you that my commission is not of prejudice to any person; I come to reconcile, not to condemn. Now the mean whereby you shall receive this benefit, is the repeal of those laws which are impediments in the way of executing my commission. For, like as I myself had neither place nor voice among you until you had revoked the law which kept me from my country; even so cannot you receive the grace offered by the apostolic see before all such laws are abrogated as disjoin and dissever you from the unity of Christ's church."¹

Gardiner, after consulting with the king and queen, made a brief reply, and stated that the two Houses would consider his suggestions, and return an early answer. It was resolved that an humble supplication should be presented to their majesties, beseeching them to make intercession with the legate, for the readmission of the kingdom within the pale of the church. This resolution was passed almost by acclamation. The Lords were unanimous; and in the Commons, of three hundred members two only demurred, and there is reason to believe that they desisted from their opposition on the following morning.² The petition "contained the following address to the king and queen: 'That whereas they had been guilty of a most horrible defection and schism from the apostolic see, they did now sincerely repent of it; and in sign of their repentance were ready to repeal all the laws made in prejudice of that see: therefore, since the king and queen had been no way defiled by their schism, they pray them to be intercessors with the legate to grant them absolution, and to receive them again into the bosom of the church.'"³ "On the following day, being the festival of St. Andrew, the two Houses repaired again to the royal presence-chamber, where, as before, the sovereigns and the legate met them. They knelt before the

¹ Foxe, 1341.

² Sir Ralph Bagnal had refused to vote, (Strype, iii., p. 204 :) the other pleaded the oath of supremacy which he had taken. Both, we are told, abandoned their opposition. "I quali due tuttavia, vedendo poi il commun consenso di tutti gli altri, consentirono anco essi il giorno seguente nell atto che si face della reunione." Append. ad Ep. Pol., v. 314. Gardiner's account is much the same: "Ye have heard of my lord cardinal's coming, and that the Parliament hath received his blessing, not one resisting it, but one man which did speak against it." Foxe, p. 1349.

³ Burnet, ii., p. 458.

throne and presented their petition."¹ Gardiner demanded whether the memorial expressed the wishes of those assembled for a reunion with the Catholic church; which inquiry was responded to by loud asseverations from the two Houses.² The supplication was then delivered to their majesties, who, after the petition had been read aloud, addressed a few words in private to the cardinal. He "having caused the authority given him by the Pope to be publicly read, showed how acceptable the repentance of a sinner was in the sight of God, and that the very angels in heaven rejoiced at the conversion of this kingdom. Which said, they all kneeled upon their knees, and imploring the mercy of God,³ received absolution for themselves and the rest of the kingdom; which absolution was pronounced in the following words: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, which with his most precious blood hath redeemed and washed us from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase unto himself a glorious spouse, without spot or wrinkle; and whom the Father hath appointed head over all his church, He by his mercy absolve you. And we, by apostolic authority given unto us, by the most holy lord, Pope Julius the 3d, his vicegerent here upon earth, do absolve, and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole realm and the dominions thereof, from all heresie and schism, and from all and every judgment, censures and pains, for that cause incurred. And also we do restore you again unto the unity of our mother, the holy church, as in our letters more plainly it shall appear; in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."⁴ The assembled nobles and commons responded "Amen," and, rising from their knees, proceeded in a body to the royal chapel, where, in a solemn "Te Deum," they returned thanks to God for the propitious event.⁵ On the following Sunday, the 2d of December, the cardinal, at the invitation of the citizens, made his public entry into the metropolis; and Gardiner, in a sermon at St. Paul's cross, explained the events of the preceding week, and publicly lamented the part which he had acted under Henry VIII. Those who had been scandalized, or influenced by his fall, he implored to imitate his repentance. He informed the multitude that Henry had, twice after his separation from the unity of the church, entertained serious thoughts of reconciling himself and kingdom with the apostolic see. "Long ago, during the tumult in the north, in 1536, King Henry, I am sure, was determined to restore the Pope's supremacy. But the time was not come. Had he then done as he wished, it would have been said that he acted from fear; after that, Master Knevet and I were sent to the emperor for the purpose of engaging his mediation between England and the apostolic see.

¹ Soames, iv., p. 268.

² Heylin, Ref., p. 42.

³ "Ellos recibieron la absolucion con mucha devocion, y señales de arrepentimiento." Ribadeneyra, p. 221.

⁴ Heylin, p. 42.

⁵ Ibid., l. c.

Nor was the time come when the question was moved again, at the beginning of King Edward's reign. It would have appeared as if our sovereign, being but a child, had been bought and sold. The hour is now come. Their majesties have already restored our holy father the Pope to his supremacy. The three estates of the realm have submitted themselves to his Holiness and his successors. Wherefore, let no man any longer tarry: as St. Paul said to the Corinthians that he was their father, so the Pope may say to us, that he is our father. For we received our faith first from Rome."¹

Nor were the clergy excluded from this solemn act of reunion. "On the Thursday after, being the feast of St. Nicholas-day, the bishops and clergy then assembled in their convocation, presented themselves before the cardinal at Lambeth, and kneeling reverently on their knees, they obtained pardon for all their perjuries, schisms and heresies; from which a formal absolution was pronounced also, that so all sorts of people might partake of the Pope's benediction, and thereby testify their obedience and submission to him." A petition was also presented to their majesties by the same body that they would intercede with the cardinal in behalf of such as were "detainers of ecclesiastical goods." It set forth that whereas they, being the defenders and guardians of the church, ought to endeavour, with all their strength, to recover those goods to the church "which have been lost in the late desperate and pernicious schism," yet having considered the matter well, they saw how difficult, if not impossible any such attempts would prove, how much it would endanger the public peace of the realm, and the unity of the church, therefore they "preferring the public good and quiet, before their own private commodities; and the salvation of so many souls, redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, before any earthly things whatsoever, and not seeking their own, but the things of Jesus Christ, we do most earnestly and most humbly beseech your majesties, that ye would graciously vouchsafe to intercede in our behalf with the Lord Cardinal Pole, legate a latere from his Holiness, that he would please to settle and confirm the said goods of the church, either in whole or in part, as he thinks most fit, on the present occupants thereof, according to the powers and faculties committed to him, by the said most serene lord the Pope, thereby preferring the public good before the private, the peace and tranquillity of the realm before suits and troubles, and the salvation of souls before earthly treasure. And for our parts, we do both now, and for all times coming, give consent to all and every thing, which by the said lord legate shall, in this case, be finally ordained and concluded on. And we do further humbly beseech your Majesties, that you would please to take such course, that our ecclesiastical rights, liberties, and jurisdictions, which have

¹ Foxe, p. 1344.

been taken from us, by the iniquity of the former times, and without which we are not able to discharge our common duties, either in the exercise of the pastoral office, or the cure of souls committed to our trusts, may be again restored unto us.”¹

At the same time another petition, emanating from the two Houses of Parliament, was presented to their majesties, praying them to obtain from the legate, a confirmation of the sale or grant of ecclesiastical property, and such dispensations and indulgences, as the innovations made during the schism might render necessary.² The importance of these proceedings, and the light in which they exhibit the reformers and the reformation, induce me to transcribe the whole of the address: It runs as follows: “Whereas since the twentieth year of King Henry the Eighth of famous memory, father unto your majesty our most natural sovereign, and gracious lady and queen, much false and erroneous doctrine hath been taught, preached and written, partly by divers the natural-born subjects of this realm, and partly being brought in hither from sundry other foreign countries, hath been sown and spread abroad within the same, by reason whereof as well the spirituality as the temporality of your highness realms and dominions have swerved from the obedience of the see apostolick, and declined from the unity of Christ’s church, and so have continued, until such time as your majesty being first raised up by God, and set in the seat royal over us, and then by his divine, and gracious providence knit in marriage with the most noble and virtuous prince, the king our sovereign lord your husband, the Pope’s holiness, and the see apostolick, sent hither unto your majesties (as unto persons undefiled and by God’s goodness preserved from the common infection aforesaid) and to the whole realm, the most reverend father in God the Lord Cardinal Pole, legate de latere, to call us home again into the right way from whence we have all this long while wandered and strayed abroad; and we, after sundry long and grievous plagues and calamities, seeing by the goodness of God our own errors, have acknowledged the same unto the said most reverend Father, and by him have been, and are the rather at the contemplation of your majesties, received and embraced unto the unity and bosom of Christ’s Church, and upon our humble submission and promise made for a declaration of our repentance, to repeal and abrogate such acts and statutes as had been made in Parliament since the said twentieth year of the said King Henry the Eighth, against the supremacy of the see apostolick, as in our submission exhibited to the said most reverend Father in God by your majesties appeareth: the tenour whereof ensueth. We the lords spiritual

¹ See the whole of the petition in Heylin, p. 43, 44.

² Heylin, p. 44, and Foxe, p. 1345, tell us that a courier had been despatched by Parliament to the court of Rome, stipulating for a satisfactory settlement of the confiscated property of the church, as the condition of recognising his supremacy.

and temporal and the Commons, assembled in this present Parliament, representing the whole body of the realm of England, and the dominions of the same, in the name of ourselves particularly, and also of the said body universally, in this our supplication directed to your majesties, with most humble suit, that it may by your graces' intercession and mean be exhibited to the most reverend Father in God, the Lord Cardinal Pole, legate sent especially hither from our most holy father Pope Julius the Third, and the see apostolick of Rome, do declare ourselves very sorry and repentant of the schism and disobedience committed in this realm and dominions aforesaid against the see apostolick, either by making, agreeing, or executing any laws, ordinances, or commandments against the supremacy of the said see, or otherwise doeing or speaking, that might impugn the same: offering ourselves and promising by this our supplication, that for a token and knowledge of our said repentance, we be, and shall be always ready, under and with the authorities of your majesties, to the uttermost of our powers, to do that shall lie in us for the abrogation and repealing of the said laws and ordinances, in this present Parliament, as well for ourselves as for the whole body whom we represent: Wherefore we most humbly desire your majesties, as personages undefiled in the offence of this body towards the said see, which nevertheless God by his providence hath made subject to you, so to set forth this our humble suit, that we may obtain from the see apostolick, by the said most reverend Father, as well particularly and generally, absolution, release and discharge from all danger of such censures and sentences, as by the laws of the church we be fallen into; and that we may as children repentant be received into the bosom and unity of Christ's church, so as this noble realm, with all the members thereof, may in this unity and perfect obedience to the see apostolick, and Popes for the time being, serve God and your majesties, to the furtherance and advancement of his honour and glory. We are, at the intercession of your majesties, by the authority of our holy father Pope Julius the Third, and of the see apostolick, absolved, discharged, and delivered from the excommunications, interdictions, and other censures ecclesiastical which hath hanged over our heads, for our said default since the time of the said schism mentioned in our supplication: It may now like your majesties, that for the accomplishment of our promise made in the said supplication, that is, to repeal all the laws and statutes made contrary to the said supremacy and see apostolick, during the said schism, the which is to be understood since the twentieth year of the reign of the said late King Henry the Eighth, and so the said lord legate doth accept and recognise the same."¹

After this solemn recantation, a committee was at once ap-

¹ 1st and 2d Mary, c. 8.

pointed by both Houses to prepare a bill the most comprehensive, whereby the laws, enacted during the two previous reigns, in derogation of the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, might be effectually repealed. By the 25th of December a bill had been prepared to be submitted to the consideration of Parliament, accompanied by a request to the cardinal legate that "the following articles might, through the cardinal's intercession, be established by the Pope's authority. 1. That all bishopricks, cathedrals, or colleges, now established, might be confirmed forever. 2. That marriages, made within such degrees as are not contrary to the law of God, but only to the laws of the church, might be confirmed, and the issue by them declared legitimate. 3. That all institutions into benefices might be confirmed. 4. That all judicial processes might be also confirmed. And finally, That all the settlements of the lands of any bishopricks, monasteries, or other religious houses, might continue as they were, without any trouble by the ecclesiastical censures or laws. Upon this the cardinal granted a full confirmation of those things."¹ By this instrument it was declared that the possessors of church-property should not, either now or hereafter, be molested, under pretence of any canons of councils, decrees of Popes, or censures of the church; for which purposes, in virtue of the authority vested in him, he took from all spiritual courts and judges the cognisance of these matters, and pronounced beforehand all such processes and judgments invalid and of no effect. An admonition was, however, added to those who might possess movable goods once belonging to the church, that they ought to restore the sacred vessels dedicated to the service of the altar, "remembering the fate of Belshazzar, for his profane using the holy vessels, though they had not been taken away by himself, but by his father. And he most earnestly exhorted them, that at least they would take care, that, out of the tithes of parsonages or vicarages, those who served the cures might be sufficiently maintained and encouraged."²

The bill which had been prepared, passed rapidly through the two Houses. In the Lords it was read three times in two days, without any opposition affecting the substance of the bill, though Bonner and the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry thought it their duty to vote against it, on account of the confirmation which it gave to the recent acts of spoliation affecting their interests. In the Commons it was agreed to as readily and as rapidly. This act begins by repealing several statutes by name, and then, in general, all clauses, sentences, and articles in every act of Parliament passed since the twentieth year of Henry VIII., against the supreme spiritual authority of the Pope, or see apostolic. It next recites the two petitions, and the dispensation granted by the legate, which, it was enacted, should be reputed valid in law, and alleged and pleaded in all courts spiritual and temporal. It then

¹ Burnet, ii., p. 460.

² Ibid., p. 461.

recites that though all "apprehensions as to the titles of properties once ecclesiastical had been already removed by the legate's decree, still, inasmuch as questions arising out of such possessions are triable only before the civil authorities, it legally recognises those titles, and renders all who should attempt to disturb them by ecclesiastical processes, either at home or abroad, liable to a *præmunire*."¹ "It was also declared, that the title of supreme head never of right belonged to the crown; yet all writings wherein it was used, were still to continue in force; but that hereafter, all writings should be of force, wherein, either since the queen's coming to the crown or afterwards, that title should be or had been omitted. It was also declared that bulls from Rome might be executed; that all exemptions that had belonged to religious houses, and had been continued by the grants given of them, were repealed, and these places were made subject to the episcopal jurisdiction, excepting only the privileges of the two universities, the churches of Westminster and Windsor, and the Tower of London. But for encouraging any to bestow what they pleased on the church, the statutes of mortmain were repealed for twenty years to come."² It concludes by declaring "that this act should not be construed so as to prejudice any authority or prerogative belonging to the crown before the twentieth of King Henry VIII., and it restores the Pope to the same powers, neither diminishing nor enlarging them, that he might lawfully have exercised before that year."³ Thus was England once more a Catholic country; and that ecclesiastical polity restored which had existed in this country during so many centuries before Henry VIII.

The act of reunion was celebrated with public rejoicings throughout the whole kingdom. The city of London gave the example. "On Friday, the 25th of January, being the conversion of St. Paul, there was a general and solemn procession throughout London, to give God thanks for their conversion to the Catholic church. Wherein, to set out their glorious pomp, were ninety crosses, one hundred and sixty priests and clarks, each of them attired in his cope; and after them eight bishops in their pontificalibus, followed by Bonner, carrying the pix under a canopy, and attended by the lord mayor and companies in their several liveries. Which solemn procession being ended,

¹ Soames, iv., p. 278, 279.

² Burnet, ii., p. 461.

³ Soames, iv., p. 279. This act deserves attention from the accuracy with which it distinguishes between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions. From the act and statutes which it repeals, it follows, observes Dr. Lingard, that the jurisdiction claimed to be exercised by the pontiff, in virtue of his supremacy, was comprised under the following heads: 1. He was acknowledged as chief Bishop of the Christian church, with authority to reform and redress heresies, errors, and abuses within the same. 2. To him belonged the institution or confirmation of bishops elect. 3. He could grant to clergymen licenses of non-residence, and permission to hold more than one benefice, with cure of souls. 4. He dispensed in the canonical impediments of matrimony; and, 5. He received appeals from the spiritual courts.

they all returned to the church of St. Paul, where the king and cardinal, together with all the rest, heard mass, and the next day the Parliament and convocation were dissolved."¹ An embassy was also despatched to Rome, consisting of the Viscount Montague, Dr. Thurlby, Bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carne, destined to remain as ordinary ambassador at the papal court. Before they had proceeded far on their journey, Pope Julius died, and his successor, Marcellus II., within one-and-twenty days followed him to the grave. The very day on which the ambassadors reached Rome, Cardinal Caraffa, who had taken the name of Paul IV., had assumed the tiara. In the first consistory held by the new Pontiff, "the ambassadors were brought before him, where prostrating themselves before the Pope's feet, they, in the name of the kingdom acknowledged the faults committed, relating them all in particular, (for so the Pope was pleased to have it,) confessing that they had been ungrateful for so many benefits received from the church, and humbly craving pardon for it."² The Pope confirmed the decisions of his legate, and dismissed Montague and the Bishop of Ely with liberal presents.

The failure of the late rebellion had broken the power and the spirits of those amongst the reformers who had persuaded themselves that the end which they had in view sanctified the use of any means. There were, however, still many indications of the bitterness of party and sectarian hatred, which, whilst they brought no aid to the ruined fortunes of the gospellers, served still further to embitter the mind of the queen against her persecutors, and the traitors to her throne. It had been found necessary, in the last Parliament, to pass an act against "some heretical preachers, who had, as was informed, prayed in their conventicles that God would turn the queen's heart from idolatry to the true faith, or else shorten her days, and take her quietly out of the way: all therefore that so prayed for taking away the queen's life were to be judged traitors; but if they showed themselves penitent for such prayers, they were not to be condemned of treason, but put to any corporal punishment, other than death, at the judge's discretion." This was passed in great haste, for it was thrice read in the House of Lords, and passed on the 16th of January, in which the Parliament was dissolved.³ "The like exhorbitances were frequent in this queen's reign, to which some men were so transported by a furious zeal, that a gun was shot at one Dr. Pendleton, as he preached at St. Paul's cross, on Sunday, the 10th of June, the pellet whereof went very near him, but the gunner was not to be heard of. Before which time, that is to say on the 8th of April, some of them had caused a cat to be hanged upon a gallows, near the cross in Cheapside, with her head shorn, the likeness of a vestment cast upon her, and her two fore-feet tied together, holding between them a piece of

¹ Heylin, p. 44.² Ibid., p. 45.³ Burnet, ii., p. 464.

paper in the form of a wafer. The governors of the church exasperated by these provocations, and the queen charging Wyat's rebellion on the Protestant party, she both agreed on the reviving of some ancient statutes made in the time of King Richard II., King Henry IV., and King Henry V., for the severe punishment of obstinate hereticks, even to death itself."¹ This act was passed at the suggestion of the clergy in convocation, and was agreed to, without a dissentient voice, in the Commons and Lords.

Hitherto, under the bitterest provocation, the queen had exercised great, perhaps unparalleled mercy towards her enemies; we are now arrived at that period in her reign which, for the sake of humanity and religion, we must wish had never dawned. Had she closed her career after the preceding eventful changes, historians, according to their prejudices or convictions, might have condemned or applauded her policy, but the character of a prudent, firm, but generous sovereign, must, in justice, have been awarded her. But the blood of many victims lies at her door; and it will be well if the provocation which she received, the principles of persecution common, in her day, to every party and sect that obtained the power of the sword, and the hostility, treachery, and insubordination of the gossellers, shall be found not to justify, but to palliate, the atrocities committed in the last three years of her reign. Be this as it may, the Catholic paid fully the debt of revenge incurred by Mary. For every Protestant victim to the misguided or barbarous policy adopted or permitted by Mary during three years, there fell, during nearly two centuries, in almost every reign, in some whole hecatombs, in each numerous atoning martyrs for the ancient faith; till, by a code unequalled in intolerance and bloodthirstiness, in any but the bloodiest days of pagan Rome, the Catholic religion, by laws entailing the loss of goods, country, and life, was well-nigh exterminated in this kingdom. She had, during the brief ascendancy of the gossellers, under Edward, met from the reformers with neither mercy nor common decency; the privacy of her family worship had been invaded; her household had been persecuted, and she herself owed more to the protection of her uncle, and the fears of her enemies, than to their justice: one of the reformed bishops had insulted her in her own palace; the nearest ties had been rudely broken by an unfeeling bigotry, which had urged on her youthful brother to forget the first principles of nature in his zeal for the new worship; she had seen the Catholic prelates confined for years in dungeons; the ancient faith proscribed; attendance at the new service enforced by every penalty short of death; a fanatical but harmless woman, Joan Boacher, and Von Paris, burned at the stake, mainly by Cranmer's instrumentality, for the maintenance of tenets obnoxious to the reformers; the will of her father, though fenced and secured by oath, violated; the

¹ Heylin, p. 47.

succession changed, because devolving on a Catholic; an armed force resisting her lawful rights; insurrections threatening her throne from the same party; with minor insults directed in numerous instances against the creed which she had restored; these and other provocations, and the example of her enemies, may not unreasonably be thought to have led her to doubt whether they who, from the first, had counselled a sterner policy, administered in the same measure against her enemies that it had been meted out to her and her friends, might not after all have given the soundest advice, especially after experience had shown her that moderation and mercy had been lost upon a party ready, on every occasion, to injure and insult her. Nor must it be forgotten that she lived in days in which toleration was unknown. Edward had been persuaded that it was a duty to exterminate heretics; à Lasco's congregation we have seen wandering from land to land, rejected everywhere by Protestant cities, because their views on the holy eucharist did not happen to agree; Calvin had burned Servetus and had defended that murder; Beza, and even Melancthon, had inculcated similar opinions;¹ and there is reason to believe that the death of Edward alone saved the English Catholics from wholesale massacre or apostasy. Cranmer had prepared, as we have seen, a code of ecclesiastical discipline, intended to supply the place of the ancient canon law; in which production the archbishop had classed the distinguishing doctrines of the ancient faith with those of Muncer and Servetus. To believe in transubstantiation, to admit the supremacy of the Pope, or to deny justification by faith only, were severally made heresy; and it was provided that individuals holding heretical opinions should be arraigned before the spiritual courts; should be excommunicated on conviction; and, after a respite of sixteen days, be delivered to the civil magistrate, to be punished as the law provided.² It is necessary to bear these circumstances in mind, whilst we condemn Mary, since on them depends the extent of her guilt. Yet, whether it was her misfortune or her crime, the sight of so much blood, shed unjustly and barbarously, makes the heart sicken and weep over that frantic bigotry which made men of all sects fancy that, in murdering their fellow-men, they were performing a service well-pleasing to the Almighty.

With whom the persecution originated there is no clear evidence to show. That Pole deprecated violence, is acknowledged even by his enemies. "He professed himself an enemy to extreme proceedings. He said, pastors ought to have bowels, even to their straying sheep; bishops were fathers, and ought to

¹ Calvin, de supplicio Serveti; Beza de Haereticis a civili magistratu puniendis; and Melancthon, in loc. com. c. xxxii.

² "Ad extremum ad civilem magistratum ablegatur puniendus." Ref. leg. de Judic. contra hæres., c. iii.

look on those that erred as their sick children, and not for that to kill them; he had seen that severe proceedings did rather inflame than cure that disease.”¹ “He advised that they should rest themselves satisfied with the restitution of their own religion; that the said three statutes should be held forth for a terror only, but that no open persecution should be raised upon them; following therein, as he affirmed, the counsell sent unto the queen by Charles the emperour, at her first comming to the crown, by whom she was advised to create no trouble unto any man for matter of conscience, but to be warned unto the contrary by his example, who by endeavouring to compell others to his own religion, had tired and spent himself in vain.”²

Gardiner, as the ablest and most persevering opponent of the new religion, is generally branded with the guilt of having persuaded the effusion of blood. But there is no evidence sufficient to justify this accusation, nor did he, except upon one occasion, in which he acted in virtue of his office as chancellor, take any part whatever in the sanguinary proceedings, though few had suffered more from the hostility and fears of the reformers. By some writers it is admitted that he would, at all events, have “the ax laid only to the root of the tree, the principal supporters of the heretics to be taken away, whether they were of the ecclesiastical heirarchy, or the lay-nobility; and some of the more pragmatick preachers to be cut off also; the rest of the people to be spared, as they who merely did depend on the power of the other.”³ It is evident, then, that the legate had no instructions from the see of Rome to instigate to acts of violence; and that no principle of the ancient faith required or was even cited as authorizing the adoption of any such measures. The persecution seems to have originated in the privy-council, and, consequently, to have been adopted merely as a measure of state policy, in conformity with the prevailing opinions and example of every state and party, which had endeavoured to secure the stability of their own principles on the ruins of all others. All that we know with certainty is, that after the queen’s marriage the question was several times discussed in the privy-council, and that the queen was not made acquainted with the result of their deliberations until the beginning of November. Her answer, which breathes nothing of that ferocious spirit ascribed to her, was, that “touching the punishment of heretics we thinketh it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving in the mean time to do justice to such as, by learning, would seem to deceive the simple; and the rest so to be used, that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion; by which they shall both understand the truth, and beware not to do the like. And especially within London, I would wish none to be burnt without

¹ Burnet, ii., p. 467.

² Heylin, p. 47

³ Ibid., l. c.

some of the council's presence, and both there and everywhere good sermons at the same time."¹

Many, if not most, of the leading gospellers had, as we have noticed, been long since committed to prison; some as the accomplices of Northumberland, or Suffolk, or Wyat; others for preaching without license; and several on charges of sedition, and disorderly conduct. On the 22d of January the chief of the prisoners were summoned before the council, informed of the laws that had been passed or rather renewed against heretics, and warned of their danger. On the 28th of the same month, a commission, at the head of which was Gardiner, lord chancellor, and Bishop of Winchester, sat in the church of St. Mary Overies, in Southwark, for the trial of Protestants. Six prisoners were summoned before them; of whom one pretended to recant, a second asked for further time; and the other four, Hooper, the deprived Bishop of Gloucester, the first great supporter of opinions afterwards called puritanical; Rogers, a clergyman of Essex; Saunders, rector of Allhallows, in London; and Taylor, rector of Hadley, in Suffolk, resolutely adhered to their professed principles. Twenty-four hours were granted them to reconsider their determination, but they still braved the terrors of the law and the threats of death. The chancellor pronounced them excommunicated, which was followed by the delivery of the prisoners to the civil power. In the sentence pronounced against Hooper, it is deserving of remark, that he is merely styled "a priest, and formerly a monk of the Cistercian order," the consecration of the prelates according to Edward's ordinal, not being looked upon as valid. His condemnation is ascribed to his having held the three following articles, which are indiscriminately designated "errors, heresies, and false opinions:" 1. "That notwithstanding their vows of celibacy, every monastic person is allowed by the laws of God to marry." 2. "That on account of fornication and adultery, persons lawfully married may, by God's word and authority, be separated and divorced from the bond of marriage; and that persons released from each other upon such account, by the constituted authorities, may lawfully contract a new marriage." 3. "That in the sacrament of the altar, there are only present material bread and wine, without the truth and the presence of Christ's body and blood." Rogers was the first victim. "Being arrived in Smithfield, a pardon was offered him if he would recant. But his magnanimity forsook him not, and he refused the proffered clemency. Hooper evinced similar constancy, and perished at Gloucester; Taylor suffered at Hadley; Saunders at Coventry. To each a pardon was offered as the price of recanting his opinions. They all spurned the proposal, and chose rather to sacrifice their lives than what they deemed the truth.

¹ Collier, ii., p. 371.

² Strype, Eccl. Mem., Append. iii., p. 276.

In these scenes of blood, Gardiner never more appeared. As he had not instigated, so, like the papal legate, did he withdraw from all participation in deeds, which these and all previous examples had shown more likely to aggravate than to heal the evil they were expected to remedy. His subsequent conduct, and the leniency exercised in his own diocese, furnish "grounds for imagining that he disapproved such sanguinary intolerance."¹ The odious and fearful task devolved, in the metropolis, on Bonner, Bishop of London. "On Friday, the eighth of February, Boner sat in the consistory of St. Paul's, assisted by the lord mayor, and certain of the aldermen. Six prisoners were brought before this court, which resumed its sessions on the following day, and then consigned all these individuals to the secular arm. Three of these martyrs, Tomkins, Pigot, and Knight, were men following the humblest occupations. The fourth was a lad in his twentieth year, named Hunter, apprenticed to a silk-weaver, in London."² But an unexpected event suspended the execution of the prisoners. On the day following their condemnation, Alphonsus di Castro, a Spanish friar, Philip's confessor, "in a sermon before that monarch, preached largely against the taking away of the people's lives for religion; and, in plain terms, inveighed against the bishops for doing it; he said they had not learned in Scripture, which taught bishops in the spirit of meekness to instruct those that opposed them; and not to burn them for their consciences. This startled the bishops; since it was now plain, that the Spaniard disowned these extreme courses; and hereupon there was a stop for several weeks put to any further severities."³ The question was warmly agitated in the council, and five weeks elapsed before the advocates of blood dared, or were allowed to rekindle the fires of persecution.⁴

At this critical moment, when the suspension of the sentences of death showed the indecision of the council, renewed instances of untamed fanaticism furnished too ready arguments to the enemies of mercy. The statue of St. Thomas of Canterbury, whose bones had been dug up at the commencement of the reformation, and name obliterated from the public liturgy, had been placed on the 14th of February over the gate of Mercers' chapel, in Cheapside, as some atonement for the outrages offered to his memory. On the second night after its erection it was found mutilated; on the third it received further injury. The statue was repaired, but immediately irreparably destroyed. On the 14th of April, "as a priest was administering the eucharist in St. Margaret's church, Westminster, a man drew a hanger, and wounded him upon the head, hand, and other parts of his body."⁵ These, and similar enormities, excited a feeling of horror and a wish for re-

¹ Soames, iv., p. 382. See also Burnet, ii., p. 475.

² Burnet, ii., p. 384, 385.

³ Burnet, ii., 477.

⁴ Foxe, 1389. Strype, Eccl. Mem., iii., 333. Soames iv., 386.

⁵ Soames, iv., p. 403. Strype, Eccl. Mem., iii., p. 210—212

taliation. But an organized conspiracy, of a formidable character, extending through the counties of Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk, having been detected, and the ringleaders arrested, turned the scale at once in favour of renewed severities. A circular was addressed to the magistrates in their several districts, directing them to watch over the public peace: "And whereas preachers were and should be sent down into the several counties, to preach Catholick doctrine to the people, the justices to be aiding and assisting unto them, and to be themselves present at the sermons. As for such as came not to church, nor conformed themselves, to travail soberly with them; and with the wilful and obstinate to deal more roundly, that is, by rebuking them, binding them to the good a bearing, or sending them to prison. For the preachers and teachers of heresy, and procurers of secret meetings for that purpose, special wait must be laid. The spreaders of false tales and seditious rumours to be searched for, and when found, to be apprehended and punished. Some one or more men in every parish, to be secretly instructed to give information of the behaviour of the inhabitants: to charge the constables, and four or more of the more honest and Catholick sort of every parish, with the order of the said parish; to whom idle persons and vagabonds should be bound to give an account how they live, and where they are from time to time. As soon as any offenders for murder, felony, or other offences were taken, the matters forthwith to be examined, and ordered by the justices, according to a commission of *oyer* and *terminer* sent to them; and the justices to meet at least once a month."¹ With respect to those accused of heresy, they were to endeavour to reform them by admonitions, but if they continued obstinate, to send them before the ordinary, that "they might, by charitable instruction, be removed from their naughty opinions, or be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf."² The regulations enjoined in this circular originated, like the rest involving similar proceedings, not in clerical, but lay authorities, as matters of state policy, and form the obnoxious code which many eminent Protestant historians have not hesitated to denounce as introducing a tribunal like the Spanish Inquisition. Nothing can be more unjust than this assertion. In the above circular the magistrates are directed to transfer spiritual offenders to their ordinaries; the Inquisition removed from the ordinary all cognisance of spiritual causes. The Inquisition was not introduced into this kingdom till many years later, when Elizabeth established a court based on the very principles, and disgraced by the same enormities, as the Inquisition of Spain.

In obedience to the royal circular, several preachers, with their most zealous disciples, were arrested, and transmitted to the bishops, who, in many instances, refused to receive them; in

¹ Strype, Eccl. Mem., vol. iv., p. 351, 352.

² Burnet, ii., Rec. 283.

others, by successive delays, succeeded in saving the lives of their prisoners.¹ But these acts of mercy suited not the policy of some of the courtiers. "The Lord Treasurer, William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, recommended that a circular letter of admonition, or rather of rebuke, should be directed from the crown to the prelacy, expressing the 'no little marvel' of their majesties, that ordinaries should dismiss individuals whom magistrates had consigned to their correction."² This advice the council approved of, and addressed a monitory letter to each of the prelates, stating: "that they had understood, to their no small marvel, that diverse of these disordered persons that had been brought from the justices to them, the bishops, were either refused to be received at their hands, or if received, were neither so travailed with as Christian charity required, nor yet proceeded withal according to the order of justice; but suffered to continue in their errors, to the dishonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others. That like as they, the king and queen, found this matter very strange, so they thought it convenient both to signify their knowledge thereof, and therewith, also, to admonish them, to have in this behalf such regard henceforth to the office of good bishops, as when any such offenders shall be by the said officers or justices brought unto them, to use their good wisdom and discretion, in procuring to remove them from their errors, or else to procede against them according to the order of the laws."³ That the clergy shrunk from the wholesale butchery imposed upon them, and at the peril of their own fortunes and the royal displeasure exercised mercy to the utmost, is from this document abundantly

¹ "Many of the Catholic prelates are recorded by Protestant writers to have exercised effectual and perhaps hazardous humanity. Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, appears to have sometimes spoken to the accused with a violence foreign from the general tenor of his life. It has been suggested that, according to a practice of which there are remarkable instances, in other seasons of tyranny and terror, he submitted thus far to wear the disguise of cruelty, in order that he might be better able to screen more victims from destruction." Mackintosh, ii., p. 321. "The bishops eagerly availed themselves of any subterfuge by which they could escape pronouncing these revolting sentences." Soames, iv., p. 412.

² Soames, iv., p. 413.

³ Strype, *Eccles. Mem.*, iv., p. 358. Burnet, having printed the above circular, from the copy sent to Bonner, fancied that he alone required to be stimulated; but Strype has corrected that error. Ought not the very necessity for such a circular to cause us to doubt, at least, whether Bonner has not been unjustly represented as seeking for blood and victims? There is no evidence to prove that he ever from choice engaged in the persecution, or sought for a single sufferer. On the contrary, from Foxe, iii., 208, 210, 223, &c., it is clear that the prisoners were sent to him by the council, and, as the law stood, he could not refuse to try them, and, on conviction, to deliver them to the civil power. Moreover, the care with which he registered the persons by whom the prisoners were sent to him, and the grounds of his judgment, and the numerous letters of rebuke addressed to him by the council, exhibit him as taking any thing but a willing share in the bloody task set him by the policy of the court or council. In one of his letters, addressed to Philpot, he writes: "I am right sorry for your trouble; neither would I you should think that I am the cause thereof. I marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters, but I must be obedient to my betters, and I fear men speak of me otherwise than I deserve." Foxe, iii., p. 462.

evident. What then becomes of the hackneyed calumny that by the principles of their faith they were to believe it not merely innocent, not lawful only, but a virtue even, to exterminate the enemies of their faith? Let it, then, be remembered, that whatever mercy was shown during these barbarous executions emanated from the clergy, whilst the blame of devising, enacting, and enforcing these bloody laws, lies with reckless politicians and an intolerant age.

§ 3.

Last Days of Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer.—Execution of Ridley and Latimer.—Cranmer's seven Recantations.—Condemnation and Death.—Number of Victims, according to Burnet and Strype.—Last Events of Mary's Reign.—Death of Gardiner.—Settlement of Ecclesiastical Property.—Conspiracy in England and France.—Contest with the Pope.—Death of the Queen.—Death of Cardinal Pole.—Mary's Character.

It would lead me into painful and useless details to describe the sufferings and the constancy or apostasy of the successive victims as they appeared on the bloody stage. I shall, therefore, limit my description to the deaths of three of the most distinguished of the reformers, Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer.

The preceding lectures have already presented ample information respecting these prelates. Ridley was born at Wilmontswick in Tynedale, studied at Cambridge, Paris, and Louvain, and obtained preferment on his return to England, through the favour of Cranmer. Like his patron, he followed implicitly the theological guidance of Henry VIII.; but under Edward appeared as one of the foremost and ablest supporters and authors of the new scheme of religion. His zeal led him to force his services on the Princess Mary, and to instigate to measures of gross outrage and persecution against her and her household. His hostility to the ancient faith implicated him deeply in Northumberland's conspiracy, during whose brief career he preached at St. Paul's cross, in opposition to the rightful heir to the crown. On the accession of Mary, he was committed to prison as a traitor; there he conformed to the ancient worship, but speedily again recanted, but not before he had discovered that his change earned him no respect from the Catholic, and drew on him the bitter execrations of his former friends. Thenceforward "he never after polluted himself with that filthy dregs of anti-christian service."¹

The career of Latimer was, if possible, still more fluctuating. He first acquired notoriety by the fierceness of his declamation against the German reformers; he next appeared as their sup-

¹ Foxe, iii., p. 836.

porter and follower, and then, at the command of Cardinal Wolsey, again abjured and denounced them. At the expiration of about two years, he was accused of having relapsed into the opinions of the new religionists, was threatened with excommunication by Archbishop Cranmer, and narrowly escaped that sentence, and the stake, by purging himself from the obnoxious accusation. After a brief interval, he again relapsed; appealed from the sentence of the bishops to the judgment of the king, who rejected him with indignation; nor did he escape the vengeance of Henry, but by begging pardon on his knees in public convocation, and promising amendment. By Henry he was raised to the bishopric of Worcester, as the reward of his invectives against the papal authority; but on the passing of the six articles ventured, with Cranmer, to express his dissent from the royal theologian. He was cast into prison, where he remained until the accession of Edward. Under that king he frequently preached at court, and ventured to proclaim it better that Mary and Elizabeth should both die rather than endanger the stability of the new religion, by marrying foreign princes inimical to the recent changes. He ventured on similar opinions in the beginning of Mary's reign, and was, by order of the council, committed to prison.¹ Of Cranmer, I need say nothing, as his career has been already traced with sufficient minuteness.

The three prisoners, since their public dispute at Oxford, had lingered in the same prison, in almost daily expectation of their last trial. Eighteen months, however, were suffered to intervene, before any decisive steps were taken preparatory to their fate. In September, 1555, a commission was appointed, consisting of Dr. James Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester, as papal sub-delegate, and Drs. Martin and Story, delegated by the queen, to proceed in the cause of the archbishop. The usual forms prescribed by the canon law were observed. "The commissioners propounded to him certain articles concerning his having been twice married, his denial of the Pope's supremacy, his judgment in the point of the blessed sacrament; his having been declared an heretick by the late prolocutor, and the rest of the commissioners there assembled. The whole proceeding being summed up, he is cited to appear before the Pope within eighty days."² He was again consigned to prison.

There fresh sources of disquiet awaited him and his fellow-sufferers, from that curse of every system based on mere human opinion, the erring and insecure interpretation of God's word, the prolific parent of sects, as it has ever been, eventually, their destroyer. "It might have been supposed that community of sufferings, community of opinion respecting the main points at issue between themselves and their oppressors, would have extinguished all petty animosities between the incarcerated asserters

¹ Strype, iii., p. 131. Foxe, iii., p. 385.

² Heylin, p. 52.

of scriptural truth. Their grated chambers often exhibited, however, that feature of contention which unhappily seldom fails to disturb the tranquillity of man. A source of interest was found in ardent discussion upon the most mysterious dispensations of Providence; free-will and predestination furnishing topics whereby the suffering Protestants beguiled the gloomy monotony of their prison-hours. In examining these questions, arguments were used, and conclusions drawn which led to perplexity and irritation. The disputants eventually ranged themselves in parties, viewing each other with considerable aversion. Bradford was actively engaged in these unhappy dissensions. He took the predestinarian side, but he kept clear of its exceptionable features; maintaining that the final condemnation of individuals, though everlastingly decreed, results from their own refusal of redemption, by means of an obstinate perseverance in iniquity. This rational mode of treating the controversy, probably, did not satisfy some overheated asserters of the predestinarian hypothesis, and an appeal, accordingly, was made upon this subject to the prelates imprisoned at Oxford. Ridley collected, in consequence, those passages of Scripture which bear upon predestination and election, accompanying them with some comments of his own. He judiciously forbore, however, from dogmatizing upon these abstruse questions, but strictly confined himself within the limits marked out for such inquiries in the sacred volume. During their progress, an attempt was made to terminate these contentions, by the preparation of articles which appeared likely to shock the prejudices of neither party. This expedient, unfortunately, failed: the more violent predestinarians, after giving hope that they would thus unite with their brethren, refusing their signature to the propositions awaiting that attestation.”¹

On the last day of September, and on the first of October, Ridley and Latimer were summoned before the delegates appointed by the cardinal. They were questioned separately as to their opinions, exhorted to return to the faith which they had abandoned, and, on their refusal, recommitted to prison, with the prospect of immediate death before them. Whilst in prison, Peter de Soto, a learned Dominican, endeavoured to shake the constancy of Ridley by argument, but failed: Latimer refused to speak to him. They were next degraded from their priestly dignity; “it being considered sufficient to do so, inasmuch as their episcopal consecration was not recognised.”

The 16th of October was the day fixed for their execution. The pyre was prepared in the old city-fosse, opposite Baliol College. “Bags of gunpowder were disposed about the persons of the victims, by the kind care of Ridley’s brother-in-law.”² And in Latimer’s case, probably, this precaution shortened the final struggle; for when the fire approached, the good old man was

¹ Soames, iv., p. 429—431.

² Ibid., p. 472.

observed to spread his arms, as if embracing the fiery visiter, and having loudly cried, 'O Father of heaven, receive my soul!' he seemed to find a speedy deliverance from the pangs of death. His companion was far from being thus favoured. At first he stood in momentary expectation of his end, repeating, both in Latin and in English, 'Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit; Lord, receive my soul!' At length, however, excruciating torments extorted from him anxious appeals to the humanity of those around him. Furze formed the basis of the pyre, and it burned at first with crackling impetuosity: above it were heaped faggots of wood, in injudicious abundance, and these long presented to the spectator's eye a dense and smouldering mass. Hence combustion struggled for a vent beneath the victim's feet, while every vital part preserved its energies unimpaired. The frightful agonies which racked his frame now forced him to cry, with thrilling importunity, 'O, for Christ's sake, let the fire come unto me.' At length, a bystander cleared away the faggots, and opened a passage for the flame. It was now seen that the victim's lower extremities were wholly consumed, while the fire had so little injured the trunk, that even his shirt on one side was not materially discoloured. A vent, however, was no sooner opened on that side, than the flames rushed fiercely upwards. The tortured martyr eagerly turned himself that way; the gunpowder immediately exploded, and he was observed to move no more. His frame supported for a while its position at the stake, and then fell amidst the heap of ashes in which it had been marked were to be sought the remains of Latimer."¹

Cranmer, from his prison, had seen the final struggle of his friends:² and soon evinced his usual weakness, and an anxiety to speak with the cardinal legate.³ It was confidently expected that he would recant, and Pole is said to have obtained a promise of pardon, in that event, from the queen.⁴ But these hopes were destroyed by the archbishop, who addressed "two letters to Mary, besides a sealed packet, with strict injunctions that it should be delivered into none other than the royal hands." The

¹ Soames, iv., p. 467—474.

² This is Heylin's account: "Cranmer was prisoner at that time in the north-gate of the city, called Bocardo, from the top whereof he beheld that most doleful spectacle; and casting himself upon his knees, he humbly beseeched the Lord to endue them with sufficient strength of faith and hope; which he also desired for himself whensoever he should act his part on that bloody theatre." Ref., p. 223. Parker, p. 511, and Bishop Godwin, Annal., p. 125, give a similar statement; but Foxe says that "Master Dr. Ridley, as he passed towards Bocardo, looked up where M. Cranmer did lie, hoping, belike, to have seen him at the glass window, and to have spoken unto him. But then Master Cranmer was busy with Friar Soto, and his fellows, disputing together, so that he could not see him through that occasion." P. 1065.

³ "Is non ita se pertinacem ostendit, atque se cupere mecum loqui." Pole to Philip, v., p. 47.

⁴ "Magnam spem initio dederat, eique veniam Polus ab ipsa regina impetraverat." Dudith, int. ep. Pol. i., p. 143.

letters impugned the papal supremacy; asserted that the Scriptures establish the necessity of a liturgy in the vernacular tongue; denounced communion in one kind, and the doctrine of transubstantiation as a doctrine unknown during the first thousand years of the church. By Mary the letters were placed in the hands of the cardinal, who replied in two letters highly valuable for the information which they contain respecting the main events of Cranmer's life.¹

At the expiration of the eighty days assigned, as a matter of form, to the archbishop to make his appearance at Rome, the royal proctors demanded judgment, and Paul pronounced the usual sentence. Cranmer again became alarmed, and, to save his life, signed seven successive instruments wherein he recanted his errors, and expressed his sorrow for his past conduct. As this portion of Cranmer's life has been very inaccurately described by the ordinary historians of his career,² it will be necessary to proceed with redoubled caution in the admission of evidence, which presents this belauded champion, and author of the new religion, as repudiating the faith which he had introduced, embracing the creed which it had been the work of his life to destroy, and this not in one instrument, but in seven distinct recantations, and finally, to all appearance, closing his career of hypocrisy with an act of duplicity which has no parallel in history.

"Other historians," says Strype,³ "speak of this archbishop's

¹ The letters on both sides may be seen in Foxe, iii., p. 563. Strype's Cranmer, app, p. 206. Le Grand, i., p. 289. Pole's second epistle is in Latin, and is preserved, though not in a complete state, among the Harleian MSS. No. 417, in the British Museum.

² As a specimen of the way in which facts injurious to the reputation of the gospels are distorted by the most eminent protestant writers, I will subjoin a few extracts from their works. "Verum illa literarum consolatoriarum consuetudine cum jam Cranmerus caruisset, irrepsit ei subdoli cujusdam fratris Hispani, qui Joannes dictus est, ex pontificiorum blanditus *tentatio* diabolica; ut proposita vitæ spe mortisque terrore, ea quæ antea de religione sensisset atque docuisset, scriptis et chirographo retractaret." *Parker*, 511. "Thomas Cranmerus, suasu falsorum fratrum inductus, terrore cruentæ legis adactus, blandis promissis illectus, post tot ac tantas dimicationes, non utraque sed altera manu, eaque vacillante articulis *quibusdam* Papticis subscripsit." J. Juelli, *vita et mors. Laur. Humfredo auctore. Lond. 1573*, p. 85, "Dies aliquot ante (mortem sc.) quum vitæ spes quædam ei facta fuisset urgentibus nonnullis, revocaveret (Cranmerus) *pleraque* doctrinæ capita, neque constantiam præstitit. *Sleidan*, 454. Camerarius relates that Cranmer was reported to have been brought from his prison at the martyrdom of Ridley and Latimer, in the hope that his constancy would give way under a spectacle so distressing. This experiment having signally failed, he was again, we are told, immured in his cell: "Ubi primum in squalore, et mox spe quadam bona, et commodis quorundam sermonibus inductus, *traditur aliquantulum vacillasse*, et nomen suum subscripsisse nescio quibus aberrantibus a simplici veritate cœlestis doctrinæ, quam ipse esset professus." Vit. Phil. Melancthon, 340. "Per Hispani cujusdam fraterculi vafritiem et assiduas suasiones labefacta viri constantia, diuturnioris vitæ cupiditas Cranmero irrepsit." *Godwin*, Annal. 126. Heylin, Burnet, and Foxe gave a similar account, and never give the reader the slightest intimation of Cranmer's complete and repeated recantations. Sir J. Mackintosh, in his history of England, has suffered himself to be disgraced by copying their insincerity.

³ Eccl. Mem., iv., p. 405.

recantation, which he made upon the incessant solicitations and temptations of the popish zealots at Oxford, which unworthy compliance he was at last prevailed with to submit to, partly by the flattery and terror suggested to him,¹ and partly by the hardship of his own strait imprisonment in Bocardo. Our writers mention only one recantation, and that Foxe hath set down wherein they follow him. But this is but an imperfect relation of this good man's frailty; I shall therefore endeavour here to set down this piece of his history more distinctly. There were several recanting writings, to which Cranmer subscribed one after another: for, after the unhappy bishop, by over-persuasion, wrote one paper with his subscription set to it, which he thought to pen so favourably and dexterously for himself, that he might evade both the danger from the state, and the danger of his conscience too, that would not serve, but another was required as explanatory of that: and when he had complied with that, yet either because writ too briefly, or too ambiguously, neither would that serve, but drew on a third, yet fuller and more expressive than the former. Nor could he escape so, but still a fourth and a fifth paper of recantation was demanded of him, to be more large and more particular; nay, and lastly, a sixth, which was very prolix, containing an acknowledgment of all the forsaken and detested errors and superstitions of Rome, an abhorrence of his own, and a vilifying of himself, as a persecutor, a blasphemer, a mischief-maker, nay, and as the wickedest wretch that lived. And this was not all, but after they had thus humbled and mortified the miserable man with recantations and subscriptions, submissions and abjurations, putting words into his mouth which his heart abhorred; by all this drudgery they would not permit him to redeem his unhappy life, but prepared him a renunciatory oration to pronounce publicly in St. Mary's church, immediately before he was to be led forth to burning."²

His first recantation, which was addressed to the council, was worded as follows:³ "For as much as the king's and queen's majesties, by consent of their Parliament, have received the Pope's authority within this realm, I am content to submit myself to their laws herein, and to take the Pope for the chief

¹ Even this wretched apology, which is dwelt upon so earnestly by Burnet and similar writers, is destitute of evidence, or rather is directly contradicted by Cranmer's own declaration at the stake. Had he been over-persuaded by his friends, or his hopes and fears worked upon by royal agents, he would not have omitted to mention it; but he distinctly stated that his recantations proceeded from his wish to save his life. "I renounce and refuse them, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart; and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be." Strype, iii., p. 237.

² Strype, *Eccl. Mem.*, vol. iv., c. 30, p. 405, 406.

³ "It is evident that the saving clause in this concession reduces it to little or nothing in effect. It must, however, have been subscribed, if it were subscribed at all, with a disingenuous intent." Soames, iv., p. 517. Strype, iv., p. 408.

head of this church of England, so far as God's laws, and the laws and customs of this realm will permit. THOMAS CRANMER."

This instrument was rejected as a gross attempt at deception, and was, accordingly, followed by another, in which, without any reservation, he acknowledges the papal supremacy, and designates the church over which he presided as the Catholic church of Christ. "I, Thomas Cranmer, doctor in divinity, do submit myself to the Catholic church of Christ, and unto the Pope, supreme head of the same church, and to the king's and queen's majesties, and unto all their laws and ordinances.

THOMAS CRANMER."¹

Notwithstanding these submissions, a commission was issued empowering Bonner, Bishop of London, and Thirlby of Ely, to proceed to the degradation of the unhappy prelate. This ceremony was performed on the 14th of February, in the choir of Christchurch. "As the first step in the formal degradation, an attempt was made to take from Cranmer's hands the simulated crosier. But the archbishop held it fast, and refused to deliver it. He then drew from his sleeve a written appeal to the next free general council, assembled in a secure place, and he desired several of the by-standers by name, to witness this act."² But even this show of resolution was soon put off; for before the prelates left Oxford, he forwarded to them two papers, in the first of which he promises obedience to their majesties, in all things, and especially concerning the Pope's supremacy, promises to excite others to a similar obedience, and submits his book on the sacrament to the judgment of the Catholic church, and of the next general council.³ In the second, he declares that he believes all the articles of religion, and mentions especially the sacraments, as they were then believed, and had always from the beginning been believed by the Catholic church.⁴

¹ Strype, l. c.

² Soames, iv., p. 509.

³ "I am content to submit myself to the king's and queen's majesties, and to all their laws and ordinances, as well concerning the Pope's supremacy, as others. And I shall from time to time move and stir all others to do the like to the uttermost of my power, and to live in quietness and obedience unto their majesties most humbly, without murmur or grudging against any of their godly proceedings. And for my book which I have written, I am content to submit me to the judgment of the Catholic church, and of the next general council,

THOMAS CRANMER."

Strype, Eccl. Mem., vol. iv., p. 408.

⁴ "Be it known by these presents, that I, Thomas Cranmer, doctor of divinity, and late Archbishop of Canterbury, do firmly, steadfastly, and assuredly believe in all articles and points of the Christian religion and Catholic faith, as the Catholic church doth believe, and hath ever believed from the beginning. Moreover, as concerning the sacraments of the church, I believe unfeignedly in all points as the said Catholic church doth, and hath believed from the beginning of Christian religion. In witness whereof I have humbly subscribed my hand unto these presents, the xvth day of February, MDLV.

THOMAS CRANMER."

Strype, Ibid., p. 407. This form of recantation Strype conjectures was proposed by Bonner, Ibid., l. c. The above four papers are omitted by the usual historians of the Reformation, Foxe, Burnet, Heylin, &c., but are found in Strype, from a very scarce tract published immediately after Cranmer's death, with the following title: "All the

Cranmer had not openly asked for his life, though it was well understood to what all his recantations tended. He, no doubt, flattered himself that, as in all previous cases, and lately in those of Ridley and Latimer, offers of pardon had been reiterated as the reward of sacrificing their opinions, his voluntary submission would atone, in the eyes of the queen and court, for his past conduct. But in this he deceived himself. By some historians it is pretended that Mary never forgave him the injury which he had inflicted on her mother; by others, not this crime only, but accumulated perjuries, and treasons, and above all, the evils he had produced and the increased responsibility attached to him, as author of the schism under Henry, and of the change of religion under Edward, decided the council, before whom the question was discussed, that he deserved no mercy, and that his offences required that he should suffer "for ensample's sake." His repentance might, it was said, benefit his own soul, and his example undeceive some of the many that had been led by his apostasy into error; but to him, his subserviency and advice, were to be traced the evils that had befallen the nation during the two last reigns; in his regard, therefore, justice required that the law should take its course. Accordingly, on the 24th of February, a writ was issued to the municipal authorities of Oxford, directing them to proceed to his execution. But though the day was fixed, Cranmer still cherished hopes of pardon. To move, if possible, the pity of his judges, he prepared a fifth recantation, far more explicit than any of the preceding, comprising a summary of the leading articles rejected by his instrumentality under Edward. He professes his belief in one holy catholic and visible church; renounces the heresies of Luther and Zuinglius; asserts that there are seven sacraments, the existence of purgatory and the usefulness of prayers for the dead; and calls God to witness, that he "had not done this for favour, or fear of any person, but willingly and of his own mind, as well to the discharge of his own conscience, as to the instruction of others."² This paper was accompanied by a letter to Cardinal Pole, in which Cranmer prayed

Submyssyons and Recantations of Thomas Cranmer, late Archebishop of Canterburye, truly set forth both in Latyn and Englysh, agreeable to the originales, written and subscribed with his own hands. *Visum et examinatum per reverendum Patrem et Dominum Edmundum Episcopum Londinensem.*"

¹ Burnet, iii., p. 503. Heylin, p. 55.

² "I, Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, do renounce, abhor, and detest all manner of heresies and errors of Luther and Zuinglius, and all other teachings which be contrary to sound and true doctrines. And I believe most constantly in my heart, and with my mouth I confess one holy and catholic church, visible, without which there is no salvation, and thereof I acknowledge the Bishop of Rome to be supreme head in earth, whom I acknowledge to be the highest bishop and Pope, and Christ's vicar, unto whom all Christian people ought to be subject.

"And as concerning the sacraments, I believe and worship in the sacrament of the altar the very body and blood of Christ; being contained most truly under the forms of bread and wine; the bread, through the mighty power of God, being turned into the body of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, and the wine into his blood.

that his execution might be delayed a few days, that he might execute an intention with which God had inspired him.¹ The queen readily and gladly acceded to his request, and Cranmer produced a sixth submission, in which he declares his manifold sins against heaven, the English realm, and the universal church; asserts that, like Paul, he had persecuted the church of God, and wishes that, with Paul, he might be able to make amends for his evil deeds. Might it be his lot, like the penitent thief on the cross, now in his last moments, by his repentance, to obtain a similar pardon from the Almighty. He acknowledged himself to have sinned against God, nay, that he was the greatest of sinners; by him had Henry VIII. been injured, and especially Catherine his wife, he having been the cause and author of the divorce; whence arose all the evils that had afflicted this realm and church; the deaths of so many eminent and innocent men; the schism, the heresies, and the destruction of so many souls, that he stood terrified at the recollection. He had been the great leader and teacher of heresy; but, above all, he lamented his blasphemies against the blessed sacrament. For these his offences he besought the mercy of Christ, and the pardon of the universal church, that they would take pity on his wretched soul.² He had flattered

"And in the six sacraments, like as in this, I believe and hold as the universal church holdeth, and the church of Rome judgeth and determineth.

"Furthermore, I believe that there is a place of purgatory, where souls departed be punished for a time, for whom the church doth godly and wholesomely pray; like as it doth honour saints, and make prayers to them.

"Finally, in all things I profess, that I do not otherwise believe than the Catholic Church and the church of Rome holdeth and teacheth. I am sorry that ever I held or thought otherwise. And I beseech almighty God, that of his mercy he will vouchsafe to forgive me whatsoever I have offended against God, or his church, and also I desire and beseech all Christian people to pray for me.

"And all such as have been deceived either by mine example or doctrine, I require them by the blood of Jesus Christ, that they will return to the unity of the church, that we may be all of one mind, without schism or division.

"And to conclude, as I submit myself to the Catholic Church of Christ, and to the supreme head thereof, so I submit myself unto the most excellent majesties of Philip and Mary, king and queen of this realm of England, &c., and to all their laws and ordinances, being ready always as a faithful subject ever to obey them. And God is my witness, that I have not done this for favour, or fear of any person, but willingly and of mine own mind, as well to the discharge of mine own conscience, as to the instruction of others." The original of the above is in Latin; the translation is from Foxe, 1710.

¹ "Il envoya prier M. le cardinal Polus de differer pur quelques jours son execution, esperant que Dieu l'inspireroit cependant." Noailles, v., p. 319.

² "I, Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, confess and grieve from my heart that I have most grievously sinned against heaven, and the English realm; yea against the universal church of Christ; which I have more cruelly persecuted than Paul did of old; who have been a blasphemer, a persecutor, and contumelious. And I wish that I, who have exceeded Saul in malice and wickedness, might with Paul make amends for the honour which I have detracted from Christ, and the benefit of which I have deprived the church. But yet that thief in the gospel comforts my mind. For then at last he repented from his heart, then it irked him of his theft, when he might steal no more. And I, who, abusing my office and authority, purloined Christ of his honour, and the realm of faith and religion; now by the great mercy of God returned to myself, acknowledge myself the greatest of all sinners, and to every one as well as I can, to God first, then to the church

himself that the apparent zeal of his conversion, the humility of his submission, and these cries of mercy would move the heart of the queen; but though she rejoiced at his expressions of sorrow, the decision of the council was unreversed. Though he had returned to the fold of Christ, he had been a traitor, and must abide the penalty, which even he could not deny to have been merited by his political offences.

and its supreme head, and to the king and queen, and lastly to the realm of England, to render worthy satisfaction. But as that happy thief, when he was not able to pay the money and wealth which he had taken away, when neither his feet nor his hands, fastened to the cross, could do their office; by heart only and tongue, which were not bound, he testified what the rest of his members would do, if they enjoyed the same liberty that his tongue did; by that he confessed Christ to be innocent; by that he repented the impudence of his fellow; by that he detested his former life, and obtained the pardon of his sins; and, as it were by a kind of key, opened the gates of paradise: by the example of this man, I do conceive no small hopes of Christ's mercy, that he will pardon my sins. I want hands and feet by which I might build up again that which I have destroyed, for the lips of my mouth are only left me. But he will receive the calves of our lips, who is merciful beyond all belief. By this hope conceived, therefore, I chuse to offer this calf, to sacrifice this very small part of my body and life.

"I confess, in the first place, my unthankfulness against the great God; I acknowledge myself unworthy of all favour and pity, but most worthy, not only of human and temporal, but divine and eternal punishment. That I exceedingly offended against King Henry VIII., and especially against Queen Catherine his wife, when I was the cause and author of the divorce. Which fault indeed was the seminary of all the evils and calamities of this realm. Hence so many slaughters of good men; hence the schism of the whole kingdom; hence heresies; hence the destruction of so many souls and bodies sprang, that I can scarce comprehend with reason. But when these are so great beginnings of grief, I acknowledge I opened a great window to all heresies; whereof myself acted the chief doctor and leader. But first of all, that most vehemently torments my mind, that I affected the holy sacrament of the eucharist with so many blasphemies and reproaches: denying Christ's body and blood to be truly and really contained under the species of bread and wine. By setting forth also books, I did impugn the truth with all my might. In this respect, indeed, not only worse than Saul, and the thief, but the most wicked of all which the earth ever bore. 'Lord, I have sinned against heaven and before thee.' Against heaven, which I am the cause, it hath been deprived of so many saints; denying most impudently that heavenly benefit exhibited to us. And I have sinned against the earth, which so long hath miserably wanted this sacrament; against men whom I have called from this supersubstantial morsel; the slayer of so many men as have perished for want of food. I have defrauded the souls of the dead of this daily and most celebrious sacrifice.

"And from all these things it is manifest, how greatly after Christ I have been injurious to his vicar, whom I have deprived of his power by books set forth; wherefore I do most earnestly and ardently beseech the Pope, that he, for the mercy of Christ, forgive me the things I have committed against him and the apostolic see. And I most humbly beseech the most serene kings of England, Spain, &c., Philip and Mary, that by their royal mercy they would pardon me; I ask and beseech the whole realm, yea, the universal church, that they take pity of this wretched soul; to whom, besides a tongue, nothing is left, whereby to make amends for the injuries and damages I have brought in. But especially because against thee only have I sinned, I beseech thee, most merciful Father, who desirest and commandest all to come to thee, however wicked, vouchsafe to look upon me neerly, and under thy hand, as thou lookedst upon Magdalen and Peter; or certainly, as thou, looking upon the thief on the cross, didst vouchsafe by the promise of thy grace and glory, to comfort a fearful and trembling mind; so, by thy wonted and natural pity, turn the eyes of thy mercy to me, and vouchsafe me worthy to have that word of thine spoken to me, 'I am thy salvation;' and in the day of death, 'To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise.'

"Written this year of our Lord 1555, in the 18th day of the month of March."

THOMAS CRANMER."

The fatal morning fixed for his execution at length arrived. The unhappy prelate clung to hope to the last. De Villa Garcia, who had frequently visited him in prison, came to prepare him for the final trial. The friar, having no suspicion of Cranmer's sincerity, recommended to him, as some further atonement of his past guilt, to transcribe a paper which he had brought with him, and to read it publicly before his execution. Cranmer copied the proffered document,¹ which consisted of a request to the spectators to pray for him; a form of prayer for himself; an exhortation to a virtuous life; an acknowledgment of the queen's right to the crown; and a declaration of his belief in the articles of the Catholic faith, in the tenets "explicate and set forth in the great councils," and a recognition of the authority of the Scriptures; with an expression of his grief on account of having published erroneous doctrine in books, especially as to the sacrament of the altar; a renunciation of the doctrines inculcated in such books, together with a warning against them, and a brief assertion of the real presence in the eucharist. De Villa Garcia carried with him a copy of this paper; but no sooner had Cranmer been left alone, than he seems to have prepared another instrument, to be used in case his hopes of pardon should prove vain. In this paper, he omitted all recognition of the queen's right to the crown; and instead of the confession of faith previously copied, substituted another, disavowing his recantations as written through the fear of death.² Thus he was doubly armed; if all the prepara-

¹ Strype, iv., p. 413. Soames, iv., p. 530.

² Strype has presented, in opposite columns, the two contradictory confessions.

Original Confession of Faith.

"First, I believe in God the father, &c. And I believe every article of the Catholic faith; every clause, word, and sentence taught by our Saviour Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the New and Old Testament, and all articles explicate and set forth in the great councils.

"And now I am come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience, more than any other thing that ever I did; and that is the setting abroad untrue books and writings, contrary to the truth of God's word; which now I renounce and condemn, and refuse them utterly as erroneous, and for none of mine. But you must know also what books they were, that you may beware of them, or else my conscience is not discharged; for they be the books which I wrote against the sacrament of the altar since the death of King Henry VIII. But whatsoever I wrote then, now is time and place to say truth; wherefore, renouncing all those books, and whatsoever in them is contained, I say and believe that our Saviour Jesus Christ is

Confession of Faith as made by Cranmer.

"First, I believe in God the father, &c. And I believe every article of the Catholic faith, every clause, word, and sentence taught by our Saviour Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the New and Old Testament.

"And now I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience, more than any other thing that ever I did or said in my whole life; and that is, the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth; which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart; and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be. And that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation; wherein I have written many things untrue. And for as much as my hand offended contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefor. For may I come to the fire, it shall be first burnt. And as for the Pope, I refuse him

tions for death were but to alarm him, and a pardon was granted, the form prepared for him by Garcia would be ready; but if all his hypocrisy and humiliation availed him nothing, he could, by reading the altered copy, disappoint his enemies, and receive, from the gratitude of the gospellers, the applause due to an appearance of constancy and repentance. In this state of fearful uncertainty, and calculating hypocrisy, did Cranmer leave his prison to go forth to execution. The copy prepared and altered by himself he secreted in his bosom.¹

The place fixed for the last struggle was the same as that in which Ridley and Latimer perished. The weather proving rainy, the usual sermon was preached in St. Mary's church.² The archbishop was led to a platform facing the pulpit. An eyewitness thus describes his appearance and demeanour during the sermon. "I shall not need to describe his behaviour for the time of the sermon; his sorrowful countenance, his face bedewed with tears, sometimes lifting his eyes to heaven in hope, sometimes casting them down to earth for shame; an image of sorrow."³ "The sermon being concluded, Cole entreated his hearers to pray for the prisoner. Immediately the whole congregation obeyed the call, and never did a large assembly exhibit more evident marks of earnest devotion." They that hated him before, now loved him for his conversion and hope of continuance. They that loved him before, could not suddenly hate him, having hope of his confession again of his fall. So love and hope increased devotion on every side."⁴ Cranmer then, rising from his knees, proceeded to read from a paper which was listened to in profound silence until he came to the confession of his faith, in which he recalled his former recantations. Then murmurs arose on every side, and Lord Williams, who presided at the execution, "exhorted him to remember himself and play the Christian." "I do so," was the reply, "for now I speak the truth." "Then he was carried away. Coming to the stake with a cheerful countenance and willing mind, he put off his garments with haste and stood upright in his shirt. He declared that he repented his recantation right sore, whereupon the Lord Williams cried, 'Make

really and substantially contained in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine."

as Christ's enemy, and antichrist, with all his false doctrine. And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the Bishop of Winchester.

The which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine, contrary thereto, shall be ashamed to show her face." Eccl. Mem., vol. iv., p. 413—415.

¹ Foxe, p. 1711.

² The following passage of Cole's sermon deserves some attention, as indicating that Cranmer was executed not on account of his past religious opinions only; "There are other reasons which have moved the queen and council to order the execution of the individual present, but which are not meet and convenient for every man's understanding."

³ Letter from an eyewitness, quoted by Strype, Mem. Cranmer, p. 552. Soames, iv., p. 542.

short, make short.' Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand and thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good space before the fire came to any other part of his body, where his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning, crying with a loud voice, 'This hand hath offended.'"¹ His sufferings were not protracted; the flames rapidly encircled him, and in a few minutes terminated his eventful career. The details of his public life, and his claims to honour or infamy are before you. His death has, probably, surrounded his memory with a halo of glory, which might not have attached to him had his cries for life been attended to. And yet, if there be grounds for believing, that neither religion, nor conscience, nor any thing was too holy or dear to be sacrificed to escape the flames, we may abhor the cruelty of his persecutors, without admiring the unwilling and extorted heroism of their victim. If he suffered for what his judges deemed heresy, or rather for having held heretical tenets, since he had pretended to abjure the obnoxious opinions, every Christian must lament and execrate the misguided and frenzied zeal which might make hypocrites but not converts, where the offender had not the courage or enthusiasm to face death; but it may be doubted whether early Christianity would have acknowledged, or crowned as her martyr, the man that abjured his faith in seven distinct recantations, and, even when led to the stake, seems to have been prepared, at the slightest intimation of mercy, to repeat his recantations, and apostatize from the faith for which he died. Martyrdom at best is not a mark of truth; and if it lose its real merit, that of attesting the sincerity of the individual's faith, it becomes a mere scene of savage murder on the one hand, and of some of the lowest passions of our nature on the other.

"The persecution continued at intervals until the queen's death. At times the inhuman work was suffered to languish, and upon one occasion every prisoner was discharged on the easy condition of taking an oath to be true to God and the queen.² The renewal of the intolerant commissions to consume fresh victims in every instance proceeded from the crown.³ It is no easy task to ascertain the exact number that perished for conscience' sake. By some writers the amount is grossly exaggerated; by less violent but still determined partisans, eager to fill up the measure of iniquity to the utmost, the amount is fixed at between two and three hundred; a sad list, indeed, sufficient to make the bigot of every creed shudder at the effects of an intolerant spirit; but a weight of blood which is scarcely more than the dust in the balance when compared with the victims of that murderous code which for a space of two hundred years decimated, nay, almost

¹ From the letter quoted above.

² Strype, iii., p. 307.

³ The commissions are worded much in the same manner as those which had been issued by Edward, and were subsequently published under Elizabeth.

exterminated the Catholics. The very priests massacred by Elizabeth alone, equal, or outnumber, the whole of the victims¹ under Mary.

Before passing from these fearful scenes, it is but justice to the Catholic prelates of that age, to record their moderation. Possibly you may have heard the principles of persecution represented as an acknowledged or established portion of the Catholic belief or practice. Learn that wherever mercy interfered to turn aside the bloody sword, the Catholic prelate has the merit and the glory; whilst in the instances in which they took a share in the cruelties, it was not as originators and advisers, but as the instruments, and as far as we have evidence to guide us, the unwilling instruments of hard-hearted politicians, who seem to have resolved to suppress the opposition, and to break the power of a formidable party, by persecuting them as heretics. "Of fourteen bishoprics, the Catholic prelates used their influence so successfully as altogether to prevent bloodshed in nine, and to reduce it within limits in the remaining five. Justice to Gardiner requires it to be mentioned that his diocese was of the bloodless class."² These

¹ I will subjoin a few of the lists given by the usual Protestant authorities. Burnet's table is as follows:

In 1555 were burnt	72
1556	94
1557	79
1558 from Feb. to Sept.	39
	<hr/>
	284

Strype, in his *Ecclesiastical Mem.*, vol. iv., p. 554, gives the following list:

In 1555 were burnt	71
1556	89
1557	88
1558	40
	<hr/>
	288

By Cooper, those who perished are estimated at about 290. Speed calculates them at 274. I will add the opinion of a weak, but violent and unscrupulous writer, whose work I have often referred to. "Altogether, not fewer than two hundred and eighty-eight individuals appear to have perished at the stake during the time in which the country was abandoned to her unrelenting fanaticism: a period short of four years." Soames, vol. iv., p. 587. By Dr. Lingard, the number of victims, "after having expunged the names of all who were condemned as felons or traitors, or who died peaceably in their beds, or who survived the publication of their martyrdom, or who would for their heterodoxy have been sent to the stake by the reformed prelates themselves, had they been in possession of the power," is computed at "almost two hundred." *Hist. of Engl.*, vol. vii., p. 285, 8vo.

² Mackintosh, *Hist. of Engl.*, vol. ii., p. 328. Heylin, from whom the above acknowledgment seems taken, gives the following account: "In all the province of York, I find none brought unto the stake but George March of Chester, condemned thereto by Bishop Coles; and not much more to have been done in the four Welch diocesses; in which, besides the burning of Bishop Ferrar at Carmarthen by Bishop Morgan; and of Rawlins and White at Cardiff by Bishop Kitching, no extraordinary cruelty

facts prove that the church was more merciful than the state, or rather that the persecution was an instrument of oppression and death in the hands of politicians wielded against political opponents. Whether Mary, in giving her consent to the councils of her advisers, was swayed by motives of mistaken zeal or policy, there is no evidence to show. Possibly, having been brought up in the bitter school of suffering, and tutored by the gospellers both practically and by argument into intolerance, she may have credited Cranmer's application of the law addressed to the youthful Edward, that "as Moses ordered blasphemers to be put to death, so it was the duty of a Christian prince, and more so of one, who bore the title of defender of the faith, to eradicate the cockle from the field of God's church, to cut out the gangrene, that it might not spread to the sounder parts."¹ That she was not naturally of an unforgiving temper is evident from the mercy which she extended towards the traitors that had deprived her for a time of her throne; and we shall soon see that as her brother, so had her sister Elizabeth imbibed all the fierce intolerance of Cranmer and the gospellers.² As a characteristic of the times, it must not be omitted, that not one single individual of rank, wealth, or importance, perished at the stake. The whole body of the nobility and gentry conformed to the ancient creed; and very few indeed of the reformed clergy vindicated their attachment to, or sincerity in, the new religion by periling their lives. Most returned to the ancient faith; a few perished at the stake, whilst others sought an asylum in foreign lands. But as à Lasco's congregation had been forced to wander from land to land, rejected by the Protestant sects from which they differed, so did the English exiles find as fierce a hostility abroad as that from which they had fled. The Lutheran Protestants refused to receive them, because they were heretics who denied the bodily presence in the sacrament, and denounced their martyrs as sufferers, not for truth and God, but for heresy and Satan.³ By the disciples of Calvin and Zuinglius they were welcomed. It is foreign from my purpose to follow their fortunes into a foreign land: suffice it to say that they divided and subdivided into almost endless parties: prosecuted each other with relentless hostility, carrying their hatred so far as to denounce each other to the lay authorities, as maintaining opinions deserving of civil interference; and some of them, as Knox, disgracing their cause by the publication of libels the most atrocious, and of revolutionary

seems to have been acted. In the diocesses of Exeter, Wells, Peterborough, and Lincoln, (though this last the greatest in the kingdome,) I find mention but of one apiece; of two in that of Ely, and of no more than three apiece at Bristol and Salisbury. In those of Oxon, Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford, I find none at all." Heylin, *Hist. of Queen Mary*, p. 56, 57.

¹ Rhym., p. 128—250.

² *Ibid.*, xv., p. 640.

³ *Vociferantem martyres Anglicos esse martyras diaboli.* Melancthon, ap. Heylin, p. 250.

writings subversive of every principle of government.¹ To the archiepiscopal see which had been vacant, ever since Cranmer's degradation, Pole succeeded. We have already vindicated the memory of this prelate from the guilt of having shared in the persecution. The moment he had been appointed to the see of Canterbury, all severities ceased in his diocese; but he applied himself to the reformation of such abuses as had crept amongst the clergy, and into ecclesiastical discipline.² I return, however, to this fact, as clearing the court of Rome from imputations which ignorance or malice have flung upon it, as having advised the persecution.

It is now time to pass from these scenes, to the remaining events of this reign, connected with the history of the church.

On the 21st of October, 1555, Parliament had assembled. It was principally remarkable for the restoration, by Mary, to the church, of the ecclesiastical property and the first-fruits and tenths which had been vested, during the schism, in the crown. She had renounced the supremacy: how then could she retain the property and claims which had been considered as attached to that title? In vain did her advisers represent the poverty of the crown; she replied that "she valued the salvation of her soul more than ten kingdoms; she thought they were taken away in the time of schism, and by unlawful means, therefore she could not keep them with a good conscience."³ That this act of the queen might not be construed into a censure on the conduct of others, or as intended to point the way to a general restitution of church-property, a papal bull was read to the assembled Parliament, in which the arrangements made by the cardinal legate were confirmed, and the fears which had been excited by the appearance of another bull directed to Germany, were allayed by an explanation that its provisions were not intended to affect the settlement of ecclesiastical property in England. The management of this business was intrusted to the ability of Gardiner, who is said to have conducted it with a skill and eloquence even remarkable in him. This was the last effort of this illustrious and extraordinary man. His health, which had for some time been gradually declining, gave way under the effort he was called upon to make, and having lingered three weeks, he expired. In him Mary lost the most able and experienced of her advisers. During his illness he edified all around him by the piety of his demeanour, and the sincerity of his repentance; often repeating, "I have sinned with Peter, but have not yet learned to weep bitterly with Peter."⁴ The queen was deeply sensible of her

¹ See a brief account of their dissensions and proceedings, in Heylin, *Hist. of Queen Mary*, p. 59—64.

² Whilst he was on his death-bed, five persons, who had been condemned for heresy four months previously, suffered at the stake. But the cardinal was probably ignorant of their fate.

³ Burnet, vol. ii., p. 384.

⁴ Wardword, p. 48.

loss, and soon evinced her respect for his ability and address, by declining to delegate the task of carrying into effect her restitution of church-property, into any other hands. Accordingly, she summoned a deputation from both Houses; explained to them her wish, and the reasons for her sacrifice. In the Lords, the bill passed with only two dissentient voices; in the Commons greater opposition was raised, but the bill at length passed by a majority of 193 to 126. This concession restored to the church the tithes and first-fruits, the rectories, benefices appropriate, glebe lands, and tithes annexed to the crown, since the twentieth of Henry VIII.; calculated to produce a yearly revenue of about £60,000. The disposal of this mass of property was assigned to the legate, for the augmentation of small livings, the support of preachers, and the furnishing of exhibitions to scholars in the universities; but subject, at the same time, to all the pensions and corrodiess with which it had been previously encumbered.¹

The convocation had assembled, as usual, at the same time as the Parliament. "Pole obtained from the queen, on the 2d of November, a warrant under the great seal, giving him license to hold a synod. The license he had formerly taken out is made mention of; and to avoid all ambiguities which might arise from the laws or prerogatives of the crown, she authorized him to call that, or any other synod after, and to decree what canons he should think fit; she also authorized the clergy to meet, consent to and obey those canons, without any danger of the law. This was thought safe on both sides; both for preserving the rights of the crown, and securing the clergy from being afterwards brought within the statute of *præmunire*, as they had been upon their acknowledging Cardinal Wolsey's legatine power. To this convocation Pole proposed a book to be prepared, which was afterwards printed with the title of 'The reformation of England by the decree of Cardinal Pole,' and is now put into the volumes of the councils."² The regulations principally regarded the discipline of the church; they enacted that "a remembrance of the reconciliation now made with Rome should be made in every mass;" "they set forth the Catholic faith, in the words of that exposition of it which Pope Eugenius sent from the council of Florence to those of Armenia;" enacted laws for the "careful administering and preserving of the sacraments, and for the putting away of all feasting in the festivities of the dedication of churches;" the residence of the bishops in their respective dioceses, was enforced under the severest pains; "their canons are also required to reside, and also other clergymen. All pluralities of benefice with cure are simply condemned: and those who had more benefices with cure, were required within two months to resign all but one; otherwise it was to be declared that they had forfeited them all." The bishops were required to preach every

¹ Stat. iv., p. 275.

² Burnet, Ref., ii., p. 508.

Sunday or holiday, or "if they were disabled, to find other fit persons to do it." The prelates were exhorted to be plain at their table and in their dress; to cause the Scriptures, or other good books, to be read aloud during the time of meals, and, that "their parsimony might appear not to flow from avarice, they were to lay out the rest of their revenues on the poor, and for breeding young scholars, and other works of piety." Great care was to be taken in the examination of such as presented themselves for ordination, a task not to be delegated to others, but to be performed by the bishops in person; laws were enacted against simony, against the alienation of ecclesiastical property; and it was provided "that in every cathedral there should be a seminary for supplying the diocese; of whom two ranks were to be made, the one of those who learned grammar; the other, of those who were grown up and were to be ordained acolyths; and these were to be trained up in study and virtue, till they were fit to serve in the church. And a tax of the fourth penny was laid on the clergy for their maintenance."¹ "There was nothing material or considerable in all the rest, but what hath been in use and practice by all the archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical judges in the Church of England, since the first and best times of Queen Elizabeth, all of them seeming to have taken their pattern from the reverend prelate's, and to have preceded themselves by the articles of his visitation."²

About the same period a few of the suppressed monasteries were restored. "The Franciscan observants were established in their old quarters at Greenwich; a house was provided in Smithfield for a society of Dominicans; a Carthusian convent was founded at Sheen; one of Brigittine's at Sion; in the Abbey of Westminster was once more seated a community of Benedictines; and the Hospitallers recovered their former abode on the northern edge of London."³

For some time the queen's government had been undisturbed by any of those galling and alarming plots and insurrections, by which the gossellers had thought to deprive her of her crown, and to restore the ascendancy of their faith. But the interests of the French king having led him to welcome a large body of malcontents, it was resolved, assisted by the intrigues of the French ambassador, to unite the Protestant party in England, and to make one more effort to subvert the throne and the established religion. The management of the enterprise was intrusted to Sir Henry Dudley, who was in the pay of the French king. The plot when matured was abandoned by France, in consequence of a truce which had been entered into with Philip. Some of the more needy and rash amongst the conspirators resolved to proceed with the enterprise, but their plans were frustrated by the

¹ In the above extracts I have followed Burnet, vol. ii., p. 509—511.

² Heylin, p. 69.

³ Soames, iv., p. 571.

treachery of an accomplice. Some paid the penalty of their treachery with their lives; others fled to France. The Lord Clinton, who had been deputed to Henry to congratulate him on the truce, demanded the fugitives, "as traitors, heretics and outlaws," but the French king contrived to elude the request. Amongst the prisoners were two officers of the Lady Elizabeth's household, from whose confessions much was elicited to implicate the princess; but it was the interest of Philip, now that all hopes had vanished of issue by the queen, to prevent too rigid an inquiry, lest her condemnation might strengthen the power of France, by placing the young Queen of Scots, the wife of the dauphin, next in succession to the throne.¹

The fugitives, in a few weeks, made another attempt under the direction of a young man, of the name of Cleobury, who resembled in features the Earl of Devon. A landing was effected on the coast of Sussex; they proclaimed "the Lady Elizabeth queen, and her beloved bedfellow, Lord Edward Courtenay, king." But the attempt met with no support; Cleobury was arrested, and executed at Bury.² Whether from fear or guilt, Elizabeth resolved to seek an asylum in France, but was with difficulty persuaded by the French monarch not to risk her future prospects by so hazardous a step.³

But a more formidable trial awaited her. Henry of France had found or fancied it his interest to violate the truce. He had formed a league with the Pope, whose hostility to the Spaniard was well known, with a determination of separating the kingdom of Naples from the Austrian, and adding it to the French crown. The services of Dudley were again called upon to foment discontent and revolt in England; and a clandestine correspondence was entered into with a body of gossellers resident in Calais and the neighbourhood, the fruits of which were an arrangement to betray the important fortresses of Hammes and Guienes into the hands of the French.⁴ But a spy, in the pay of the English government, gave timely information, and the treachery was prevented. Notwithstanding this failure, "Thomas Stafford, a descendant of the house of Buckingham, landed from France, and possessed himself of Scarborough castle, which he retained only two days. He and his small band were made prisoners by the Earl of Westmoreland, who sent them to London, where, on the 26th of May, he was beheaded on Tower-hill, and three of his adherents were hanged at Tyburn."⁵ It is due to the loyalty of the reformers in England to record, that they shrunk not from

¹ From the following passage in Noailles's instructions, after the truce, the guilt of Elizabeth seems undeniable: "et surtout eviter que madame Elizabeth ne se remue en sorte du monde pour entreprendre ce que m'escrivez; car ce seroit tout gater et perdre le fruit qu'ilz peulvent attendre de leurs dessings, qu'il est besiogn traicter et mesner a la longue." P. 299.

² Gage's Hengrave, p. 158.

⁴ Strype, iii., p. 358.

³ Noailles, i., p. 384.

⁵ Mackintosh, vol. ii., p. 336.

lending their aid in the ensuing war with France; an act of loyalty which drew upon them the maledictions of the exiled gossellers. Bishop Goodman, in his treatise "How to obey or disobey," thus expostulated "with those that are called gossellers, and yet have armed themselves against the gossellers to please Jezebel; Is this the love that ye bear to the word of God, O ye gossellers? Have ye been so taught in the gospel, to be wilful murderers of yourselves, and others abroad, rather than lawful defenders of God's people and your country at home?"¹

To these troubles at home, and war abroad, was added the annoyance of a contest with the papal court. The Pontiff, in consequence of certain ecclesiastical regulations introduced into the states subject to Philip, issued a decree for the revocation of all legates and nuncios residing in the territories of that monarch. At the representation of Carne, the English ambassador, the Pontiff was induced so far to modify his intentions as to promise that no regular intimation of his revocation should be communicated to Pole.² A letter of remonstrance was addressed to the Pope by Philip and Mary. Similar expostulations were made by the council, the prelates, and the nobility. "All these pieces represent the legate's conduct in very advantageous colours, and press upon his holiness the expediency of proceeding with great caution in the management of a country so recently and imperfectly recovered for his see as England." Paul took a middle course; deprived Pole of his faculties as legate *de latere*, and appointed in his room Peyto, the Franciscan friar who had so boldly denounced the conduct of Henry VIII., and now, in his eightieth year, the confessor to the queen. But Mary, anxious as she had proved herself to restore to the Pope his lawful supremacy, did not hesitate to adopt the usual expedients to prevent the introduction of a legate in opposition to her wishes. The papal messengers were arrested at Calais; their papers seized, and either suppressed or destroyed. Thus neither did Pole receive any official revocation of his powers, nor Peyto of his elevation to the legatine dignity. But Pole declined, under these circumstances, to discharge the functions of his high office; he no longer allowed the silver cross to be borne before him, and ceased to act as papal representative. He sent, moreover, his friend Ormaneto to Rome, as an apologist for his conduct. He arrived at a favourable moment; the papal troops had been defeated in Italy; the battle of St. Quintin had humbled the French arms; events which induced Paul gladly to sign a treaty of peace with Philip. After another vain attempt to recall Pole to Rome, the business was suffered to remain unsettled, and this perplexing struggle was terminated, in a few months, by the deaths of all the parties concerned.³

¹ Strype, iii., p. 441.

² Burnet, ii., p. 553.

³ Soames, iv., p. 582—585. Pole's ep. v., p. 27, 31, 36, 144. Strype, iii., rec. p. 231.

We are now arrived at the closing page of this eventful history. The health of the queen had long gradually declined; the loss of Calais overwhelmed her with grief, and aggravated the symptoms of her disorder. "She died of dropsy, of which the earlier attacks had probably excited her illusive hopes of offspring. When on the point of death she said, 'If you open me, you will find Calais written on my heart.'"¹

Her piety and resignation edified all around her, and were the fruits that were to be expected from her life of undeviating charity and religion. Her chief anxiety was for the stability of the faith which she had restored, and, in her last moments, she implored of the Lady Elizabeth to remain steadfast in the faith to which she had conformed. To that request the princess replied that she could only renew the same protestations that she had so often made and confirmed by oath; and "she prayed God that the earth might open and swallow her up alive, if she were not a true Roman Catholic."² Mary then sent her the jewels in her possession, with three requests, through one of her maids of honour, that she would be good to her servants, discharge the sums borrowed on privy-seals, and support the established church. On the morning of her death, mass was celebrated in her chamber; she expired, in the perfect possession of her senses, before it was concluded. Pole survived his royal mistress but a few hours, and Elizabeth, the moment she was informed of his decease, sent the Earl of Rutland and Throckmorton to seize his effects for the crown.³ Mary had reached her forty-second, Pole his fifty-sixth year.

The public character of Mary may be gathered from the preceding history. Her private virtues and personal acquirements have won her the admiration and applause of even her bitterest enemies. "She was bred to learning, and understood the Latin tongue well;⁴ and was well acquainted with Spanish and French. She was constant at her devotions;⁵ and the spotless purity of her morals, her charity to the poor, and the considerate liberality which she exercised towards the nobility and clergy that had been unjustly deprived of their possessions by her father and brother, have extorted liberal but just eulogiums from the lips of her bitterest opponents.⁶ Her example diffused a wholesome spirit into the court, which, contrasted with the profligacy of the succeeding reign, may well be mentioned as a credit to her me-

¹ Mackintosh, ii., p. 341.

² MS. Life of the Duchess of Feria, 129.

³ *Memorias de la real academia de la historia*, vii., p. 257.

⁴ Nella latina faria stupir ognuno con le riposte che da. Michele's report, MSS. Barber., p. 1208.

⁵ Burnet, ii., p. 581.

⁶ Princeps apud omnes ob mores sanctissimos, pietatem in pauperes, liberalitatem in nobiles atque ecclesiasticos nunquam satis laudata. Camden in apparat. 23. Mulier sane pia, clemens, moribusque castissimis, et usquequaque laudanda, si religionis errorem non spectes. Godwin, p. 123.

mory.¹ With a mind thus highly cultivated, and so rigorous an attachment to all the duties of religion, justice, and charity, must be added a naturally lenient and merciful disposition, as her forbearance, at the commencement of her reign, fully evinces. That she was a persecutor was more the fault of her age, and of the times, than of any natural cruelty. In this she had the misfortune to think as did the gossellers, and with them every sect in Christendom; and her memory has been blackened because she was not wiser than the most learned, and less bigoted than the most virtuous of her contemporaries.

As a politician, the despatches of the wily French ambassador show her to have been a match even for his intriguing and restless disposition. She abandoned the "progresses in use amongst her predecessors; and had the honour of concluding the first commercial treaty with Russia; and supported the English commerce against the encroachments of the company called the Easterlings, or merchants of the Steelyard, or of the Hanse Towns." To the universities she was a liberal benefactress, not only restoring to them all the property of which they had been deprived; but "she also built the publick schools in the university of Oxon, for which she is commemorated in the list of their benefactors. By this she gave great encouragement to two worthy gentlemen to add two new colleges in Oxon to the former number; Sir Thomas Pope founded Trinity College: Sir Thomas White established St. John's College, on the site of Bernard's Inne;"² and the celebrated Dr. Caius, at Cambridge, made so considerable an addition to Gonvil Hall, and endowed it so liberally, that it now bears his name in conjunction with that of its original founder.

Such were the virtues, public and private, of Queen Mary. Whether the sole blot on her memory, foul as it is, merited the execrations which certain historians, pandering to, or exciting popular prejudices in the dominant party, have heaped on her, you will be better able to decide when you shall have compared her conduct towards the gossellers, with that of her successors towards the Catholic.

¹ Faunt, Walsingham's secretary, says of Elizabeth's court, that it was a place "where all enormities were practised; where sin reigned in the highest degree." Aug. 6, 1583. Birch, i., p. 39.

² Heylin, p. 84.

LECTURE VI.

A. D. 1558—1603.

§ 1.

Queen Elizabeth.—Paul IV.—Scheme against the ancient Faith.—Elizabeth's Coronation.—Hopes and Fears of the Catholics.—Ecclesiastical Revolution.—Act of Supremacy.—New Alterations in the Liturgy.—The Catholic Bishops.—Sir Nicholas Bacon.—Discussion.—Fines and Imprisonment.—Revival of the Penal Code.

WE have now come to the most important portion of these lectures, and of the history of the reformation in this country. Elizabeth, you are aware, was the youngest daughter of King Henry VIII., the issue of his union with Anne Boleyn, and, by the will of that monarch, on the demise of her sister, heiress to the crown. No opposition was raised to her claims by the Catholic party, which now had the ascendancy, notwithstanding the example set them by the gospellers in their treasonable practices against Mary. A few hours after the queen's death, one of the Catholic prelates, Heath, Archbishop of York, communicated the melancholy intelligence of the demise of the queen to the House of Lords, which then was assembled. Not a voice was raised against her right. The Commons were summoned, and acquiesced with equal cordiality in the archbishop's declaration, that "of her right and title none could make any question." Elizabeth, accordingly, was "proclaimed queen without delay, first before the door of Westminster Hall, and afterwards at Cheapside cross, amidst a deafening burst of popular exultation. The new queen was then residing in a house attached to the see of Ely, at Hatfield in Hertfordshire, and thither a deputation of the privy-council proceeded with intelligence of her accession. She remained at Hatfield until the 23d of the month, when she removed, attended by a gay and joyous escort of more than a thousand persons to London."¹ "At Highgate, four miles from the city, she was met by all the bishops then living, who presented themselves before her on their knees, in testimony of their loyalty and affection to her. In which address as she seemed to express no small contentment, so she gave to each of them her hand to kiss, except only unto Bonner of London, whose bloody butcheries had rendered him incapable in her opinion of so great a favour."²

Elizabeth, it has been said, had conformed, during the last reign, to the Catholic faith; had reasserted her conscientious ad-

¹ Soames, vol. iv., p. 598.² Heylin, p. 102.

herence to that faith at the request of her dying sister; and had assured the ambassador of the Spanish monarch that she was firmly and sincerely resolved to maintain that religion which her sister had restored.¹ Yet, at a period when so much tergiversation and hypocrisy had been witnessed in matters of religion, men's minds were perplexed with doubts as to the real intentions of the new queen. Her conduct soon excited the worst suspicions of the Catholics.

One of her first cares was the appointment of a council. To the deputation at Hatfield she had expressed her intention of retaining some of the councillors in the service of her late sister, and of adding others; but would have those who should cease to be employed believe her assurance, that it was not through any distrust of their ability or will to serve her, but through a wish to avoid that indecision and delay, which so often arise from the jarring opinions of a multitude of advisers. In this, as in her subsequent conduct, she was guided by the advice of Sir William Cecil, who, like her, had conformed under the last reign,² but who soon proved that interest and not religion had regulated his conduct. Of the old council she retained thirteen members: to these she added eight others, connected by marriage or friendship with Cecil.³ It was remarked that the new councillors were all men who, though they had conformed, were known to be favourable to the new religion. From this appointment it has been concluded that "it was, from the first, Elizabeth's intention to resume the religion which she had compulsorily renounced."⁴ If so, the good Elizabeth was an unequalled hypocrite; but, probably, she had not made up her mind what party to espouse, until the imprudence of the Pope drove her into the arms of the gospellers.

¹ MS. *Life of the Duchess of Feria*, p. 156. We have the above account from unquestionable authorities. The duchess was the wife of the ambassador to whom the declaration was made, and Ribadeneyra, another authority, was living in London, at the time of Mary's death, in the house of Don Gomez de Figueroa, then Count, and afterwards Duke of Feria. This nobleman, Ribadeneyra, subsequently married Jane Dormer, the messenger sent by Mary, on her death-bed, to Elizabeth.

² Dr. Nares, in his memoirs of Lord Burghley, has furnished the following proof of Cecil's conformity, from a certificate in the writing of his steward, and endorsed by himself: "The Wimbledon Easter-book, 1556." "The names of them that dwelleth in the pariche of Wimbletown, that was confessed and resaved the sacrament of the altre. My master Sir William Cecil, and my lady Mildreade his wyfe, &c." Cecil, though a layman, had been made rector of Wimbletown in Edward's reign, and occupied the parsonage-house.

³ The old councillors were Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York; Paulet, Marquis of Winchester; Henry Fitz-Allan, Earl of Arundell; Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury; Edward Stanley, Earl of Derby; William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke; Edward, Lord Clinton; William, Lord Howard of Effingham; Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir William Petre, Sir John Mason, Sir Richard Sackville, and Dr. Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury.—Camden, p. 369. The new were William Parr, Marquiss of Northampton; Francis Russel, Earl of Bedford; Sir William Cecil, Thomas Parry, Edward Rogers, Ambrose Cave, Francis Knollis, and Sir Nicholas Bacon. Ibid.

⁴ Soames, iv., p. 604.

“In the mean time, the lords of the council had given order for the stopping of all ports and harbours, that no intelligence of the queen’s death might be carried out of the realm, by which any disturbance might be plotted or contrived against it, till all things were settled here at home. But finding such a general concurrence in all sorts of people, in acknowledging her just and lawful title, testified by so many outward signs of public joy, that there was no fear of any danger from abroad, this bar was speedily removed, and the ports opened as before to all sorts of passengers. And in the next place, care was taken for sending new commissions unto such ambassadors as resided in the courts of several princes, both to acquaint them with the change, and to assure those princes of the queen’s desire to maintain all former leagues between them and the crown of England.”¹ These instructions varied according to the disposition of the courts for which they were intended. The Emperor Ferdinand, and Philip of Spain, were assured of the queen’s mindfulness of their past services, and of her resolution to support the interests of Austria against those of France. The Duke of Feria in turn was intrusted with the task of not merely congratulating with her on her accession, but of proposing a marriage on the part of Philip. That monarch assured Elizabeth that the necessary dispensation might readily be procured from Rome, if his suit were accepted. Elizabeth returned an ambiguous answer to this proposal, and “Philip, in consequence, plied her for some time with letters and importunities, thus keeping alive in her breast not only his own interest, but also that of the Roman Catholic religion.”² To the King of Denmark, the Duke of Holstein, and the Lutheran princes of Germany, secret information was given of her attachment to the new religion, and of her anxiety to form a union between the states which had rejected the ancient faith.³ “Instructions were also sent to Sir Edward Karm, the late queen’s agent with the Pope, and now confirmed by her in the same employment, to make his holiness acquainted with the death of Queen Mary, and her succession to the crown, not without some desire that all good offices might be reciprocally exchanged between them.”⁴ But, unfortunately, the hostility to Austria of the aged Pontiff, who had now passed his eightieth year, had induced him to listen again to the intrigues of the French monarch. To prevent the possible union between Philip and Elizabeth, it was desirable to embroil the Pope at once with the English court. It was, accordingly, represented to the aged prelate that, to acknowledge Elizabeth as queen, would be to admit the validity of the divorce between Henry and Catherine, the lawfulness of Henry’s union with Anne Boleyn; to stigmatize as unjust the decisions of Clement VII. and Paul III.; and to prejudice the claims of Mary, Queen of Scots, the daughter-in-law of his steadfast friend, the

¹ Heylin, p. 102. ² Soames, iv., p. 603. ³ Camden, i., p. 28. ⁴ Heylin, p. 102.

French king. These representations had the desired effect, and Paul is said to have replied, "That the kingdom of England was held in fee of the apostolick see; that Elizabeth could not succeed, being illegitimate; that he could not contradict the declarations of Clement VII. and Paul III.; that it was a great boldness to assume the name and government of it without him; yet being desirous to show a fatherly affection, if she would renounce her pretensions, and refer herself wholly to his free disposition, he would do whatsoever might be done with the honour of the apostolick see."¹ On the receipt of this reply, an intimation was forwarded to Carne from the council, that he had better return home. He chose, however, to remain in Rome, "because he was unwilling to return into England, apprehending the change of religion that might follow, for he was himself zealously addicted to the see of Rome."² Whatever might have been Elizabeth's intentions on ascending the throne, her interest, by the imprudence of the Pontiff, became enlisted on the side of the reformers. If we may believe those writers who assert that, during the last reign, Elizabeth had merely played the hypocrite in her conformity to the ancient faith, and had promised to support that faith on her accession, merely to satisfy the importunity, or to avert the anger of Mary, and that from the first she had made up her mind to restore the new religion, the conduct of Paul, however it may be lamented, can only be looked upon as having possibly hastened the accomplishment of a determination at which the queen had long since arrived. From her acquaintance with the Pope's character, "she knew full well that her legitimation and the Pope's supremacy could not stand together, and that she could not possibly maintain the one, without a discarding of the other. But in this case it concerned her to walk very warily, and not to unmask herself too much at once, for fear of giving an alarm to the papal party, before she had put herself into a posture of ability to make good her actions."³ If Elizabeth was a sincere Catholic under Mary, her change of belief, and the establishment of the reformed creed in this country, must be ascribed to the basest of motives, self-interest; if insincere, she was a hypocrite, and, probably, he that has studied her character best, and searched for her motives in her actions, will find it difficult not to conclude that she was equally indifferent to both creeds, and that neither conscience nor conviction had much share in her determination. Up to this period, she is represented as importuned on the one hand by her advisers, for her own and their safety, to reject all connection with the see of Rome;⁴ and on the other perplexed by the representations of the

¹ Heylin, p. 103.² Burnet, iii., p. 585.³ Heylin, p. 103.⁴ Nonnulli ex intimis consiliariis in aures assidue insurrarunt, dum timerent ne animus in dubio facillime impelleretur, actum de ipsa et amicis esse si pontificiam auctoritatem, &c. Camden, p. 30.

Spanish ambassador, and her fears of the dominant party.¹ When the queen at length resolved to reject and proscribe the ancient faith, a plan, ascribed to various authors, was arranged for the gradual execution of the queen's intention. The scheme was approved of, but was to be preserved a profound secret, until circumstances should gradually require it to be developed before the public eye.

It consisted of the following measures. 1. As "the bishops and clergy would generally oppose the change,"² "they should be overawed by the statute of *præmunire*, (which implied the forfeiture of their movable estate, and imprisonment at discretion,) pecuniary compensations being exacted from some of them for the relief of the crown's necessities; a species of punishment, which, it is represented, the late queen's liberality to them, and their own recent rapacity, would well enable them to bear."³ In addition to this, all preaching might be prohibited, that the nation might not be excited to resistance. 2. With respect to the laity, their opposition might be subdued, or any danger from it lessened, if "all persons who had been advanced to places of trust under Mary, and had shown themselves zealous Catholics, should 'be deprived of actual authority, and if found to have incurred any legal liability, kept under the lash of the law until reduced to submission, whilst those who had adhered to the queen during her adversity, and generally persons well affected towards Protestant principles, should be promoted and encouraged.'"⁴ The rural magistracy was to be replaced by "men meaner in substance and younger in years," but more favourable to the new tenets; and a law was to be enacted against every species of unauthorized assemblies. 3. That a secret committee of divines should be appointed to revise the liturgy published by Edward VI.⁵ The design was to be preserved a profound secret even from the council, and only to be communicated to the Marquess of Northampton, the Earls of Bedford and Pembroke, and Lord John Grey.⁶

In the meanwhile, to continue her appearance of belief in the Catholic faith, seems to have occasioned no scruple of conscience in the mind of the queen. About a month after her accession to the throne,⁷ she was present at the funeral of her sister, which was celebrated with the usual ceremonial of the Catholic ritual; about ten days later, a solemn dirge and mass of requiem were

¹ *Regina interea, etsi aperte faveat nostrae causae, tamen partim a suis quorum consilio omnia geruntur, partim a legato Philippi comite Ferio, homine Hispano, ne quid patiatur innovari, mirifice deterretur.* Jewel to P. Martyr, 20 March, 1559.

² Burnet, iii., p. 589. ³ Soames, iv., p. 611. ⁴ Soames, l. c. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 612.

⁶ The committee, according to Heylin, consisted of Parker, Gryndal, Cox, Pilkington, Bell, May, Sir Thomas Smith, and Mr. Whitehead. Ref., p. 105. See also Burnet, iii., p. 590.

⁷ Elizabeth ascended the throne November 17, 1558, and Mary was buried on the 13th of December.

performed, by her orders, for the repose of the soul of the Emperor Charles V.; and she herself assisted as usual, and occasionally communicated, at mass. But if these circumstances seemed favourable to the Catholic, there were others which tended to raise the hopes of the Protestant. White, Bishop of Winchester, in preaching the funeral sermon of the late queen, had delivered his opinions freely, if not intemperately, of the Protestant exiles, and expressed his abhorrence of that ready apostasy which had disgraced the nation for so many years; for which he was required not to leave his house until further orders from the queen.¹ Several of the exiles had been already received favourably at court, and had even been invested with office; those who had been imprisoned for their religious opinions were liberated on their own recognisances. "Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle,² was commanded by the queen when officiating in her chapel on Christmas-day, to omit the elevation of the host, as giving occasion to what she deemed idolatry; which that prelate conscientiously refused. The queen immediately withdrew, with her ladies and courtiers, into her privy-chamber, to mark her dissent and displeasure."³ Early in January, the great seal was taken from Archbishop Heath, and given to Sir Nicholas Bacon, a well-known favourer of the new creed; and Bishop Bonner was called upon to give an account of the different fines which had been levied in his court during the last reign.

If this alternate leaning to the conflicting parties raised doubts as to her real intentions, those doubts were to some extent removed by the appearance of a proclamation, "by which it was commanded, that no man, of what persuasion soever he was in the points of religion, should be suffered from thenceforth to preach in publick, but onely such as should be licensed by her authority; and that all such as were so licensed or appointed, should forbear preaching upon any point which was matter of controversie, and might conduce rather to exasperate than to calm men's passions."⁴

The motive assigned for this extreme regulation, which not merely assumed the queen's right to interfere in spiritual concerns, but evinced a determination to show no favour, at least to the established faith, was the acerbity of the polemical discussions which now began to agitate the kingdom. The zeal of the reformed preachers did not burn less fiercely from having passed through the fire of persecution, nor were their notions more settled and uniform from connection with the disciples of Calvin. Not content with mere denunciations of the ancient faith, they proceeded to renew the atrocities of Edward's reign, "to pull

¹ Soames, iv., p. 608.

² "She had commanded the priest or bishop (for some say it was the one and some the other) who officiated at the altar in the chapel-royal, not to make any elevation of the sacrament." Heylin, p. 105.

³ Mackintosh, vol. iii., p. 6. Ellis's second series, ii., p. 262.

⁴ Heylin, p. 104.

down images, and to affront the priests ;”¹ “to make changes and to set up King Edward’s service.” This occasioned a second proclamation, which appeared on the 30th of December, by which it was enjoined “that no man of what quality or degree soever should presume to alter any thing in the state of religion, or innovate in any of the rites and ceremonies thereunto belonging, but that all such rites and ceremonies should be observed in all parish churches of the kingdom, as were then used and retained in her majesty’s chapel, until some further order should be taken in it. Only it was permitted, and withall required, that the litany, the Lord’s prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments should be said in the English tongue, and that the epistle and gospel, at the time of the high mass, should be read in English, which was accordingly done in all the churches of London, on the next Sunday after, being new-year’s day, and by degrees in all the other churches of the kingdom also.”² These acts of interference with the established worship, even without the sanction of Parliament, disclosed the policy of the queen, and at once showed the prelates and the nation what might soon be expected. Nor were the bishops wanting to their duty in this emergency.

Their conduct had been very different from that of the few Protestant prelates under Edward. There had been no secret plotting against the queen, no overt acts of treason, no reluctance to admit her claims to the throne, even in the House of Lords, where, almost to a man, the nobility and prelacy had shown themselves sincerely attached to the ancient faith ; no willingness in any of the Catholic party to take advantage of the act passed in the last reign, by which the marriage between Henry and Catherine had not merely been declared valid, but the union with Anne Boleyn reprobated, and Elizabeth, the offspring of that connexion, by implication declared illegitimate.

The prelates had hastened spontaneously to offer their allegiance and the influence of their example in support of the queen, though fully aware of the disposition of the papal court, and the pretensions to the English throne of a zealous and sincere Catholic, supported by all the power of France. The Catholic party had found no need of foreign troops, as had the reformers under Edward, to force their faith on the nation ; it comprised amongst its friends, besides the clergy, the main body of the nobility, and the magistracy, as well as the mass of the community ; a fact well known to the queen’s advisers, as is evident from the secret device for the alteration of religion, the details of which have been stated. They had expressed no participation in the sentiments of the Pontiff, or rather, by their ready acknowledgment of Elizabeth’s claims, had shown their utter disregard of his opinion in a matter purely regarding their allegiance. The changes hitherto effected emanated from no ecclesiastical authority ; there had not

¹ Burnet, iii., p. 590.

² Heylin, p. 104.

been even a single bishop hitherto found, or required, to lend his sanction to the acts of the queen or of her councillors, or rather of the small party of recreant conformists that in reality governed the state. With these palpable indications of a determination to tamper with their religion, if not entirely to subvert it, at the caprice of one individual, or of a small knot of discontented politicians, could they, the guardians of the church, with safe consciences, assist at the approaching coronation, at which it was possible that the queen might refuse to comply with the customary ceremonial; or in case she raised no objection, could they lend themselves to the palpable duplicity by which she would swear to maintain the liberties of the established church, which, in her heart, she had determined to destroy? A meeting was held in London to discuss this question, and it was unanimously resolved, that it would be to compromise their consciences to take any part in the coming solemnity.

This unexpected decision alarmed and embarrassed the court. Sundry expedients were devised and abandoned as unsatisfactory. Without the ceremony of the coronation it was feared that the dignity and authority of the sovereign would be shorn, in the popular eye, of half its splendour and effect; if not performed by a prelate of the establishment, the rite would not be looked upon as so sacred, even if it were by some regarded as valid;¹ whilst nothing could be gained, and every thing would be risked, by delay. In this emergency, Oglethorpe separated himself from his colleagues, and is said to have been haunted by remorse, for his compliance, during the short remainder of his life.² What arts or promises gained his services we know not: but the scrupulous observance of every practice used in crowning the most Catholic of our kings, would lead us to suppose, or hope, that the Bishop of Carlisle was duped into the belief that the suspicions of his brethren were unfounded. The ceremony of the coronation was accordingly performed on the 14th of January, with unsurpassed magnificence, at which the prelates not merely refused to officiate, but are said to have absented themselves; an act of questionable

¹ "It cannot be denied but that there were three bishops living of King Edward's making, all of them zealously affected to the reformation. And possibly it may seem strange that the queen received not the crown rather from one of their hands, than to put herself unto the hazard of so many denials as had been given her by the others." Heylin, p. 106.

² Mackintosh, vol. iii., p. 6. The English prelacy had, by the deaths of several bishops within a short time, either before or after Mary's demise, been reduced to sixteen individuals. Of the survivors, Heath, Archbishop of York, Bonner, Bishop of London, and Tunstall, of Durham, had been deprived of their sees under Edward; Thirlby, of Ely, and Kitchin, of Llandaff, the two remaining bishops of Henry's appointment, had hitherto complied on every occasion; all the rest owed their advancement to Queen Mary; viz., White, of Winchester; Tuberville, of Exeter; Bayne, of Litchfield and Coventry; Watson, of Lincoln; Pole, of Peterborough; Pates, of Worcester; Oglethorpe, of Carlisle; Scot, of Chester; Bourn, of Bath and Wells; Goldwell, of St. Asaph; and Morgan, of St. David's. Pates assisted at the first session of the council of Trent.

necessity or policy, in which they were imitated by the Spanish ambassador.¹ The rites of the Catholic pontifical were observed in the minutest particular; mass was celebrated in the usual manner; the queen received the sacrament under one kind, and took the customary oath "to maintain the laws, honour, peace, and privileges of the church, as in the time or grant of King Edward the Confessor."

If the celebration of the Catholic service, and the oath of the queen revived the hopes of the Catholic, those hopes were soon dissipated, on the assembling of Parliament. Cecil had provided carefully that no opposition should be met with in that quarter at least. A list had been prepared of such members as were likely to promote the views of the crown, consisting of five candidates for the shires, and three for the boroughs, out of which list, and no other, each sheriff and such persons of influence as could be induced to lend their efforts to such a measure, were to endeavour that the representative for the next Parliament should be chosen.² The creed of a Parliament thus influenced, varied at pleasure with that of the court, but the necessity of such interference is the best proof that the national will was any thing but represented or consulted, in the national council.³ We shall see that not even these arts could secure the return of mere puppets at the beck of royalty; for, "notwithstanding all their care, there wanted not some rough and furious spirits in the House of Commons, who eagerly opposed all propositions which seemed to tend unto the prejudice of the church of Rome."⁴ To strengthen the reformers

¹ It cannot be denied that the Catholic prelates were justified in refusing to officiate at the queen's coronation, if they were convinced from her conduct that she was playing the hypocrite, and about to overthrow a church which, to its chief ministers, she was about to swear that she would maintain. Whatever secret signification Elizabeth might attach to the oath, that could not affect the meaning in which she knew the word church was understood by those who proposed to her the oath. Mackintosh on this occasion is just even to the Catholic. "All these recent circumstances, combined as they were with the tenour of Elizabeth's former life, were considered as such decided symptoms of her intention, that the Catholic prelates of England *honestly* refused to take a part in the approaching solemnity. They alleged as the ground of their disobedience, that the queen was manifestly preparing to violate the coronation oath, *according to the sense in which they understood it.*" Mackintosh, *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. iii., p. 6.

² "Nor could the queen's design be so closely carried, but that such lords and gentlemen as had the managing of elections in their several counties, retained such men for members of the House of Commons, as they conceived most likely to comply with their intentions for a reformation. Amongst which none appeared more active than Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, whom the queen had taken into her council; Henry Fitzallen, Earl of Arundel, whom she continued in the office of lord steward, and Sir William Cecil, whom she had restored to the place of secretary. Besides, the queen was young, unmarried, and like enough to enter into some thoughts of an husband; so that it can be no great marvel, not only if many of the nobility, but some even of the gentry also, flattered themselves with possibilities of being the man whom she might chuse to be her partner in the regal diadem." Heylin, p. 107.

³ "Preparations for a new Parliament were made according to the bad precedents of recent reigns, by ministerial interference with the rights of electors." Soames, iv., p. 620.

⁴ Heylin, p. 107.

in the Upper House, three new peers were created, and two restored to the honours which they had forfeited under Mary.¹

Parliament had been summoned for the 23d of January, but the queen's indisposition caused a delay of two days. On the morning of the 25th, the queen assisted in state at a solemn high mass, which was followed by a sermon from Dr. Cox, a reformed preacher. The session was then opened by a speech from Sir Nicholas Bacon, the lord keeper, in which he lamented the misfortunes of Mary's reign, anticipated the glorious change that might be expected under the reigning monarch; stated the principal objects of their meeting to be, to make laws for the uniting of the people of the realm in one uniform order of religion; to reform all mischiefs in civil policy; and to supply the queen's wants; not that the queen considered their assistance or concurrence necessary for these and other measures that would be submitted to them, for which her sole authority would have amply sufficed, but "she rather sought contentation by assent, and surety by advice, and was willing to require of her loving subjects nothing which they were not contented freely and frankly to offer."²

Mary's first care, in meeting Parliament, had been to obtain an express declaration of the legality of the marriage of Catherine, and of her own legitimacy. Elizabeth did not venture on any such proceeding, but suffered the acts to remain on the statute-book by which the marriage of Henry with Anne Boleyn had been declared void from the beginning, and that unfortunate queen convicted of incest, adultery, and treason. Instead of attempting to vindicate her own legitimacy, "an act for the recognising and declaring the queen's title was unanimously passed by the Lords, and adopted without any apparent opposition by the Commons. This statute declares her to be rightly, lineally, and lawfully descended from the blood royal, and pronounces all sentences and acts of Parliament derogatory from this declaration to be void."³

This was almost the only act unconnected with religion, passed during this session of Parliament. The acts by which the ecclesiastical revolution was accomplished, occupied the undivided attention of the legislature from January to May.

Mary had made it a matter of conscience to restore the first-fruits, tenths, and impropriate benefices to the church; Elizabeth, in imitation of the rapacity of Henry and Edward, before even reasserting the spiritual supremacy of the crown, grasped at the

¹ William Parr was restored to his title of Marquess of Northampton; Edward Seymour to that of Earl of Hertford; while peerages were conferred on Henry Cary, the son of Mary Boleyn, the aunt of Elizabeth, Lord Hunsdon; on Thomas Howard, a more remote relation through Anne Boleyn, Viscount Howard of Bindon; and Sir Oliver St. John, Lord Bletso.

² D'Ewes's Journal, p. 14. From a copy of the speech in his possession.

³ Mackintosh, vol. iii., p. 8.

revenues of the church which she affected to reform. "The first bill that was put into the House of Lords, to try their affections and disposition to a change in the matters of religion, was that for the restitution of the tenths and first-fruits to the crown. It was agreed to by the Lords on the 4th of February, having been put in the 30th of January, and was the first bill that was read."¹ "It was opposed by eight prelates, being all of their order in the House."² After a considerable interval, it was returned passed from the Commons: but the delay does not seem to have arisen from any indisposition to the measure among the people's representatives. This act restored to the crown not only the first-fruits and tenths, but also the impropriate parsonages which Queen Mary had surrendered."³ "They also passed an act for the dissolution of all such monasteries, convents, and religious orders, as had been founded and established by the queen deceased. By virtue of which act the queen was repossessed again of all those lands which had been granted by her sister to the monks of Westminster, and Sheene, the knights Hospitallers, the nuns of Sion, together with the mansion houses re-edified for the Observants at Greenwich, and the black Friars in Smithfield."⁴ By this act the queen was enabled to reward, according to the precedents of Henry's and Edward's reigns, out of the spoils of the church, such as showed themselves most zealous for its reformation. Another scheme was also devised for the same purpose, by the passing of an act empowering the queen, on the vacancy of any bishopric, to take possession of the lands belonging to such bishopric, with the exception of the chief mansion-house and its domain, on condition that she gave in return an equivalent in tithes and parsonages appropriate.

On the 9th of February, the royal supremacy was debated in the House of Commons. It appears to have been originally intended to revive the statutes of Henry VIII., which conferred on that monarch the spiritual supremacy; but "it seemed to be a thing abhorrent both in nature and polity that a woman should be declared to be the supreme head on earth of the church of England. But those of the reformed party meant nothing less than to contend about words and phrases, so they might gain the point they arrived at, which was the stripping of the Pope of all authority within these dominions, and fixing the supreme power over all persons and estates of what rank soever in the crown imperial, not by the name of supreme head, which they perceived might be made liable to some just exceptions; but which comes all to one, of the supreme governess."⁵ The original "bill accordingly was lost, on the 13th of February, after much

¹ Burnet, iii., p. 598.

² These were, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London, Worcester, Llandaff, Litchfield, Exeter, Chester, and Carlisle.

³ Soames, iv., p. 622, 623.

⁴ Heylin, p. 108.

⁵ Ibid.

debating. On the following day, a committee was appointed to draw a new bill; and this object having been attained to the satisfaction of the Commons, the measure passed their House. When, however, it reached the Lords, it was judged to require amendment, and therefore submitted to a committee,¹ which made very little difficulty in preparing for the House an amended bill, declaratory of the royal supremacy. Nor did the temporal peers, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Viscount Montague excepted, vote against this bill when it came before the House. The prelacy, however, was unanimous in its opposition, and two of that body delivered speeches, yet extant, against it."² "The bill underwent various alterations and received several additions, both in the Upper House and in the Lower, before it finally passed: a consummation which was delayed until Saturday, the sixth of May, two days only before the Parliament was dissolved."³ "This act, in imitation of Henry's equivocal language, they called 'restoring the ancient jurisdiction of the crown over the state ecclesiastical.'"⁴

By this statute, usually called the act of supremacy, "all the acts passed in the reign of King Henry for the abolishing of the Pope's power were again revived; and the acts in Queen Mary's time to the contrary were repealed."⁵ And mark the means by which obedience was enforced, and opposition beaten down. An oath asserting the spiritual supremacy of the queen was framed;⁶ and this oath was to be taken by all archbishops, bishops, "every ecclesiastical person, and every ecclesiastical officer, or minister, and every temporal judge, justice, and mayor, and every other lay or temporal officer and minister, and every other person having the queen's fee or wages within the realm." By this clause

¹ The committee consisted of the Marquess of Winchester, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Rutland, Sussex, and Pembroke; the Viscount Montague; the Bishops of Exeter and Carlisle; and the Barons Clinton, Morley, Rich, Willoughby, and North.

² Soames, iv., p. 625. The speeches are by Heath, Archbishop of York, and Scot, Bishop of Chester. They are the best evidence of the nature of the supremacy claimed by the crown. From the arguments used by the two prelates there can be no doubt that, however the powers comprised under the supremacy were gradually modified, the act was considered, when it passed, to transfer the authority and jurisdiction claimed by the Pope to the hands of the queen.

³ Soames, iv., p. 627.

⁴ Mackintosh, iii., p. 9.

⁵ Burnet, iii., p. 601.

⁶ The oath of supremacy was expressed as follows: "I, A. B., do utterly testify and declare, that the queen's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and all other her highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdiction, powers, superiorities, and authorities, and do promise that from henceforth I will bear faith and true allegiance to the queen's highness, her heirs and lawful successors, and to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, pre-eminences, privileges, and authorities, granted or belonging to the queen's highness, her heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm."

every officer, from the archbishop to the meanest beadle ; from the loftiest civil officer to the meanest constable, was required on his oath to make a declaration incompatible with a clear and explicit tenet of the Catholic faith—the universal spiritual supremacy of the Pope. This enactment, then, at once excluded from every office in church and state every Catholic who was not prepared to sacrifice his conscience and his faith to his temporal interests. For it was provided that “the refusal of the oath when lawfully tendered by such persons as were thereto commissioned under the great seal of England ; every such person so refusing was actually to stand deprived of his or their ecclesiastical preferment, or other temporal office of what sort soever.” The oath then had only to be tendered to any Catholic aspirant to, or holder of, civil or ecclesiastical preferment, to entail either apostasy or disappointment. These were the weapons forged in the new spiritual armoury for beating down the strongholds of the ancient faith. And let it not be forgotten, that of the whole English hierarchy, not one single prelate could be intimidated or bribed into supporting this new reformation. The plan of this new faith was devised and carried into effect by a few laymen, in opposition to the recognised authorities of the church, against whom, as against the most unlearned of their flocks, did these new apostles wield the fiery sword of the law, to guard the boundaries of their oath-fenced church from all who would not swear by their standard of orthodoxy.

There was, however, a significant exception made to the necessity of taking this religious test. “It was provided that the oath should not be imposed on any of the temporal peers, of whose fidelity the queen seemed willing to assure herself without any such tie ; though this exemption was esteemed by others but a piece of cunning, the better to facilitate the passing of that act amongst them, which otherwise they might have hindered. But this provision was not made until the following Parliament, though for the reason before mentioned it was promised now.”¹ Enormous as was the tyranny of depriving of all power or hopes of power, those who should refuse to abandon their faith, that faith which Elizabeth had herself professed, and sworn at her coronation to uphold, it dwindles almost into insignificance when contrasted with the ferocity with which these lay-reformers pursued every expression of opinion contrary to their own. They had denied their first faith, the faith of their forefathers, and still that of almost the whole of Christendom ; they had changed their opinions ; the Catholic was not to defend his. It was enacted that “if, within a month after the end of that session in Parliament, any should, either by discourse or in writing, set forth the authority of any foreign power, or do any thing for the advancement of it, they were for the first offence to forfeit all their goods

¹ Heylin, p. 110

and chattels; and if they had not goods to the value of twenty-pounds, they were to be imprisoned a whole year; and for the second offence they were to incur the pains of a *præmunire*; and the third offence was treason,"¹ that is, (for such by the law is the punishment of treason,) that the offender should be drawn to the gallows, hanged by the neck, cut down alive, his entrails taken out whilst he was yet alive, and his head then cut off. Here was liberty of conscience, indeed; the right of private judgment, and most conclusive arguments, truly. The ancient faith was thus proscribed, and its profession made death, and this, that a woman might be made supreme governor of the church, and Parliament be invested with the power of deciding on moot points of controversy, and of adjudging for an unwilling nation what was thenceforth to be accounted heresy.

If any doubt existed as to the nature of the jurisdiction claimed in the oath, that doubt was removed by another clause in the same statute, by which it was enacted, "That it would and might be lawful to the queen, her heirs and successors, by letters patent under the great seal of England, to assign, name, and authorise, when and as often as her highness, her heirs or successors, should think convenient, such persons being natural born subjects to them, to exercise, use, and occupie under her highness, her heirs and successors, all manner of jurisdictions, privileges, and pre-eminences, in any wise touching or concerning any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, within the realms of England and Ireland, or any other her highness' dominions or countries, and to visit, reform, repress, order, correct, and amend all such errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities whatsoever, which by any manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical power, authority, or jurisdiction, can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, to the pleasure of almighty God, the increase of virtue, and the conservation of the peace and unity of this realm. With a provise, notwithstanding, that nothing from thenceforth should be accounted for heresie but was so adjudged by the plain words of the canonical Scripture, or by any one of the first four general councils, or by any other general council, wherein the same was declared heresy, by the express and plain words of the canonical Scripture, or that should hereafter, by the Parliament, with the assent of the convocation."² I would direct especial attention to this portion of the act, as "this was the first foundation of that famous Court of High Commission, the principal bulwark and preservative of the church of England against the practices and assaults of all her adversaries, whether popish or puritan."³ By virtue of this act, we shall see a commission established, founded on the very same principles as those of the infamous Spanish Inquisition, and disgraced by equal enormities; a court superseding every ordinary

¹ Burnet, iii., p. 602.

² Heylin, l. c.

³ Ibid.

tribunal of justice, exercising uncontrolled and irresponsible power over the opinions and consciences of all classes; extorting by the rack a confession of religious sentiments, even where no evidence of overt heterodoxy could be adduced, and condemning to perish in prison, or murdering on the scaffold, every victim that dared to defend an interpretation of the Scriptures different from that which, at the moment, received the sanction of the majority of this accursed and blood-stained court. The commissions appointed by Mary, however unjust and cruel in its deeds, did not supersede the usual course of law, or transfer its victims from the usual tribunals to a single court, consisting of men picked for a particular service, from whose decisions, secret and irresponsible, there was no appeal.

It need scarcely be noticed that the oath of supremacy, requiring the assertion of the jurisdiction of the queen in spiritual causes, and the acknowledgment of her supremacy over the church, was as irreconcilable with the principles of the dissenter, as of the Catholic. We may perhaps ascribe to this the appearance of an explanation of the act of supremacy, published in the same year in which it was passed, intended not merely to lessen the objections to the oath in the mind of the Catholic, but also in that numerous party, which had begun to arise under Edward and had strengthened in exile during the last reign, the favourers of the opinions and system of Calvin.¹ But whilst, with her usual shrewd policy, the queen sought to disarm her enemies by this well-timed and apparently liberal concession, she took care to nerve the arm of the law to the utmost, and to abate not one jot, in reality, of the claims asserted in the oath, by means of the court of commission and its inquisitorial powers. Thus she had the merit of seeming unwilling to enforce to extremity her regal rights; and on her officers were the blood and the torture of those who ventured to trust in her moderation.

The queen had been proclaimed "supreme governess" of the

¹ The following is the injunction alluded to as restraining the act of supremacy: "Her majesty forbiddeth all manner her subjects to give ear or credit to such perverse and malicious persons, which most sinisterly and maliciously labour to notify to her loving subjects, how by words of the said oath it may be collected, that the kings or queens of this realm, possessors of the crown, may challenge authority and power of ministry of divine service in the church, wherein her said subjects be much abused by such evil-disposed persons. For certainly her majesty neither doth, nor ever will challenge any other authority than that was challenged and lately used by the said noble kings of famous memory, King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI., which is, and was of ancient time due to the imperial crown of this realm, that is, under God to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, dominions, and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no other power shall, or ought to have any authority over them. And if any that hath conceived any other sense of the form of the said oath shall accept the same with this interpretation, sense, or meaning, her majesty is well pleased to accept every such in that behalf, as her good and obedient subjects, and shall acquit them of all manner of penalties contained in the said act, against such as shall peremptorily or obstinately refuse to take the same oath." Somers's Tracts, edit. Scot, p. 73.

church; the Parliament had invested itself with authority to decide upon articles of faith; the oath of supremacy had secured the transfer of all church-property and honours, as well as of all civil power and emoluments, from the Catholic to the Protestant; it now became necessary to provide a new form of worship, suitable to the fresh or restored system, which might enforce the religious views of the government on those, the mass of the nation, who came not directly within the action of the statute of supremacy.

A committee, it has been mentioned, had been appointed according to Cecil's device for the change of religion, to make such alterations as might seem advisable in the liturgy used under King Edward. This task was one of no inconsiderable difficulty, so to be executed as to raise no unnecessary opposition, on the one hand, in the mind of the Catholic, by open denial of any of the ancient doctrines; and to meet, on the other, the expectations of the more sanguine amongst the reformers, especially those of the school of Calvin. Besides, however readily Elizabeth had placed herself at the head of the church, and gladly accepted the authority and wealth which the spiritual supremacy bestowed, she was known to entertain, on several points, opinions at variance with those promulgated by the gossellers, on questions and practices against which their denunciations had been especially directed. She was known to require that the service of the church should be conducted with more splendour than under Edward; to object to a married clergy; to have embraced on the holy eucharist, if not the faith of the Catholic, that at least of the Lutheran church; to insist on the retention of pious pictures and images in the churches; and was said still to invoke in her prayers the intercession of the blessed Virgin, and to be favourable to the use of prayers for the dead.¹ There were accordingly several deviations in the new book of common prayer from the liturgy of Edward VI., the first consisting of the omission of a prayer to be delivered from the "tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities;" the second, "instead of the Zuinglian language, which spoke of the sacrament as being only a remembrance of the death of Christ, substituted words indicating some sort of real presence of a body, though not affirming the presence to be corporeal; coinciding with the phraseology of Calvin, which, if any meaning can be ascribed to the terms, might, it should seem, be used by the Catholics, not indeed as adequately conveying their doctrine, but as containing nothing inconsistent with it."² "Upon which ground they expunged

¹ Burnet, iii., p. 588. Strype, ii., p. 1.

² Mackintosh, iii., p. 13. "In the first liturgie of King Edward, the sacrament of the Lord's body was delivered with the benediction: 'The body of our Lord J. Christ which was given for the preservation of thy body and soul to life everlasting;' 'The blood of our Lord J. Christ, &c.,' which being thought by Calvin and his disciples to

also a whole rubrick at the end of the communion-service, by which it was declared that kneeling, at the participation of the sacrament, was required for no other reason than for a signification of the humble and grateful acknowledging of the benefits of Christ, given therein unto the worthy receiver, and to avoid that profanation and disorder which might otherwise have ensued, and not for giving any adoration to the sacramental bread and wine there bodily received, 'or in regard of any real and essential presence of Christ's body and blood.' And to come up the closer to those of the church of Rome, it was ordered by the queen's injunctions, that the sacramental bread (which the book required only to be made of the finest flour) should be round, in fashion of the wafers used in the time of Queen Mary. She also ordered that the Lord's table should be placed where the altar stood, that the accustomed reverence should be made at the name of Jesus, musick retained in the church, and all the old festivals observed with their several eves."¹ "These changes were made to conciliate the R. Catholic party, and in that object their success was far from inconsiderable. No R. Catholic indeed could, consistently with his principles, except against any part of the service. It was translated, in a great measure, from liturgical books used in the papal church; and those parts of it which are not found in any such volume, are either Scripture, or perfectly agreeable to the most approved models of devotion. Omissions were the sole occasions for R. Catholic discontent in the English service book."²

"On the 15th of February, a bill for the restoration of the English liturgy was offered to Parliament. It was, however, soon laid aside; most probably in consequence of allegations that the subject had not been duly considered by competent judges. The royal supremacy was obviously a question within the ordinary range of legal and political research. But it might be reasonably said, liturgical matters demanded the intervention of professed theologians. Of such persons, however, none favourable to the reformation were in Parliament."³ The real cause of this delay must

give some countenance to the gross and carnal presence of Christ in the sacrament, which passeth by the name of transubstantiation in the schools of Rome, was altered into this form in the second liturgy; 'Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.' 'Take and drink this, &c.' 'But the revisors of the book joyned both forms together, lest under colour of rejecting a carnal, they might be thought also to reject such a real presence, as was defended in the writings of the ancient fathers.'" Heylin, p. 111.

¹ Heylin, l. c.

² Soames, iv., p. 675, 676. "By which compliances and the expunging of the passages before remembered, the book was made so passable amongst the Papists, that for ten years they generally repaired to the parish churches, without doubt or scruple, as is affirmed not only by Sir Edward Coke, in his speech against Garnet, and his charge given at the assizes at Norwich, but also by the queen herself in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, then being her resident, or leiger-ambassador in the court of France; the same confessed by Sanders also in his book de Schismate." Heylin, p. 111.

³ Soames, iv., p. 642.

probably be sought in the determined opposition of the prelacy and of the higher clergy to the attempted innovations. Their firmness had been tried and proved at the coronation; further exhibited during the passing of the act of supremacy; and at the same time that Parliament was deliberating, the ecclesiastical convocation had assembled to express their unchanged resolution to adhere to the Catholic faith. In consequence of the vacancy of the see of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, in virtue of his see, presided. The proceedings began "without the ordinary preamble of a Latin sermon, all preaching being then prohibited by the queen's command. The clergy, for their prolocutor, made choice of Dr. Nicholas Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury, a man of more ability, as his works declare, than he had any opportunity to make use of in the present service. The act of the submission of the clergy to King Henry VIII., and his successors, Kings of England, had been repealed in the first year of Queen Mary, so that the clergy might have acted of their own authority, without any license from the queen; and it is much to be admired that Bonner, White, or Watson, did not put them to it; but such was either their fear, or modesty, or a despair of doing any thing good to themselves and the cause, that there was nothing done by the bishops at all, and not much more by the lower clergy, than a declaration of their judgment in some certain points, which at that time were conceived fit to be commended to the sight of Parliament, that is to say,—1. "That in the sacrament of the altar, by vertue of Christ's assisting, after the word is duly pronounced by the priest, the natural body of Christ conceived of the Virgin Mary is really present under the species of bread and wine, as also his natural blood. 2. That after the consecration there remains not the substance of bread and wine, nor any substance save the substance of God and man. 3. That the true body of Christ and his blood is offered for a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead. 4. That the supream power of feeding, and governing the militant church of Christ, and of confirming their brethren, is given to Peter the apostle, and to his lawful successors in the see apostolick, as unto the vicars of Christ. 5. That the authority to handle and define such things which belong to faith, the sacraments, and discipline ecclesiastical, hath hitherto ever belonged, and onely ought to belong to the pastors of the church, whom the Holy Spirit hath placed in the church, and not unto laymen." This declaration of faith "they sent to the two universities, from whence it was returned, with the hands of the greatest part in them to the first four; but it seems they thought it not fit to sign the last,"² considering it possibly as trenching on the queen's temporal power.

Here then was the decision of the English church, on religious questions, opposed to the will of Parliament; and the strange

¹ Heylin, p. 113. Wilk. Conc. iv., p. 179.

² Burnet, iii., p. 605.

anomaly of convocation refusing its assent, or rather in direct opposition to the judgment of Parliament, an event which nullified the powers of that body in religious matters, since the act of supremacy required the concurrence of convocation for the legal condemnation of any opinion as heretical. For the authorities to which the nation had for centuries looked for religious instruction, to be thus exhibited as hostile to the changes proposed by men well known to be utterly unqualified to pass a satisfactory judgment on the debated questions, must, it was felt, be highly injurious to the reformation. The moral influence of their station, education, and character was to be counterpoised, if possible; and there seemed no likelier method, than to appoint clergymen of reformed opinions, and of acknowledged abilities, to engage in wordy controversy with the defenders of the ancient faith. By discussing questions of detail, both parties would be placed at least on an equal footing, since the very agitation of the truth or falsehood of individual doctrines presupposes the inerrancy or divine authority of the church to be for the time set aside, and the disputed doctrines argued according to the best ability and learning which the contending parties can bring to the encounter. Such a display was accordingly resolved upon; and if the partiality, displayed by government to those who represented the opinions of the court, was matter of bitter complaint under Edward and Mary, the champions of Elizabeth were not likely to have any fault to find with the arrangements made for the coming controversy, the object of which was to facilitate the progress, through Parliament, of the intended liturgy. A president was appointed, under the name of a moderator, and he, of course, a well-known Protestant; and whether from inability to produce any reformed ecclesiastic of eminence, or to accustom the nation to the contemplation of lay interference and superintendence in religious matters,—a layman, the celebrated lord keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon.¹ The resolution of holding the conference was come to at the council-board, from which emanated an order from the queen, which left no choice in the Catholic party, to hold themselves ready for the discussion.² In the selection of topics for debate, and in the wording of the propositions, the Catholic was not consulted. The day fixed for the controversy was the 30th of March; the subjects the three following: 1. "Whether it was not against the word of God, and the custom of the ancient church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in the common

¹ Bacon is mentioned by most authorities as presiding alone, but by some it is said that Heath was appointed to assist him. From the complaints of the Catholic party of the presidency of a layman, it seems clear that Heath either held no such office, or that he was placed there merely to keep up appearances, without any real authority. "*Judex sit, si diis placet, Nicholaus Bacon, homo laicus, hæreticus, ac rerum divinarum prorsus imperitus, assistente ad speciem tantum reverendissimo arch. Eboracensi.*" Sanders, p. 284.

² Soames, vol. iv., p. 648.

prayers and the administration of the sacraments? 2. Whether every church had not the authority to appoint, change, and take away ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, so the same were done to edification? 3. Whether it could be proved by the word of God, that in the mass there was a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead and the living?"¹ Nine disputants were to be selected by the two parties, to discuss these ambiguous and comparatively trifling questions, not one of which, nor even if they could all have been explained in a sense favourable to Protestant and hostile to Catholic practice, would have touched the vital and fundamental doctrines on which all the special differences between the two churches are based,² and with which they must stand or fall.

On the first day appointed, the discussion seems to have proceeded with some degree of moderation; but on the second, the lord keeper refused the Catholic disputants, who had been required to begin the debate, the opportunity of reply. It was declared that the order of the council was, that this privilege should not be conceded, as the right of reply was to be confined to the Protestant divines. Upon this infringement of the plainest principles of justice, remonstrances and mutual recriminations ensued, and the real object of the meeting being thus laid bare, the Catholics refused to continue a debate in the very outset of which, besides the advantages already secured to their opponents, every principle of fair discussion was violated. Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, complained of other acts of unfair usage. "He said that his friends had been grievously and most unjustly pressed for time, having had notice of the Friday's disputation only two days beforehand, and having been reduced to the necessity of sitting up all the last night, for the purpose of preparing the paper which was now offered to the consideration of the auditory. The Protestants, he declared, had been allowed ample opportunity for preparation. His party, he continued, had been, by means of varying orders, prevented from using to the best advantage even the short time which was allowed them: the Archbishop of York having first given them notice to dispute in Latin; an intimation next having reached them that they were to write in Latin; and, lastly, a call having been made upon them for a writing in English."³

These complaints were interrupted by the lord keeper, with an exclamation which was a foretaste of the bitter persecution which was thenceforward to be the portion of the Catholic: "Since you are not willing that we should hear you, you shall very shortly

¹ Burnet, iii., p. 605.

² On the Catholic side, were the Bishops of Winchester, Litchfield, Chester, Carlisle, and Lincoln, and Doctors Cole, Harpsfield, Langdale, and Chedsey; on the Protestant, Scory, late Bishop of Chichester, Cox, Whitehead, Grindal, Horn, Sands, Guest, Almer, and Jewel. Burnet, iii., p. 606.

³ Soames, iv., p. 651, 652.

hear from us." And it will scarcely be credited that two bishops, Watson and White, who had been the boldest in denouncing the acts and injustice of this court-device, as a substitute for the want of clerical coadjutors in Parliament, were committed prisoners to the Tower,¹ whilst the "three other bishops, and the same number of inferior divines were bound in recognisances to appear from day to day for judgment. From every one of the six were eventually exacted considerable fines."² This severity, it was hoped, whilst it would remove from the Lords two bold opponents of the new service, and silence three others, from the punishment that was kept suspended over their heads, would daunt the resolution of those who had hitherto opposed the attempts of the court to revolutionize the religion of the country.

The conference being terminated, parliamentary business was resumed, and on the 18th of April, a bill for restoring the new book of common prayer came to the Upper House from the Commons. It had passed that House "in three days, with no opposition but that of Mr. Arnold, which, though directed against the penal clauses, was intended to destroy the bill."³ "It was met among the Lords by a spirited opposition, the whole episcopal bench and several lay peers being arrayed against it."⁴ "It was, however, passed on the 28th of April, against the opposition of nine prelates and nine temporal peers. Among the latter we find not only the names of Shrewsbury and Montacute, the usual opponents of this session, but those also of the Marquess of Winchester, of the Lords Morley, Stafford, Dudley, Wharton, Rich, and North."⁵ By this act it was provided that "King Edward's second service-book, as altered by the committee of divines appointed for that purpose, should be used in all places of public worship from and after the festival of St. John the Baptist next ensuing."⁶ The Catholic service, when restored under Mary,

¹ As some excuse for this act of severity, it is said by Heylin, p. 112, and by Collier, ii., p. 431, that the bishops threatened to excommunicate the queen, if she persisted in here present apparent scheme of subverting the established faith. Sanders, de Schism. Angl. p. 284, makes the same assertion, though he does not specify the bishops by name. "*Sua privata pericula adeo neglexerunt, ut eorum plerique excommunicationis censuram adversus reginam, aliosque nonnullos adhibendam censerent, qui duces illi autoresque fuerunt tam periculosæ defectionis.*" On the other hand, no mention is made of any such threat, by Jewel, in his account of the conference, nor in the council's declaration.

² Soames, iv., p. 655. They attended daily from the 5th of April, till after the dissolution of the Parliament, and on the 10th of May, the following fines were exacted; from Bayne, Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, £333 6s. 8d.; from Oglethorpe, of Carlisle, £250; from Scot, of Chester, 200 marks; from Dr. Cole, 500 marks; from Dr. Harpsfield, £40; and from Dr. Chadsey, 40 marks. Strype's Annals, i., p. 140.

³ Mackintosh, iii., p. 11.

⁵ Mackintosh, ubi supra.

⁴ Soames, iv., p. 656.

⁶ Soames, iv., p. 657. It is deserving of remark, that the proceedings of the House of Lords, from the 22d of April to the 1st of May, are not extant, though that they were regularly entered, is plain, from the references to them in D'Ewes, p. 28. This omission prevents us from determining with exactness the proportion which the mi-

had been received with every demonstration of joy by a thankful nation; the day appointed for its use had been almost universally anticipated; but no such welcome was expected for the new book of prayer, as the oath of supremacy was to be enforced, by depriving the unwilling of all official rank, civil and ecclesiastical; and opposition, whether in word or in writing, to be smothered by the imprisonment or death of all impugners. As persecution subdued opposition under Edward, so did this Parliament of reformers resolve to force the new service on the nation by similar inflictions, to be so administered that, from the highest nobleman to the meanest peasant, not merely direct opposition to, but even the mere neglect of the worship enjoined by Parliament, without the concurrence, nay, in spite of the most determined opposition of the prelacy, should be visited by the vengeance of the law.

For this purpose the penal code of Edward was restored; the use of any but the established liturgy by a minister, whether beneficed or not, was prohibited under pain of forfeiting his goods and chattels for the first offence, of a year's imprisonment for the second, and of imprisonment during life for the third.¹

nority against the new service-book bore to the whole number of the House. Dr. Lingard and Mr. Ellis tell us that the bill passed by a majority of only three, in which case further light is thrown on the imprisonment of two of the Catholic bishops. For this statement, however, neither of the above writers cites any authority. Burnet, Heylin, Strype, and the usual historians of the reformation are silent.

¹ "Be it enacted by the queen's highness, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, that all ministers in any cathedral or parish church, or other place, shall be bounden to say and use the mattins, even-song, celebration of the Lord's supper, and administration of each of the sacraments, and all the common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the book authorized by Parliament in the 5 and 6 Ed. 6, with one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of the litany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added in the delivery of the sacrament to the communicants, and none other or otherwise. 1 Eliz. c. 2. And there was a proviso, that such ornaments of the church, and of the ministers thereof, shall be retained and used, as was in this Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI., until other order shall be taken therein by the authority of the queen's majesty, with the advice of her commissioners appointed and authorized under the great seal of England for causes ecclesiastical, or of the metropolitan of this realm.

"If any parson, vicar, or other whatsoever minister, that ought or should sing or say common prayer mentioned in the said book, or minister the sacraments in such cathedral or parish church, or other places as he should use to minister the same, in such order and form as they be set forth in the said book, or shall wilfully and obstinately, standing in the same, use any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of celebrating the Lord's supper, openly or privily, or mattins, even-song, administration of the sacraments, or other open prayer, than is mentioned and is set forth in the said book: or shall preach, declare, or speak any thing in the derogation or depraving of the said book, or any thing therein contained, or of any part thereof; and shall be thereof lawfully convicted, according to the laws of this realm, by verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, he shall forfeit to the king for the first offence, the profit of all his spiritual promotions for one year, and be imprisoned for six months; for the second offence shall be imprisoned for a year, and be deprived ipso facto of all his spiritual promotions, and the patron shall present as if he were dead; and for the third offence shall be deprived ipso facto of all his spiritual promo-

This portion of the act entailed either apostasy or beggary; it transferred, from the Catholic to the Protestant, every church, chapel, and benefice in the kingdom. The minister that refused to abandon his religion and the service of his church, was to be cast into prison, and the patron of the living "to present to it as if the incumbent were dead." It ousted from the churches, built by Catholics, the Catholic teacher and worship, and forced others into their room; crushed the fearful into compliance, and the wavering, the temporizing, and the unscrupulous, into conformity. By a refinement of persecution, it invaded the hearth and family-worship, and operated as an absolute interdiction of Catholic rites, however privately celebrated. Let it then be laid down as one of the landmarks of this period, as a fact incontrovertible, that the national faith was proscribed, not by increased instruction, scriptural examination, or the willing concurrence of the church in the person of its teachers, the prelacy and the clergy, but by the brute force of power, and the action of the basest and harshest measures.

Honour and wealth, civil and ecclesiastical, denied to all but the impugnors of the papal supremacy; the ministerial office taken from all but the readers of the new book of prayer, it became further necessary to complete the measure of persecution, to devise some method by which not only the pastors but the people might be coerced into attendance at the new service. Accordingly, it was enacted that a fine should be imposed on all who should prefer to worship at home according to their consciences, and absent themselves from church on Sundays and holidays.¹ This was a ready method indeed of insuring proselytes; if not an appeal to the understanding, it was at least to what has mighty influence with most, to their interests. Did a clergyman refuse the new prayer-book and prefer the old, he was imprisoned; did a layman, he was fined. These were the arguments of the magnanimous reformers; and, no doubt, with the prison and beggary in the foreground, with the weekly recurring fine, the reformed preacher found himself sufficiently safe from opposition, and was gratified with a crowded congregation of right faithful and conscientious hearers. And in the face of these facts, standing as they do in churches acquired, in spite of every

tions, and be imprisoned during life; and if he have no spiritual promotion, he shall for the first offence be imprisoned during a year, and for the second offence during life."

¹ "All persons shall diligently and faithfully, having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent, endeavour themselves to resort to their parish church or chapel accustomed, or upon reasonable let thereof to some usual place where common prayer and such service of God shall be used in such time of let, upon every Sunday and other days ordained and used to be kept as holidays; and then and there to abide orderly and soberly during the time of the common prayer, preaching, or other service of God, on pain of punishment by the censures of the church, and also upon pain of forfeiting for every such offence 12*d.* to be levied by the churchwardens of the parish where such offence shall be done, to the use of the poor of the same parish, of the goods and lands of such offender by way of distress." 1 Eliz. c. 2, § 14.

opposition from the prelacy, by means such as these, we are doomed to hear, but with bitter scorn, eulogiums on the benignant spirit of the reformers, when, not three centuries back, the dungeons groaned with the sighs and tortures of priests driven from the very altars at which these men worship, and the very churches were filled with hearers, that loathed a service to which they were driven by the lash of the law, much as the slave is to his abhorred labour.

A few words may, with instruction, be given to the bills connected with religion, which, after being introduced, were abandoned. Amongst the most important, were the three following ; one for the restoration to their sees of Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale ; another for the revival of former statutes, authorizing the crown to nominate thirty-two commissioners, for digesting a body of canon-law ; and a third for the restoration of all incumbents deprived for having married. During the whole reign of Elizabeth, the statute passed under Henry, against the marriages of the clergy, remained unrepealed. Hence the bishops and clergy, " though they married by connivance, or rather by an ungracious permission, saw, with very just dissatisfaction, their children treated by the law as the offspring of concubinage."¹

§ 2.

Dissolution of Parliament.—Queen Elizabeth and the Catholic Prelates.—Kitchen of Llandaff.—Fate of the Catholic Bishops.—Regulations.—Service in Elizabeth's Chapel.—Visitation of the Kingdom.—The Oath of Supremacy.—Suspicious Report of the Visitors.—Ignorance of the new Religionists.—Conformists.—Attachment to the old Religion.

ON the 8th of May, the Parliament was dissolved, which, in the space of a few months, had totally changed the religion of the kingdom ; had established the subordination and dependency

¹ Hallam's *Constit. Hist. of Eng.*, i., p. 235. This continued, in legal strictness, till the first year of James, when the statute of Mary was explicitly repealed. Sandys writes to Parker, April, 1559, "The queen's majesty will wink at it, but not establish it by law, which is nothing else but to bastard our children." Strype brings clear proof that, in the early part at least of Elizabeth's reign, the marriages of the clergy were not held legal. A story is told of the queen illustrative of her sentiments on this subject. She had been sumptuously entertained at Lambeth, by Archbishop Parker, and on taking leave of Mrs. Parker, thus addressed her : "*Madam* (the style of a married lady) I may not call you : *Mistress* I am loth to call you ; but however I thank you for your good cheer." This lady is styled, in deeds made while her husband was archbishop, *Parker*, alias *Harleston*, which was her maiden name. And she dying before her husband, her brother is called her heir at law, though she left children. But the archbishop procured letters of legitimation, in order to render them capable of inheritance. *Life of Parker*, p. 511. Others did the same. *Annals*, i., p. 8. In the diocese of Bangor, it was usual for the clergy, some years after Elizabeth's accession, to pay the bishop for a license to keep a concubine. Strype's *Parker*, p. 203. Hallam's *Constit. Hist.*, i. 235, 236.

of the church on the state, by abrogating all jurisdiction and legislative power of ecclesiastical rulers, except under the authority of the crown, and prohibiting all changes of rites and discipline without the approbation of Parliament. But though the church had been enslaved to, or merged in, the state, there was still but an establishment without a creed, an episcopal organization without a hierarchy. Should the bishops remain firm in their faith, and brave the terrors of the laws just passed to force compliance, how were the parishes to be supplied with ministers, especially at a period when there was every likelihood of so many vacancies? Would it not have been better to have restored at once the ejected Protestant prelates to their sees? In this emergency, it was resolved to try once more the constancy of the prelates. On the 15th of May, a week after the dissolution of Parliament, the bishops, and other ecclesiastics of note, received a royal order to attend a meeting of the privy-council. The queen presided in person;¹ conjured them to comply with the acts recently passed, and enlarged on her claims to the supremacy vested in her by the recent statute. Regal claims to that power had been thoroughly sifted during the late eventful reigns, and, to the credit of the English hierarchy, they refused to sacrifice their belief and consciences at the shrine of royalty, even though none knew better than they, that they exchanged by that refusal their worldly hopes and honours for royal indignation, and the speedy vengeance of the law. They were dismissed from the queen's presence with threats and scorn. But their unanimity embarrassed and alarmed the government. Various schemes of intimidation were proposed. "The earl of Sussex advised that use should be made of various papers which he had sealed up in the royal closet, at the late queen's death."² These documents, he pretended, implicated three prelates, Gardiner, the late Bishop of Winchester, with Heath and Bonner, of an intrigue to supplant the protector, Somerset. "But when the council met again, three days after its conference with the bishops, it was determined that these evidences could not now be fairly acted upon to their prejudice;" it was, therefore, "resolved that the oath of supremacy should be tendered to the various parties from whom the legislature had exacted that test, at such times as might appear expedient, and that such as might refuse it must abide the consequences."³

¹ Soames, iv., p. 662.

² Soames, iv., p. 664.

³ Soames, p. 665. "The bishops at that time had been reduced to a narrower number than at any other time before. The sees of Salisbury and Oxon had been made vacant in the year 1557, by the death of Capon in the one, and of King in the other; neither of which churches had since been filled, and that of Oxon not in ten years after. Pacefew of Hereford, Holyman of Bristow, and Glyn of Bangor, died some few weeks before the queen; Cardinal Pole on the same day with her. Hopton of Norwich, and Brooks of Gloucester, within few weeks after. Gryffin of Rochester, departed this life about the beginning of the Parliament, about which time also Pates of Worcester forsook the kingdom, and was followed by Goldwell of St. Asaph in the

Before the close of the year, the oath had been tendered to all the bishops.¹ They were required to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the queen, and to deny that of the Pope, or to resign their bishoprics for a prison. Of all the prelates in England; there was but one found base or weak enough, to purchase his dignity at the price of his soul, Kitchin of Llandaff, whose name has come down to posterity as the "calamity of his see." He "having formerly submitted to every change, resolved to show himself no changeling, in not conforming to the pleasure of the highest powers."² Upon their refusal, they were deprived of their bishoprics, and committed to prison,³ where some, after an incarceration of a few months, were liberated, whilst others were doomed to linger out their lives in perpetual imprisonment. Had Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer never been, as they were, traitors to the queen; had they suffered solely for conscience' sake, as did these prelates; it may be doubted whether their agonies at the stake can, in point of suffering, be compared to the slow, recurring, and galling torture of the prison-house, endured by these glorious confessors.

The severity of these proceedings, and the unprecedented spectacle of the entire prelacy of the English Church committed to prison, by a court faction, for presuming to retain the faith which that court had thought fit to abjure, convinced the most fearless that nothing but submission could secure them from the persecuting spirit of the reformers. Many of the nobility and gentry fled to lands "where they might have the free exercise of

and of May; so that there were no more than fifteen living of that sacred order." Heylin, p. 114.

¹ The oath was first tendered, probably, to Bonner, on the 30th of May. On the 29th of June, he was deprived of his bishopric. Tonsal, the amiable and venerable Bishop of Durham, he was 84 years of age, had not the oath put to him till September.

² The prelates who refused the oath, were, Heath, Archbishop of York, Bonner, of London, Tonsal, of Durham, White, of Winchester, Thirlby, of Ely, Watson, of Lincoln, Pool, of Petersborough, Christopherson, of Chichester, Bourn, of Wells, Tuberville, of Exeter, Morgan, of St. David's, Bain, of Litchfield, Scot, of Chester, and Oglethorpe, of Carlisle. Heylin, p. 114. Burnet adds Pates, of Worcester, and Goldwell, of St. Asaph; but these two prelates, according to Heylin, l. c., had left the kingdom soon after the intentions of Parliament became apparent.

³ The bishops were not merely deprived of their sees and imprisoned; Heath, Thirlby and Bonner were excommunicated. Soames, iv., p. 673. The fate of the bishops was as follows: Tonsal, Morgan, Oglethorpe, White, and Baines survived their deprivation but a short time, dying of the contagious malady that prevailed. Heath, after two or three imprisonments in the Tower, was suffered to pass the evening of his days on his estate at Cobham, where he was visited occasionally by the queen: "he was a man of generous temper, and so was well used by her." Burnet, iii., p. 618. Bonner, after a ten years' imprisonment, died in the Marshalsea. Pates, Goldwell and Scot, succeeded in escaping to the continent. Thirlby, when liberated from the Tower, lived under the custody of Archbishop Parker, and Bourn under that of Dr. Carew, Dean of Exeter. Watson, after enduring 23 years of imprisonment, in various places, died in Wisbeach castle, in the year 1584. Godwin, p. 301. Tuberville and Pool were suffered to live in houses of their own, on entering into recognisances not to leave them without license.

their religion."¹ "The monastic establishments were universally broken up.² Feria, the Spanish ambassador, endeavoured to prevent the several societies from dissolving, by requesting permission to transmit them into his master's dominions. After some difficulty this request was granted, and the noble Spaniard generously received in his own house a considerable number of these recluses, until he could procure them a passage to Flanders. Eventually three whole convents of monks and nuns were transferred from England to the continent. The nuns, indeed, generally preferred expatriation to the breach of their vows; but many religious of the other sex returned to the habits of ordinary life. Nor was the Count of Feria inattentive to the dispossessed secular clergy; and when he left England, he took many of them in his train. These unfortunate ecclesiastics were kindly and liberally treated at the court of Spain; which thus obtained an additional hold upon the affections of English malcontents."³

The festival of St. John the Baptist, the day appointed for the introduction of the new ritual, fast approaching, it became necessary to insure the compliance, or the deprivation, of the parochial and other clergy. For this purpose, by the privy-council⁴ it was resolved to send commissioners, under the royal authority, "to travel over prescribed circuits for the purpose of inspecting ecclesiastical affairs, administering the oath of supremacy, enforcing the regulations promulgated for governing the church, and dispensing religious instruction."⁵ In default of the higher ecclesiastics, the visitation was to be conducted by laymen, aided by a few civilians and divines. They were furnished with a series of articles of inquiry,⁶ and with "a body of injunctions; the same in purpose and effect with those which had been published in the first of King Edward, but more accommodated to the temper of the present time."⁷ The principal modifications or differences were the following: 1. The first of these injunctions presents but a poor view indeed of the characters of the reformed clergymen under Edward, reciting the offence and slander to the church, that had arisen by lack of discreet and sober behaviour in many ministers, both in choosing of their wives, and in living with them, directs that no priest or deacon shall marry without the allowance of the bishop of the diocese, and of two justices of the peace, dwelling near the woman's abode, nor without the consent of her parents or kinsfolk, or, for want of these, of her master or mistress, on pain of not being permitted to exercise the minis-

¹ Burnet, iii., p. 619. Amongst the first to take the alarm, were Bishops Pates, Scot, and Goldwell, Lord Morley, Sir Francis Englefield, Sir Robert Peckam, Sir Richard Shelley, and Sir John Gage.

² "June the 12th, 1559, the friars of Greenwich were discharged and went away." Strype, Annals, i., p. 210.

³ Soames, iv., p. 667.

⁴ Heylin, p. 116.

⁵ Soames, iv., p. 677

⁶ Printed in Bishop Sparrow's collection, p. 67—177.

⁷ Heylin, p. 116.

try, or hold any benefice, and that the marriages of bishops should be approved by the metropolitan, and also by commissioners appointed by the queen.¹ 2. "All slanderous words, as papist, heretic, schismatic, or sacramentary, were to be forborne, under severe pains. No books might be printed without a license from the queen, the archbishop, the Bishop of London, the chancellor of the universities, or the bishop or archdeacon of the place where it was printed."² 3. It was enjoined "that whensoever the name of Jesus should be in any lesson, sermon, or otherwise in the church pronounced, that due reverence be made of all persons, young and old, with lowliness of courtesie, and uncovering of the heads of the menkind, as thereunto did necessarily belong, and heretofore had been accustomed."³ Music was also to be retained in the church-service.⁴ 4. As to the position of the altar, it was ordained, "That no altar should be taken down, but by oversight of the curat of the church, or the churchwardens, or one of them at the least, wherein no riotous or disordered manner was to be used; and that the holy table in every church be decently made, and set in the place where the altar stood, and there commonly covered as thereto belongeth, and as should be appointed by the visitors; and so to stand, saving when the communion of the sacrament is to be administered; at which time the same shall be so placed in good sort within the quire or chancel, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently and in more number communicate with the said minister. And after the communion done, from time to time the said holy table to be placed where it stood before."⁵

Another regulation comprised in these injunctions regarded the removal of images and pious paintings. To her the usual puerile objections to this practice could not be adduced; and though she yielded to the importunities or prejudices of the re-

¹ Somers' Tracts, i., p. 65. Burnet, ii., p. 398. Some time afterwards, (August 1561,) she put forth an injunction, that no member of a college or cathedral should have his wife living within its precincts, under pain of forfeiting all his preferments. Cecil sent this to Parker, telling him at the same time that it was with great difficulty he had prevented the queen from altogether forbidding the marriage of priests. *Life of Parker*, p. 107. And the archbishop himself says, in a remarkable letter in Strype, App., p. 29: "I was in a horror to hear such words to come from her mild nature and Christianly-learned conscience, as she spake concerning God's holy ordinance and institution of matrimony."

² Burnet, iii., p. 622.

³ Heylin, p. 116, 117.

⁴ "According to which order, as plain song was retained in most parish-churches for the daily psalms, so in her-own chapels, and in the quire of all cathedrals, and some colleges, the hymns were sung after a more melodious manner, with organs commonly, and sometimes with other musical instruments, as the solemnity required. No mention here of singing David's psalms in meeter, though afterwards they first thrust out the hymns which are in this injunction mentioned, and by degrees also did they the Te Deum, the Magnificat, and the Nunc dimittis." Heylin, p. 117.

⁵ Heylin, p. 117.

formers so far as to suffer these memorials and helps to piety to be removed from the parish-churches,¹ she showed her conviction of their usefulness by retaining them in her own private chapel and oratory.² This permission, like that under Edward, was taken advantage of to gratify that thirst for pelf and plunder which had disgraced the whole career of the reformers. "Some perverting rather than mistaking the intention of this injunction, guided by covetousness, or over-ruled by some new fangle in religion, under colour of conforming to this command, defaced all such images of Christ and his apostles, all paintings which presented any history of the Holy Bible, as they found in any windows of their churches or chapels. They proceeded also to the breaking down of all coats of arms, to the tearing off of all the brasses on the tombs and monuments of the dead, in which the figures of themselves, their wives or children, their ancestors, or their arms, had been reserved to posterity. And being given to understand, that bells had been baptized in the times of popery, and that even the churches themselves had been abused to superstition and idolatry, their zeal transported them in fine to sell their bells, to turn the steeples into dove-coats, and to rob the churches of those sheets of lead with which they were covered. For the restraining of which sacrilege and prophane abuses, she gave command in her said proclamation of the 19th of September, 1560, 'That all manner of men should from thenceforth forbear the breaking or defacing of any parcel of any monument, or tomb, or grave, or other inscription and memory of any person deceased, being in any manner of place; or to break any image of kings, princes, or nobles, estates of this realm, or of any other that have been in times past erected and set up for the onely memory of them to their posterity, in common churches, and not for any re-

¹ Burnet, iii., p. 619, 620. Heylin, p. 124. "In pursuance of this injunction, both the commissioners and the people showed so much forwardness, that on St. Bartholomew's day, and the morrow after, they burned in St. Paul's churchyard, Cheapside, and other places of the city, all the roods and other images which had been taken out of the churches. And as it is many times supposed that a thing is never well-done if not over-done, so happed it in this case also; zeal against superstition had prevailed so far with some ignorant men, that in some places the coaps, vestments, altar-cloaths, banners, sepulchres, and rood-lofts were burned altogether." Heylin, p. 118.

² The service in Elizabeth's chapel is thus described by Heylin, p. 124. "The liturgy celebrated in the chapel with organs, and other musical instruments, and the most excellent voices, both of men and children, that could be got in all the kingdom. The gentlemen and children in their surplices, and the priests in copes as oft as they attended divine service at the holy altar. The altar furnished with rich plate, two fair gilt candlesticks with tapers in them, and a massie crucifix of silver in the midst thereof. Which last remained there for some years, till it was broke in pieces by Pach, the fool, (no wise man daring to undertake such desperate service,) at the solicitation of Sir Francis Knowles, the queen's near kinsman by the Caries, and one who openly appeared in favour of the schism at Frankfort." The crucifix was replaced about 1570. "The archbishop seems to disapprove this as inexpedient, but rather coldly; he was far from sharing the usual opinions on this subject. A puritan pamphleteer took the liberty to name the queen's chapel as 'the pattern and precedent of all superstition.'" Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, quoting Strype's *Parker*, 310, and *Annals*, i., p. 471.

ligious honour; or to break down and deface any image in glass windows in any church, without the consent of the ordinary, upon pain of being committed to the next gaol without bail or mainprize.' It was also signified in the same proclamation, That some patrons of churches and others, who were possessed of impropriations, had prevailed against the parsons and parishoners, to take or throw down the bells of churches or chapels, and the lead of the same, and to convert the same to their private gains, by which ensued not only the spoil of the said churches, but even a slanderous desolation of the places of prayer. And thereupon it was commanded, that no manner of person should from thenceforth take away any bells or lead off any church or chapel, under pain of imprisonment during her majesty's pleasure, and such further fine for the contempt as shall be thought meet.'"¹

This proclamation indicated more than on the face of it was expressed. The queen, though she had yielded reluctantly to the removal of images during the preceding year, evinced a resolution to recall her concession. The question of their lawfulness was debated amongst the new bishops, Jewel and Grindal, representatives of the puritan section of the prelacy, condemning them, and Parker and Cox, the former the most prudent, if not the most learned of his colleagues, and the latter distinguished by his stern opposition, during his exile, to the school of Calvin, arguing in their favour.² Jewel and Grindal, supported by Sandys, prevailed, but not before they had been threatened to be degraded from their offices,³ nor without serious fears, on the part of the more moderate prelates, that the queen, in disgust at the violence of the new religionists, and their misrepresentation of practices as superstitious and even idolatrous, which she considered and knew to be pious and useful, might abandon the reformation altogether, and restore the religion which she had so recently suppressed.⁴

But it is time to return from this digression to the proceedings of the visiters. "After the injunctions were prepared, the queen gave out commissions for those who should visit all the churches of England: in which they lost no time, for the new book of service was by law to take place on St. John Baptist's day, 1559; and these commissions were signed that same day. The pream-

¹ Heylin, p. 134, 135. To show her earnestness in the above proclamation, "she not only signed it, one for all, to authorize it for the press, as the custom is, but signed them every one apart, (amounting to a very great number,) with her own royal hand." Heylin, *ubi supra*.

² Strype's Parker, p. 46, and Burnet, iii., App., p. 290.

³ "Quantum auguror, non scribam ad te posthac episcopus. Eo enim jam res pervenit, ut aut cruces argentia et stannæ, quas nos ubique confregimus, restituendæ sint, aut episcopatus reliquendi. Burnet, iii., App., p. 294. Sandys writes, that he had nearly been deprived for expressing himself warmly against images. *Ibid.*, p. 276. Other proofs of the text may be found in the same collection, as well as in Strype's Annals, and his life of Parker. Hallam, i., p. 234.

⁴ Life of Parker, App., p. 29.

ble to the commission for the archbishopric and province of York sets forth: "that God having set the queen over the nation, she could not render an account of that trust, without endeavouring to propagate the true religion, with the right way of worshipping God in all her dominions; therefore she, intending to have a general visitation of her whole kingdom, empowered them, or any two of them, to examine the true state of all the churches in the northern parts; to suspend or deprive such clergymen as were unworthy, and to put others into their places; to proceed against such as were obstinate, by imprisonment, church-censure, or any other legal way. They were to reserve pensions for such as would not continue in their benefices, but quitted them by resignation;¹ and to examine the condition of all that were imprisoned on the account of religion, and to discharge them; and to restore all such to their benefices as had been unlawfully turned out in the late times."²

The royal commissioners, in their appointed districts, proceeded to administer the oath of supremacy to all civil and ecclesiastical officers. At this distance of time it is impossible, such is the insufficiency of evidence, and even the conflicting character of that which has come down to us, to form any thing like a decision, or satisfactory judgment, as to the number of clergymen that apostatized from their faith, or conformed to the new religion, or, more justly, service. It is not to be forgotten that, with the exception of the denial of the papal supremacy, no article of faith was even to be mooted, much less to be rejected by the clergy, in order to retain their appointments. No articles had as yet been published by the reformers; no profession of faith was required of the minister, who, if he submitted to use the English service instead of the mass, and repudiated the supremacy of the Pope, could not legally, up to this period, be molested. Nor is it certain that the oath as explained in the injunctions, by the command of the queen, would be looked upon by all in the same light; nay, there is evidence to prove that by some, if not by many, it was considered that the words of the oath by no means necessarily trenched on any article of faith.³ Besides, prudence, if not the tranquillity of the

¹ "The prudence of reserving pensions for such priests as were turned out, was much applauded; since thereby they were kept from extreme want, which might have set them on to do mischief; and by the pension which was granted them upon their good behaviour, they were kept under some awe." Burnet, *iii.*, p. 625.

² Burnet, *i.* c.

³ "It appears that, in the seventeenth century, some R. Catholics contended that the oath of supremacy might be conscientiously taken; and this seems to explain the fact, that several persons of that persuasion, besides peers, from whom the oath was not exacted, did actually hold offices under the Stuarts, and even enter into Parliament, and that the test act and declaration against transubstantiation were thus rendered necessary to make their exclusion certain. Mr. Butler decides against taking the oath, but on grounds by no means sufficient, and oddly overlooks the decisive objection, that it denies in toto the jurisdiction and ecclesiastical authority of the Pope." Hallam, *Const. Hist. of Engl.*, *i.*, p. 152. But even the term "jurisdiction" is not so decisive an objection as

state, required that every possible means should be used to qualify the oath, to render its provisions the least obnoxious possible; and we have reason for believing that, in many cases, it was not exacted at all where peculiar circumstances might render such an omission highly desirable, or politic. According to the reports of the visiters, which, as was to be expected, present the view most favourable to their wishes, and are rendered doubtful by acknowledged facts, irreconcilable with their statement,—“of nine thousand and four hundred beneficed men in England, there were no more but fourteen bishops, six abbots, twelve deans, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, fifty prebendaries, and eighty rectors of parishes, that had left their benefices upon the account of religion.”¹ Now, if it be remembered, that the queen’s commissioners were required to restore such of the Protestant clergy as had been deprived of their benefices during the last reign, or had retired, on account of having married, or from other canonical impediments, the loss of the numbers specified above, could not have been seriously felt. And yet “such a deficiency of Protestant clergy was experienced at the queen’s accession, that for several years it was a common practice to appoint laymen, usually mechanics, to read the service in vacant churches.”² From an account sent in to the privy-council, by Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, in 1562, it appears that in his diocese more than one-third of the benefices were vacant.³ Whilst in Ely, out of one hundred and fifty-two cures, only fifty-two were served in 1560.⁴ There is no reason for denying that these two dioceses may be taken as a fair sample of the rest; so that whilst the deficiencies in these two alone, exceed considerably the returns made by the visiters for the whole of England, if we take them as an average of the rest, one-half, at least, of the clergy must be acknowledged to have remained steadfast in their faith.

is here asserted. “The words ‘ought to have,’ if *jurisdiction* be confined to its only proper sense, that of outward and coercive power, were perhaps the only terms in this oath which were repugnant to the conscience of a true Catholic. Even that difficulty has not been always deemed insurmountable.” Mackintosh, *Hist. of Eng.*, iii., p. 9.

¹ Burnet, iii., p. 625. Heylin gives the same statement, and evidently from the same source. In Harmer there is a slight difference in the numbers. “In all, fourteen bishops were deprived, to whom may be added one suffragan, Pursglove, of Hull. The whole number of clergy deprived at this time is thus described by a Romish dissenter, author of ‘A sincere, modest Defence of the English Catholics that suffer,’ published in 1583. He saith, ‘that in England were deprived fourteen bishops, besides three bishops elect, the Abbot of Westminster, four priors of religious houses, twelve deans, fourteen archdeacons, above sixty canons of cathedral churches, not so few as a hundred priests of good preferment, fifteen heads of colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, and about twenty proctors of divers faculties therein.’ I am willing to believe the computation of this author to be correct, because I find it to be so in the number of bishops and deans deprived. Of the three bishops elect deprived I can recover the names but of two, viz. Thomas Rainolds, elect of Hereford, and Thomas Wood.” Harmer, p. 152.

² Hallam’s *Constit. Hist.*, i., p. 248. See also Strype’s *Annals*, p. 138—177. Collier, p. 436—465.

³ *Annals*, i., p. 323.

⁴ *Life of Parker*, p. 72.

But these are not the only grounds for doubting the report of the visiters. So late as 1563, the speaker of the House of Commons complained, that "many of the schools and benefices were seized, the education of youth disappointed, and the succours for knowledge cut off. This," continued the speaker, "I dare aver, that the schools in England are fewer by one hundred, and many of them but slenderly stocked; and this is one reason the number of men is so remarkably diminished. The universities are decayed, and great market-towns are without either school or preacher."¹ Under Henry about a thousand schools were destroyed; under Elizabeth, the asylums for learning shared a similar fate; and yet the reformation must needs be represented as not merely the originator, but the friend and offspring of knowledge. If even "great market-towns were without either school or preacher," I need not ask what must have been the condition of learning and religion in less populous districts. It may be many ways profitable, and enable us to form something like an accurate opinion, of the amount of conformity to the new religion, and of the value of that conformity, as regards the capacity and attainments of the clergy under the new order of things, to turn our attention to the part taken by the universities, and the acquirements requisite for admission into the ministry. For several years, those educated in either of the universities, were refused ordination on account of their attachment to the Catholic faith.² In Exeter College, as late as 1578, there were not above four Protestants out of eighty, "all the rest secret or open Roman affectionaries." These chiefly came from the west, "where popery greatly prevailed, and the gentry were bred up in that religion."³ So that "after the Catholics had left the university of Oxford, upon the alteration of religion, it was so empty, that there was very seldom a sermon preached in the university-church. The university seemed to be destroyed."⁴

The change of religion, with these facts before us, can never be pretended to have been the effect of superior information and increased lights, since the prelacy, and the universities, which may justly be looked upon as comprising the most eminent scholars of the time, were both zealously opposed to the innovations, even at the sacrifice of every worldly interest. This, were there no direct proof of the measure of knowledge possessed by the new religionists, might, not improperly, be deemed satisfac-

¹ Collier's *Eccl. Hist.*, ii., p. 480.

² *Strype, Life of Grindal*, p. 50.

³ *Annals*, ii., p. 539.

⁴ *Wood's Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxford*, abounds with similar proofs of the attachment of this university to the old religion. "Of the two universities, Oxford had become so strongly attached to the Romish side during the late reign, that, after the desertion or expulsion of the most zealous of that party had almost emptied several colleges, it still for many years abounded with adherents to the old religion." *Hallam, Const. Hist.*, i., 249. "Bishop Jewel complained that there were not two in Oxford of the reformed opinions." *Mackintosh*, ii., p. 14.

tory evidence, that of the two systems, considered merely as deductions come to by the aggregate judgment of grave and learned men, and to be embraced or rejected, by the mass of men, according as the weight of authority and learning was found to preponderate in favour of the old or the new religion, the faith of the Catholic might confidently and proudly be pointed to as possessing an overwhelming preponderance. But, perhaps, the reformation in no other quarter of Europe, could, at this period, produce fewer abler and enlightened scholars, to give the sanction and influence of their names to change, under the name of amelioration, than England. By a return made to Archbishop Parker, in 1561, it appears that classical literature, even in its most ordinary element, the Latin language, was very imperfectly cultivated by the vast majority of the clergy of his province;¹ and we shall see that some of the reformed bishops were men of very limited education and attainments. There is even evidence to prove that, as late as 1578, scarcely more than one in four of the clergy was able to preach, or to do any thing further than read the English service.² The above facts embrace whatever I have been enabled to collect from authentic history, respecting the amount of conformity amongst the clergy, and the attainments of the reformed preachers; and probably an impartial judgment would lead us to modify considerably the reports of the visiters, and to attach very little authority to the opinions of the gossellers, on a question requiring far different qualifications from those that they seemed to have possessed. Nor is it certain that the compliance of the apostate clergy can even be appealed to as the result of conviction. "Indeed, the bishops after this time had the same apprehension of the danger into which religion was brought by the jugglings of the *greatest part of the clergy*, who retained their affections to the old superstition, that those in King Edward's time had: so that if Queen Elizabeth had not lived so long as she did, till all that generation was dead, and a new set of men, better educated and principled, were grown up and put in their rooms; and if a prince of another religion had succeeded before that time, they had probably turned about again to the

¹ In the column set apart as a certificate of learning, "this was commonly set down; Latine aliqua verba intelligit; Latine utcumque intelligit; Latine pauca intelligit," etc. We sometimes, however, find *doctus*. Life of Parker, p. 95. In a letter of Gibson, published in Pepys' Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 154, is a catalogue of the clergy in the archdeaconry of Middlesex, A. D. 1563, with their qualifications annexed. Three only are described as *docti Latine et Græce*: twelve are called *docti* simply; nine, *Latine docti*; thirty-one, *Latine mediocriter intelligentes*; forty-two, *Latine perperam, utcumque aliquid, pauca verba, etc., intelligentes*: seventeen, are *non docti* or *indocti*. If this was the case in London, what can we think of more remote parts? Hallam, Const. Hist., i., p. 249.

² In Cornwall, about 1578, out of 140 clergymen, not one was capable of preaching. Neal, p. 245. And, in general, the number of those who could not preach, was to the others nearly as four to one. *Ibid.*, p. 320. Hallam, i., p. 270, admits this to be, probably, a fair statement.

old superstition as nimbly as they had done before in Queen Mary's days."¹ There can be little doubt that the fear of beggary, and of the pains and penalties inflicted on adherence to the old faith, had, to say the least, as much influence on many of the conformists, as inquiry into the relative doctrines of the two churches; nor can any one conversant with the state of parties during this reign, fail to have remarked, that the prospects of a Catholic successor to the crown, which at one time appeared very probable, induced many both of the clergy and laity to acquiesce more readily, in outward appearance, in the new service.² Nor must it be forgotten, that not one single clergyman conformed until it became penal not to do so, until it became a question of abandoning their cures or their faith. But neither the influence of these hopes and fears, nor our experience of the readiness with which too many, in all ages, have sacrificed duty to interest, would account for the general compliance of the Catholics, who are said, as a body, with of course numerous honourable exceptions, to have regularly attended for several years, at the public service of the new religion, did we not know that those ingenious sophists, interest and fear, had produced a general conviction that mere personal attendance at a worship which denied no article of Catholic faith, was not sinful, or at all events could not, and would not, be considered as a direct act of apostasy.³ The example of the prophet was cited, as authorizing

¹ Burnet, Ref., iii., p. 625. "We are to know withall that many who were cordially affected dispensed with themselves in these outward conformities, which some of them are said to do upon a hope of seeing the like revolution by the death of the queen, as had before happened by the death of King Edward. Heylin, p. 115.

² The death of Mary was advised not merely by the puritan party in the House of Commons, but the enormous injustice of that legal murder was recommended, principally as the means of securing the new, and of destroying the hopes of the friends of the old religion, by Archbishop Parker in a letter to Cecil. "If that only (one) desperate person were taken away, as by justice soon it might, the queen's majesties good subjects would be in better hope, and the papists' daily expectation vanquished." Life of Parker, p. 354. And Walsingham, during his embassy at Paris, desires that "the queen should see how much they (the Catholics) built upon the possibility of that dangerous woman's coming to the crown of England, whose life was a step to her majesty's death;" adding that "she was bound for her own safety and that of her subjects, to add to God's providence her own policy as far as might stand with justice." Strype's Annals, ii., p. 48.

³ Cum regina Maria moreretur, et religio in Anglia mutaret, post episcopos et prælatos Catholicos captos et fugatos, populus velut ovium grex sine pastore in magnis tenebris et caligine animarum suarum oberravit. Unde etiam factum est multi ut Catholicorum superstitionibus, impiis dissimulationibus et gravibus juramentis contra sanctæ sedis apostolicæ auctoritatem, cum admodum parvo aut plane nullo conscientiarum suarum scrupulo assuescerent. Frequentabant ergo hæreticorum synagogas, intererant eorum conconibus, atque ad easdem etiam audiendas filios ac familiam suam compellabant. Videbatur illis ut Catholici essent, sufficere una cum hæreticis eorum templa non adire, ferri autem posse si ante vel post illos eadem intrassent. Communicabatur de sacrilegâ Calvinî coena: vel secreto et clanculum intra privatos parietes, missam qui audiverant, ac postea Calviniani se haberi volebant, sic se de præcepto satisfecisse existimabant. Deferebantur filii Catholicorum ad baptisteria hæreticorum, ac inter illorum manus matrimonia contrahebant. Atque hæc omnia sine omni scrupulo fiebant, facta propter Catho-

a mere outward presence in compliance with the law, a deduction which, however ill-founded it may appear, may possibly bear a comparison with the practice pretty generally, if not universally, complied with, in these our days, for the legalization of Catholic marriages. It was, indeed, so generally understood, at a period when one-half or one-third of the attendants at church were unwilling hearers, that the mere brute hand of the law, and of persecution, drove the Catholic to the new service, that, as late as the year 1570, the queen published a declaration that she did not intend to sift men's consciences, provided they observed her laws by coming to church."¹ But it must not be supposed that this compliance engendered no scruples. Questions of conscience were busily circulated, with answers showing the unlawfulness of conformity.² Some of the theologians assembled at Trent were consulted, and pronounced against the conformists.³

It is exceedingly difficult to ascertain what proportion of the nation concurred in, or merely outwardly complied with, the change of religion. That the Protestant party, divided already into hostile sects, or interests, was very numerous, cannot be doubted. The very attempt to change the religion of the state, might seem to prove them to have been one-half or a majority of the nation, had we not seen the strange and almost incredible facility with which Henry, Edward, and Mary had moulded the national faith according to their varying creeds. On the other hand, there seems every reason to believe that, under Mary, the mass of the nation—of the nobility, gentry, and clergy, there is no doubt—was Catholic. Possibly, the natural effect of so many alterations, of so much hypocrisy, contention, and hatred, had been to bewilder the minds of the weak and the ignorant, and to produce a spirit of indifference to all creeds in the generality of the nation. Of the learned professions, it is on record that they, like the prelates, the convocation, and the universities, were well known to adhere to the ancient faith. "The inns of court were

licorum sacerdotum ignorantiam, qui talia vel licere credebant, vel timore quodam præpediti dissimulabant. Nunc autem per Dei misericordiam omnes Catholici intelligunt, ut salventur non satis esse corde fidem Catholicam credere, sed eandem etiam ore oportere confiteri. Ribadeneira de schism., p. 53.

¹ This is pronounced by Strype "a notable piece of favour." *Annals*, i., p. 582.

² Amongst the rest, Allen and Parsons had published and circulated treatises against the practice. This is mentioned by Strype, p. 228, as an act of provocation against the government. "There was nothing more in this," says Hallam, i., p. 253, "than the Catholic clergy were bound in consistency with their principles to do, though it seemed very atrocious to bigots." It has also been matter of reproach, that the people were not suffered quietly to conform, because forsooth the prayer-book, though it omitted many Catholic tenets, directly impugned none. Would they who make this objection, feel justified in attending regularly and exclusively at a Unitarian chapel, where, to gain their acquiescence, all disputed tenets should be omitted? The effect of silence would have been to wear out the Catholic faith in another generation. No one can argue, as do these writers, without being prepared to defend the right of government to dictate a faith to its subjects.

³ Butler's *Mem. of Catholics*, i., p. 171.

more than once purified of popery by examining their members on articles of faith.”¹ “A great many of the justices of the peace were secretly attached to the same interest, though it was not easy to exclude them from the commission, on account of their wealth and respectability;”² and the lawyers in the most eminent situations are represented as Catholics.³ In the western parts of England, the gentry and people were principally adherents of the old faith; and, 1569, in the northern counties, “there were not two gentlemen who favoured and allowed of her majesty’s proceedings in the cause of religion.”

These details are of importance and interest, as enabling us, not merely to form some estimate of the parties and means by which the change of religion was affected, and consequently, to form some conclusion on which side was the influence of education, of the knowledge of religious controversy, of the Scriptures, and the weight of authority; but also to contrast the loyalty of the Catholic, which swerved not from the path of duty under changes and laws so trying and galling, with the open rebellion and treachery of the Protestant leaders on the death of Edward, even when they only feared in prospect those dangers which Catholics had actually to breast and struggle with.⁴

§ 3.

Parker’s Consecration.—Difficulties attending it.—Note.—Consecration of Bishops.—Bonner.—Disinterestedness of the new Prelates.—Singular Note from Elizabeth.—Abuses.—Parker and the Dissidents.—Puritan Spirit.—Knox and Lethington.

FROM the persecuting laws, injunctions, and the state of parties, we must now turn to a subject of paramount importance, not merely then, but by its consequences, even in our days. When it had been rendered evident that the Catholic prelates were not to be intimidated into apostasy, and would forfeit their fortunes and their liberty sooner than accept the oath of supremacy, and the new service-book, it became one of the most serious cares of the new government how to fill the sees of the deceased bishops, of those already degraded, and of the rest, who were likely soon to share the same fate. Cecil and Bacon, the principal ministers,

¹ Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, i., p. 191.

² Hallam, p. 193.

³ Strype, *Annals*, i., p. 269.

⁴ Even after the persecution of the Catholic faith had continued for three years, there was not a single symptom of that irritation or disloyalty, which was afterwards engendered abroad amongst the crowds of Catholics that fled for safety beyond sea. This is acknowledged by Hallam. “It cannot, as it appears to me, be truly alleged that any greater provocation had as yet been given by the Catholics, than that of pertinaciously continuing to believe and worship as their fathers had done before them. I request those who may hesitate about this to pay some attention to the order of time before they form their opinions.” *Const. Hist.*, i., p. 153.

had, even before the queen's coronation, turned their attention to the vacant primacy, at that crisis, the most important station in the kingdom. "That dignity had first been offered, as is said by some, to Dr. Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York, who, grown in years, and still a well-willer to the Pope, desired to be excused from undertaking a charge so weighty. And some say it was offered unto Whitehead also, who had been chaplain to Anne Bollen, the queen's mother; but he returned the like refusal, though on other grounds, as more inclined, by reason of his long abode in Calvin's churches, to the Presbyterians, than the episcopal form of government."¹ At length, the dignity was offered to Dr. Matthew Parker, one also of Anne Boleyn's chaplains, and after the fall of his patroness advanced by Henry to the mastership of Bene't-College, in Cambridge, and to a prebend in Ely. Shortly after Edward's accession he married, and during that monarch's reign was appointed Dean of Lincoln. Under Mary he was deprived, with many of the married clergy, of his preferments.

Parker expressed great reluctance to accept the proffered office, and a considerable part of a year, and threats of incarceration are said to have been employed in conquering his repugnance.² On the 18th of July, Elizabeth sent her *congé d'eslire* to the dean and chapter of Canterbury, empowering that body to choose "a pastor who should be devoted to God, and useful and faithful, both to the queen and realm." Though no particular individual was recommended,³ it was well known who was intended by the court. On the 22d of July, a chapter was summoned to meet on the 1st of August, for the purpose of proceeding to the election of an archbishop.⁴ Accordingly, on that day, a chapter was held, at which only Dr. Wotton, the dean, with four of the prebendaries attended; the other seven members of the chapter, probably from conscientious scruples, absented themselves.⁵ The customary forms having been observed, the prebendaries present "did by a compromise refer it to the dean to name whom he pleased; and he naming Dr. Parker, according to the queen's letter,"⁶ they

¹ Heylin, p. 120. "Whether others had the offer of it before him, (Parker) or not, I cannot tell." Burnet, Ref., iii., p. 591.

² Burnet, iii., p. 591, 592—627. Amongst other reasons assigned for Parker's unwillingness, is the following: "The statute empowering the crown to exchange episcopal lands for impropriate tithes was acted upon very soon after it passed. The endowments of every vacant prelacy being accurately surveyed: nor could there be any reasonable doubt, that, under the name of exchanges, new schemes of spoliation were to be expected. Parker, accordingly, and others who were marked out for professional advancement, naturally dreaded lest they should be placed in situations demanding an expenditure utterly disproportioned to their means of meeting it. Vain, however, were all attempts to preserve the church's patrimony entire." Soames, iv., p. 681.

³ Strype's Parker, i., p. 102.

⁴ Burnet, Ref., iii., p. 627. Heylin, p. 120.

⁵ Strype, Ib., p. 102.

⁶ This seems at variance with Strype's statement, that no individual in particular was nominated by the queen.

all confirmed it, and published their election, singing a 'Te Deum' upon it."¹ On the 3d of August, at a meeting of the chapter, proxies were appointed to wait on Parker,—who already, by the queen's permission, resided in the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth,—to notify to him his election. Parker signified, both by words and writing, his willingness to accept the dignity. "The first thing to be done, after the passing of the royal assent for ratifying of the election of the dean and chapter, was the confirming of it in the court of the arches, according to the usual form in that behalf; which being accordingly performed, the vicar-general, the dean of the arches, the proctors and officers of the court, whose presence was required at this solemnity, were entertained at a dinner provided for them, at the Nag's Head tavern in Cheapside; for which though Parker paid the shot, yet shall the church be called to an after-reckoning."²

We are now entering, or have fairly launched on a troubled sea of controversy, which, after an agitation of three centuries, only subsided for a while, to be disturbed, no longer exclusively by the Catholic polemic, but by the venturous hopes or fears of a body of men who may be thought by many to have acted imprudently, in intrusting their fortunes to the same treacherous waves that shipwrecked their fathers in the faith. The claims of the Anglican church to apostolical succession, hinge principally on the events which we are now recording. As the episcopal sees, and, eventually, the cures throughout England, were supplied by men ordained and consecrated by Parker, if Parker was not a consecrated bishop, then, neither were the Anglican clergy and prelacy episcopally ordained nor consecrated.

As these lectures are not controversial, but historical, dealing with facts and not with opinions, the historical part only of the question falls within my notice; and I shall content myself, therefore, with following the order of events, as far as I am able to trace it, in what I deem authentic history.

Parker had been elected bishop; his election had been confirmed; and "on the 9th of September, the great seal was put to a warrant for his consecration, directed to the Bishops of Duresme, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Llandaff, and to Barlow and Scory, (styled only bishops, not being then elected to any sees,) requiring them to consecrate him. From this it appears, that neither Tonstal, Bourn, nor Pool were at this time turned out: it seems there was some hope of gaining them to obey the laws, and so to continue in their sees."³

¹ Burnet, iii., p. 623.

² Heylin, p. 121.

³ Burnet, iii., p. 628. Had Tonstal, Bourn, and Pool been suffered to retain their sees till September, as Burnet here conjectures? At p. 617, Burnet tells us that the oath had been tendered as early as July, to *all* the bishops, Tonstal excepted, "to whom it was not put till September." It is in fact difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain precisely, from the careless and conflicting accounts of historians, the precise dates at which the oath was tendered to the several bishops, and those at which they were

But this commission never took effect. Of the failure, no reason is certainly known; but it probably arose from the refusal of the three prelates, Tonstal, Bourn, and Pool, to assist at the con-

deprived of their sees. It seems, however, certain, that immediately after the dissolution of Parliament, the oath of supremacy was tendered to the majority of the bishops, and probably to those first who had ventured to resist the statute of supremacy in the House of Lords. Neither Tonstal, Bourn, nor Pool attended in their places in Parliament; whilst Kitchen, though he voted against the oath, took it when offered him amongst the first to whom it was tendered. The commissioners appointed by the queen to introduce the injunctions, and, amongst other duties, to administer the oath, did not receive their commission until the 24th of June, so that it may seem unlikely that by the end of July any considerable progress could have been made in their various circuits. Besides, the refusal of the oath was not *immediately* followed by deprivation. Bonner, the first to whom it was administered, refused the oath on the 30th of May, (Strype, *Annals*, i., p. 209,) and though no mercy was expected by him, nor shown him, and every haste was made to commence proceedings against him, on the 2d of June, to deprive him of his bishopric, (Harmer, p. 152,) his deprivation was not effected until the 29th of that month. (Strype, i., p. 210.) Nor does it seem requisite to admit that the refusal of the oath was *necessarily* followed by any proceedings for depriving the non-juror. Admitting that they who took a prominent and active part in opposing the statute of supremacy, were singled out and deprived, in order to intimidate their more prudent or more temporizing colleagues, expediency would compel the government to act with every moderation towards the few remaining prelates, for fear lest they might be driven into a refusal of the oath, and frustrate the intentions and hopes of the court in the consecration of Parker. These remarks may, perhaps, lead us to the conclusion, that when the bishops are spoken of as having refused the oath in July, nothing more is meant than the majority of the prelates, those who had been most active in opposition; or that a pause was made by the government between the refusal of the oath and deprivation; or at least that, in some favoured cases, hopes were held out, that the door was not closed to their sees in reward of concurrence in Parker's consecration. These suggestions premised, I deem it due to the reader to cite the leading authorities. From Camden nothing precise can be collected; Baker tells us, that "the supremacy thus confirmed to the queen, the oath was soon after (in July he had just said) tendered to the bishops and others, of whom as many as refused to take it were presently deprived of their livings;" amongst the bishops who then refused it, he names Tonstal, Bourn, and Pool: of Tonstal, Godwin gives the same account; of Pool, he merely says that, having been consecrated in August, 1557, he was deprived of his authority before two years had elapsed. (Godw. de *episc. Ebor.*, p. 139, 594.) Heylin has been cited as asserting that the bishops, except Kitchen, refused the oath in July. He does: nay, like Baker and the rest, he gives, by name, every prelate in the church as having refused it in these words, "there were no more than fifteen living of that sacred order. And *they* being called in the beginning of July by certain of the lords of the council, commissioned thereunto in due form of law, were then and there required to take the oath of supremacy, according to the law made in that behalf. Kitchen of Llandaff only takes it. . . . by *all the rest* it was refused, that is to say, by Dr. Heath, Bonner, Tonstal," &c., naming every Catholic prelate in the kingdom. Nothing may seem more positive than this; there is no testimony clearer, and yet,—and the careful attention of the reader is requested to this fact, as confirming the remarks made at the beginning of this note,—though all the bishops are represented as *refusing the oath*, Heylin informs us that *some* of them were not *deprived* until the end of September. "But now they had hardened one another to a resolution of standing out unto the last, and were thereupon deprived of their several bishopricks, as the law required. A punishment which came not on them all at once, some of them being borne withal (in hope of their conformity and submission) till the end of September." Heylin, *Ref.*, p. 114. (1661, London.) Does not this passage of Heylin enable us to reconcile the otherwise conflicting assertions of historians?

They who will not admit this conclusion, must be driven, 1. To deny the authenticity of the commission dated September 9th. Now, this commission is not only mentioned in Parker's register, of which, more hereafter, but also is found on the patent-roll of the

secration of Parker.¹ In this, they imitated the resolution of the Catholic prebendaries of Canterbury, who had refused to concur in his election. The favour which had been shown them was at once withdrawn, and within a short period they were, as had been the rest of their brethren, deprived of their sees.

The civil power, armed with the oath of supremacy, had destroyed the hierarchy of the church. Not a legal bishop, except Kitchen of Llandaff, remained. The Parliament had thrown down, but how was it to build up? Was the queen, or the government, to use the same authority which had unbishoped the church, to create a hierarchy? Why not call into action the exercise of that prerogative which Cranmer, and others of the reformed prelates, had so loudly proclaimed, both by word and action,—that it was the privilege of the spiritual supremacy, inherent in the crown, to nominate, elect, and appoint to the episcopal office, dignity, and jurisdiction, independently of all episcopal interference? How was not only the restored act of the 25th of Henry to be complied with, but by what ordinal could the new bishops, in case four prelates were found, be legally consecrated? In this emergency, Cecil sought for assistance and advice from Parker. The archbishop elect replied, that the act of Henry VIII. must be complied with; that King Edward's ordinal must be used, "for that there was none other especially made in the last Parliament;" and that, as to the temporalities, "that is done after the consecration, as it seems to me by the same act."²

1st of Elizabeth, in the Rolls chapel. Moreover, Strype tells us, that he saw a draught of it in the "state-paper office, in which the names of the bishops intended to officiate had not been supplied, excepting that of Tonsal, which was inserted in the handwriting of Abp. Parker." (Life of Parker, i., p. 107.) 2dly. They will have to explain to us how, if deprived in July, Bourn, of Bath and Wells, could be still styled bishop on the 18th of October. (Rhym. xv., p. 545.) Tonsal is mentioned by the accurate Strype, p. 144, as having been deprived on the 29th of September, not to mention the authority of Heylin and Burnet, quoted above. I will conclude this note with the following extract from Collier, ii., p. 431. "When these were *turned out*, may be accounted for, as far as the province of Canterbury, by inspecting the dates when the spiritualities of their respective sees were seized by the dean and chapter of Canterbury. For, during the vacancy of this metropolitical see, the archiepiscopal jurisdiction was in the hands of the dean and chapter. Now, the spiritualities of the see of London, void by Bonner's deprivation, were thus seized, June the 2d, 1559:—the spiritualities of Litchfield, June the 24th; the spiritualities of Worcester, 30th; the spiritualities of Lincoln, July 2d; the spiritualities of St. Asaph, July 15th; the spiritualities of Winchester, July 18th; the spiritualities of Peterborough, November 11th; those of Exeter, Nov. 16th; and those of Ely, Nov. 23:—all the same year. As for the see of York, the dean and chapter there exercised the spiritual jurisdiction, belonging to the archbishopric, on the 3d of Feb., 1559, 1560. For then, on the 29th June, this year, the Bishops of Carlisle and Chester were deprived by the queen's commissioners, and the deprivation of the Bishop of Durham followed about three months after."

¹ "Those prelates, who must have considered such an act a profanation, conscientiously refused." Mackintosh, Hist. of Engl., iii., p. 16.

² Strype's Parker, p. 40. On the margin of this answer, Cecil, according to his custom, has made notes. Of King Edward's book, he remarks, "this is not established by Parliament;" of the provisions of the 25th of Henry VIII., "there is no archbishop, nor four bishops now to be had, wherefore *quærendum*."

The late Parliament had refused to restore the deprived Protestant prelates to their sees; and though they and other refugees had hastily returned from exile with an understanding that they would soon be raised to posts of dignity, they had hitherto seen their hopes deferred, and their most eminent members still deprived of their forfeited benefices.¹ But disappointment was soon to be succeeded by the fulfilment of their highest expectations. On the refusal of the Catholic prelates to consecrate Parker, if the episcopal form of government was to be retained, where was the court to seek for consecrators, but in those deprived prelates who, having received or exercised the episcopal office and authority, could alone continue the episcopal succession. But this step was surrounded with difficulties. It is true that, if the Protestant prelates had received canonical ordination and consecration, the validity of any orders or consecration canonically conferred by them, could not be disputed: and thus, at least, an episcopal succession would be preserved. But it could not be forgotten that, during the last reign, the sufficiency of Edward's ordinal, for the valid collation of the episcopal and ministerial offices, had not merely been matter of dispute amongst divines, but had actually been practically impugned, if not denied. Such of the clergy as had been ordained according to that ritual, and were deemed fit to be continued in the ministry, were, by the injunctions published in 1554, to have such things supplied as had been wanting in their ordination; and amongst other reasons assigned for the deprivation of the bishops, was the nullity of their consecration.²

¹ Doubts have been entertained as to the intentions of Elizabeth relative to religion, on her accession to the throne, and even after her coronation. Those doubts vanish, and her duplicity is laid bare, before the following extracts from letters which passed between the reformers on their return to England, and their old friends in Switzerland. From the extracts, it is clear that the gospellers were invited over to England, and promised high preferment. At first they received nothing. "*Adhuc nemini nostrum, ne de obolo quidem, prospectum est.*" "*Ita hactenus vivimus, ut vix videamur restitui ab exilio. Ne dicam aliud, ne suum quidem adhuc restitutum est alicui nostrum.*" 22d May. But when it had become evident that the Catholic prelates would not apostatize, the prospects of the reformers brightened, and several were fixed upon for the vacant sees. "*Aliquot nostrum designamur episcopi, Coxus Eliensis, Scoreus Erfordensis, Allanus Roffensis, Grindalus Londinensis, Barlovus Chichestrensis, et ego, minimus apostolorum, Sarisburiensis.*" August 1. This brings us to the date of Parker's election; accordingly, in the next letter, we find his name mentioned. "*Quidam ex nostris designati sunt episcopi, Parker Cantuariensis, Coxus Norwicensis, Barlovus Cicestrensis, Scoreus Herfordensis, Grindalus Londinensis.*" But the subsequent difficulties delaying Parker's consecration, deferred also their hopes. "*Ingemuisti cum audires nil esse prospectum cuiquam nostrum. Nam ne adhuc quidem quicquam. Tantum circumferimus inanes titulos episcoporum.*" 5 November. "*Episcopatu designati tantum sumus: interim prædia pulchre augent fiscum.*" 16 November. These dates prove that no consecration of Protestant bishops had taken place until at least the middle of November; that, in August, it was expected that several prelates would soon be consecrated; and, thus far, confirm the view taken in the text.

² Burnet, *Hist. Ref.*, Rec. ii., p. 345. Thus Taylor, of Lincoln, was deprived, "*ob nullitatem consecrationis ejus, et defectum tituli sui quem habuit a R. Edv. VI., cum hac clausula, Dum bene se gesserit.*" Harmer, p. 134. It is a remarkable fact, and one which I am unable to account for, that, whilst Cranmer was degraded from the episco-

Besides, not one of the reformed prelates was attached to any see, or in the exercise of any jurisdiction. By whom then was the power of which they had been lawfully and canonically deprived to be restored to them? Could a merely civil and human power confer a spiritual and divine authority? That the deprived prelates, if canonically and episcopally ordained, belonged to the episcopal order, could not, it is true, be denied; but then there was a broad and recognised distinction to be drawn between ability to consecrate, and the right to do so. Consecration had never been admitted to carry with it jurisdiction. The former distinguished the bishop from the priest; merely removed a negative inability, but did not confer positive authority. There were, to use an illustration, the root, the trunk, and the branches of a goodly tree, but without sap, without any principle of vitality. Orders might qualify, jurisdiction alone could authorize them to exercise their ministry. A principle so fully and universally acknowledged, that no instance could be cited in the whole history of the church, of a single act of jurisdiction having been recognised merely on account of valid ordination, independent of a specific commission; whilst there were not unfrequent instances of a long series of ministerial acts having been pronounced, and dealt with as vitiated from the sole want of this lawful and authoritative commission. Indeed, the mere absence of some such check on the abuse of a responsible power would at once, it must have been felt, have rendered it impossible to prevent a minister validly ordained or consecrated, from abusing his privilege to schismatical or heterodox purposes. If orders in a priest did not necessarily entail mission, then why should consecration in a bishop? Here then were, indeed, difficulties in their path. Even if the chain of episcopal succession could be preserved unbroken, what hand could unite the severed link of episcopal jurisdiction? If the Catholic, the canonical and legal bishops refused to concur in preserving the first, could they, or were they likely, to confer an authority in opposition to their own? They repudiated, as null and void before God, any attempt of human power to deprive them of a divine right: and they well knew that, as God is not the author of dissensions, there could not be two opposite jurisdictions, and both divine.

Their property, their palaces, and their civil rights were at the disposal of the crown, but their power was from God, and by no merely human act could they be justly deprived of it, nor by any human authority could it be transferred. And yet what other resource was left to the gossellers? The supremacy of the Pope had been rejected; in the queen had been vested the supreme government of the church; every bond between the crown and

pacy, Hooper, Ridley, and, apparently, Latimer, were merely degraded from the priesthood, and this, on the plea that "their episcopal consecration was not recognised." Soames, iv., p. 465.

the hierarchy had been broken; if then the civil power could not bestow spiritual jurisdiction, it would be useless to proceed to the consecration of prelates who would thereby merely become invested with dignity without power. But something it was necessary to do; it was an emergency in which ordinary difficulties, if they could not be removed, must be beaten down or passed over; and though the more observing and learned might note the flaw in the episcopal blazonry, the glitter of that dignity, and the actual possession of sees to which authority had been for centuries attached, would, no doubt, conceal the defect from the eyes of the multitude; whilst, in due time, the just distinction between orders and jurisdiction might be resumed, so as to prevent whatever evil might threaten to result from looking on matters so distinct,—the one a mere fact, and the other a power,—as indissolubly united, or as one.

To give something like the weight of deliberation and authority to the step that must now necessarily be taken, it was resolved to call in advice; and we learn from an instrument preserved in Parker's Register,¹ that six doctors of canon and civil law gave it

¹ The authenticity of the Lambeth, or Parker's Register, has been, ever since the time of James I., matter of dispute. This is not the place to enter into any details on the question; and I will merely add that, not having met with, or discovered any solid reasons for denying its genuineness, I shall appeal to it in the text, as a document which, though I see no reason to believe it spurious, others may not choose to admit as evidence.

[*Note by the American Editor.*—The author of these valuable Lectures, with that spirit of liberality which distinguishes his work, has followed, in the text, the view most favourable to the Anglican ordinations. His authorities will be found below. With every wish to be equally impartial, we confess that, to our mind, the authenticity of the Lambeth, or Parker's Register is more than suspicious:—its fabrication is next to a certainty. To discuss the subject in a brief note, is not our intention; it would moreover be foreign from the character of these Lectures, intended, as they are, to be historical and not controversial. Viewing the question, then, merely as a debated point of history, the following are some of the heads of argument which have led us to the conclusion that the Lambeth Register *cannot* be admitted as evidence of Parker's consecration, and that the Anglican ordinations are null.

1st. The Anglican ordinations were contested from the very infancy of the established church, and by several of the most distinguished Catholic writers that the 16th century produced. The very title of Mason's work, published in 1613, himself a Protestant, places this fact beyond a doubt.

2d. *Fifty-three years* passed away between the supposed consecration of Parker, and the *first* public reference by Mason to the Lambeth Register. If the Register existed before, why were the Protestant clergy silent for half a century, amid the taunts of their Catholic adversaries—"that these ministers and bishops, although mitred, were not truly nor lawfully ordained." This silence, considering the importance of the question and the religious excitement of the times, is almost conclusive evidence that no such register then existed.

3d. Had Parker been consecrated in the chapel at Lambeth, according to the form prescribed by the ritual of Edward VI., and as described in the Register itself, the affair must have been notorious. How then, again, shall we account for the repeated public denial, not only of the *validity*, but of the *fact* of his consecration by the earliest Catholic writers, and for the suspicious silence of the Protestants?

4th. It is not true that the Protestants appealed to the Register, on the first publication by Sacrobosco, in 1603, of the story of Parker's consecration, &c., at the Nag's Head Tavern. It was only ten years afterwards, in 1613, that the world was informed of the existence of such a document!

as their opinion, that the supremacy of the queen enabled her to overrule all ecclesiastical impediments, and to authorize the deprived prelates to proceed to the consecration; whilst her royal authority and command would be their warrant, or justification, in whatever might contravene, or not be in direct accordance with the law.

The first commission being void, as the twenty days assigned by the statute had expired,¹ a second was issued, on the 6th

5th. Had the Register been referred to before,—had its existence been a matter of public notoriety, would six bishops, with Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, at their head, have thought it worth their time to assemble, for the purpose of showing it to a few Catholic priests, brought from their prisons to look at it? and when from their prisons they asked for a *second look* at the Register, why was it refused them? Was it, *indeed*, from fear that they might have destroyed the document? their manacles might have been easily tightened. To us this so called “examination” is almost proof positive that the Register was a forgery.

6th. The wording of the record in the Register is suspicious, inasmuch as it is different from that of all the entries that precede and follow it: its circumstantiality, so uncalled for in such documents, is scarcely less suspicious.

There is a great variety among those who quote the Register, as to the number of bishops present, &c., so that we have no less than five different accounts of the same facts.

7th. *Mason* was chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury: as such, it was both in his *power* to falsify the records at Lambeth, and his *interest* to do so: two circumstances, considering the temper of those times, which greatly invalidate his evidence; especially when such evidence was so long and so vainly called for, before, by the Catholic writers.

Godwin's work, *de Præsulibus Angliæ*, appeared first in English, in 1601, and afterwards in Latin, in 1615. The first edition, published *before* the appearance of *Mason's* work, says not a word about Parker's consecration at Lambeth: the second, published two years after, repeats *Mason's* tale. Such being the case, it would be safer for Episcopalians to let *Godwin* pass: his previous silence is, again, almost conclusive evidence that he knew nothing of the Lambeth Register, nor of Parker's pretended consecration.

Camden's Annals also appeared in 1615, two years *after* *Mason's* work: to copy *Mason* was no difficult task, and was the most likely course to please the court and his patron, James I.

As for the work on the Antiquities of the British Church, ascribed to Parker himself, it is in the same predicament; and has altogether too much the air of testimony “got up for the occasion,” to outweigh the serious objections, suspicions, &c., which on every side beset the question of Anglican ordinations. Indeed, the more we study this subject, the more decided is our conviction that the Lambeth Register of Parker's consecration will find its proper place among that mass of documents to which the Protestant historian, *Whitaker*, refers in the following candid, though painful acknowledgment: “Forgery, I blush for the honour of Protestantism, while I write it,—seems to have been peculiar to the reformed.” See his *Vindication of Mary, Queen of Scots*, vol. iii., p. 2. Also pp. 45—54.

The reader will observe that this note refers only to the *fact* of Parker's consecration: its *validity* is another question, beset with equal, if not greater difficulties: we would refer those who may wish to investigate this intricate subject, to the brief but learned and interesting work on “Anglican Ordinations,” by the Very Rev. P. R. Kenrick, D.D., now Bishop of Drasis, and coadjutor to the Bishop of St. Louis, Missouri.]

¹ Heylin, who omits all mention of the first commission, accounts for the delay between Parker's election and consecration, in the following terms: Why the consecration was deferred so long may be made a question; some think it was, that she might satisfy herself, by putting the church into a posture by her visitation, before she passed it over to the care of the bishops; others conceive, that she was so enamoured with the power and title of ‘supream governess,’ that she could not deny herself that contentment

of December,¹ "to the Bishop of Llandaff; Barlow, Bishop elect of Chichester; Scory, Bishop elect of Hereford; Coverdale, late Bishop of Exeter; Hodgkins, Bishop suffragan of Bedford;² John, suffragan of Thetford; and Ball, Bishop of Ossory; that they, or any four of them, should consecrate him."³ "Whoever considers it important at present to examine the above list, will perceive the perplexities in which the English church was involved by a zeal to preserve unbroken the chain of episcopal succession."⁴ In fact, here was, of seven prelates named, but one in the government of a diocese, and that the only diocese throughout England then presided over by a bishop. And even he, from some cause which has not reached us, but possibly from an unwillingness, on the part of the government, to show too much dependence on the Catholic bishops, took no share whatever in Parker's consecration. Here was, not merely no concurrence, I will not say of the chief pastor, but of the patriarch of the west; a concurrence which for ages—and consuetude, legally or illegally introduced, is right and law—had been acknowledged and decreed by the first council of Nice, essential to a canonical consecration in this, as in every portion of a patriarchate; but not even the confirmation of a metropolitan, nor

in the exercise of it which the present interval afforded; for what are titles without power! and what pleasure can be taken in power if no use be made of it? And it is possible enough that both or either of these considerations might have some influence upon her. But the main cause for keeping the episcopal sees in so long a vacancy must be found elsewhere. An act had passed in the late Parliament, which never had the confidence to appear in print, in the preamble whereof it was declared, 'That by dissolution of religious houses in the time of the late king her majesties father, many impropriations, tithes, and portions of tithes, had been invested in the crown, which the queen being a lady of a tender conscience, thought not fit to hold, nor could conveniently dismember from it without compensation, in regard the present low condition in which she found the crown at her coming to it. And thereupon it was enacted, that in the vacancy of any archbishoprick, or bishoprick, it should be lawful for the queen to issue out a commission under the great seal, for taking a survey of all castles, manors, lands, tenements, and all other hereditaments to the said episcopal sees belonging; and on the return of such surveys, to take into her hands any of the said castles, &c., as seemed to her good; giving to the said archbishop or bishops as much annual rents to be raised upon impropriations, tithes, and portions of tithes, as the said castles, &c., did amount unto. The church lands certified according to the ancient rents, without consideration of the casualties and other perquisites of court which belonged to them; the retribution made in pensions, tithes, and portions of tithes, extended to the utmost value, from which no other profit was to be expected than the rent itself. Which act not being to take effect till the end of that Parliament, the deprivation of the old bishops, and the consecration of the new, was to be taken up in the executing of such surveys, and making such advantage of them as most redounded to the profit of the queen and her courtiers.' Ref., p. 120, 121.

¹ [This second commission of Dec. 6th is, without any mark of authenticity in Rymer; it must therefore be rejected as at least doubtful, if not spurious, especially as it is in opposition to a commission "*Per ipsam Reginam*," dated 20th of October, the authenticity of which cannot be denied. Vide Bishop P. R. Kenrick's work on Anglican Ordinations, chap. iv.—ix., p. 120.—*Am. Ed.*]

² By a misnomer, not usual in written documents, Hodgkins is called Richard, instead of John.

³ Burnet, iii., p. 628. Heylin, p. 121.

⁴ Mackintosh, iii., p. 16.

the approbation of the bishops of the province; nay, in opposition to that patriarch, to the metropolitan, by God and holy church appointed, to every bishop, but one, of every diocese in England, was the consecration to be conducted; so that the episcopal succession, if preserved, was to be retained by violating every precedent, every canonical regulation. And thus, after all, the new bishops separated themselves not merely in faith from the episcopacy of Christendom, but broke through those ordinances which they, to maintain even an appearance of consistency, were obliged to reject as conventional, and by a limited, human, and usurped authority, voidable, but which their predecessors had, for centuries, regarded as, in their principles, apostolical, authoritative, and binding, if not demonstrably as essential as the very form of episcopal government, which by those regulations had from age to age been fenced. But still, in a church which denies that "holy orders" is a sacrament, and sinks it into a mere religious ceremony, which admits priests to the administration of sacraments, and limits, as far as distinctive privileges are concerned, the powers of the episcopacy to mere matters of ceremonial and discipline, why should it, for a moment, have been a subject of concern or importance, to have that ceremony celebrated by the ministry of the Catholic bishops, or administered by an ancient rather than by a novel form? Is it not the privilege of each church to regulate matters of variable discipline, and what need of so complicated and expensive a machinery as a hierarchy to perform a mere brief and simple ceremony? But, leaving these reflections, which rather regard the validity, than the fact of Parker's consecration, let us return to the history of that event.

The second commission mentioned above,¹ unlike the former one, contained an unusual clause, in which the queen undertakes, on account of "the necessity of the thing, and urgency of the time," to supply every defect which might attach to any of the parties officiating, from their condition, state, or powers, or may arise from the laws of the church, or the statutes of the realm.² According to precedent, and for obvious reasons, a greater number of prelates than the law required had been named in the commission. Kitchen of Landaff, Ball of Ossory, and John, suffragan of Thetford, "either hindered by sickness, or by some other lawful impediment, were not in a condition to attend the service."³

¹ This commission, besides being found in Burnet, iii., p. 628; Heylin, p. 121, and similar historians, occurs in the original patent-roll of the 2d Elizabeth, in the Rolls' chapel.

² *Suppletur nihilominus suprema auctoritate nostra regia, ex mero motu ac certa scientia nostris, si quid aut in iis quæ juxta mandatum nostrum prædictum per vos fient, aut in vobis, aut in vestrum aliquo, conditione, statu, facultate vestris, ad præmissa perficienda desit, aut deerit eorum, quæ per statuta hujus regni, aut per leges ecclesiasticas in hac parte requiruntur, aut necessaria sunt, temporis ratione, et rerum necessitate id postulante.* The above clause "suppletur" occurs also in the instruments recording Parker's confirmation and inthronization.

³ Heylin, p. 121.

On the 7th, Parker appointed his proxies to appear before the commissioners; and by virtue of the mandate, on the 9th of December, Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins, met at the church of St. Mary-le-bow; where, according to the custom, the *congé-d'élire*, with the election, and the royal assent to it, were to be brought before them; and these being read, witnesses were to be cited to prove the election lawfully made; and all who would object to it were also cited. All these things being performed according to law, and none coming to object against the election, they confirmed it according to the usual manner."¹ "The consecration was performed by the above four on Sunday, the 17th of that month, according to the ordinal of King Edward the Sixth, then newly printed for that purpose; the ceremony performed in the chapel at Lambeth House,² the east end whereof was hanged with rich tapestry, and the floor covered with red cloth; the morning service read by Pearson, the archbishop's chaplain; the sermon preached by Dr. Scory, lord elect of Hereford, on those words of St. Peter, 'The elders which are among you I exhort,' &c. 1 Pet. v. 1; the letters patent for proceeding to the consecration publicly read by Dr. Dale; the act of consecration legally performed by the imposition of the hands of the said four bishops, according to the ancient canons and King Edward's ordinal; and after all, a plentiful dinner for the entertainment of the company which resorted thither, amongst whom, Charles Howard, eldest son of William Lord Effingham, created afterwards lord admiral, and Earl of Nottingham, happened to be one, and after testified to the truth of all these particulars, when the reality and form of this consecration was called in question by some captious sticklers

¹ Burnet, iii., p. 628. It must be remarked that, in the register, the act of "confirmation" has no date. This omission is the more deserving of attention, as all the other acts connected with Parker's consecration are separately dated. This deviation may show carelessness—a carelessness not easily accounted for on the supposition that the document is spurious—but surely nothing else, for there could have been no greater difficulty in affixing a date to this than to any of the other papers. There is a general heading to all the instruments detailing the particulars of Parker's consecration. "Things acted, had, and done in the business of the confirmation . . . on the 9th day of Decem.," &c. In the mean time, it must not be forgotten, that the Register, Diary, and "Antiquitates" appeared about the time that the forgery of documents is said to have been so prevalent as to be made a source of fiscal gain. Pardons were issued, at a small charge, and ran thus: "*perdonamus falsas fabricaciones chartarum, scriptorum, monumentorum, ac publicationes eorum.*"

² It is said, by Champney and others, that "Bonner, Bishop of London, then in prison upon the account of religion, threatened Llandaff with excommunication if he ordained them; who, being terrified by this message, and perhaps being inwardly touched with the stings of conscience, drew back and refused to lay his hands upon them, alleging the weakness of his eyes as the cause." How far this may be true I know not, but it deserves notice that the chapel at Lambeth, fixed upon for Parker's consecration, was not within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, the archiepiscopal residence being subject to the see of Canterbury.

[There are many serious difficulties attending this whole account. See, however, "Anglican Ordinations," &c., chap. viii., ix., x.; the reader will be fully repaid by the novel and interesting information therein conveyed.—*Am. Ed.*]

for the church of Rome.”¹ Coverdale, one of the assistants at the consecration, “attended not at the consecration in his cope and rochet, as the others did, but in a plain black coat reaching down to his ankles.”² There is good reason to believe that Barlow, who had enjoyed and exercised the civil and ecclesiastical privileges and rights of a bishop under Henry VIII.—a dignity which he probably resigned under Mary—presided at the consecration.³

¹ Heylin, p. 121. That Parker’s consecration took place *on the 17th December*, is asserted in the Register; in the Diary, in these words, “17o. Dec., Ann. 1559, consecratus sum in archiepiscopum Cantuariensem: Heu! heu! Domine Deus, in quæ tempora servasti me!” Strype’s Parker, App., p. 15; by a work said to be written, or corrected by Parker, entitled “De antiquitate Britannicæ ecclesiæ,” published in 1572, three years before Parker’s death; by Camden, p. 149; by Godwin, *De Præs.*, p. 219. To which direct evidence must be added much collateral presumptive proof, which may be easily gathered from the text. That Parker was consecrated *according to Edward’s ordinal* is attested by the Register, the work *De antiquitate*, and other authorities.

[The value of these authorities has been briefly shown above. The reader, after examining the subject, must judge for himself. It is certainly somewhat perplexing that the commission, dated December 6th, 1559, in consequence of which the consecration of December 17th took place, should have no mark by which Rymer could distinguish it from a spurious document; while both those of September 9th and October 20th have the necessary mark of authenticity, which would entitle them to be received as evidence in any court of justice. According to Mason, whose statement must be bound up with the Register, Parker was elected by the dean and chapter of Canterbury about December: according to Stowe and Hollinshed, and, indeed, all who now maintain the fact of his consecration, he was bishop elect on the 9th of the preceding September; and, according to the royal commission of October 20th, he was “the most Reverend Father in Christ, Matthew, *Archbishop of Canterbury*,” two months before he is said to have been elected! *Fiat lux*. Vide Bishop P. R. Kenrick “on Anglican Ordinations,” chapter ix., p. 120—129; also, a remarkable pardon granted by James I. for the erasing, interlining, &c., of records, &c., chapter iv., p. 64.—*Am. Ed.*]

² Heylin, p. 123.

³ Much has been written for and against Barlow’s claims to be recognised as a consecrated bishop. The objections, bared of a mass of irrelevant matter, are, 1st, that there is no register of the act of Barlow’s consecration; 2d, that Barlow believed episcopal consecration a mere idle ceremony. To the first of these objections it is replied, that this omission is far, very far from being an isolated instance; that, consequently, just as much force must it, in fairness, be allowed to have, and no more, against Barlow, as against any other prelate, Gardiner, for example, the record of whose consecration is wanting. To the second, it is observed, that Barlow’s opinions could not change the law which required consecration; and that the more clearly his baseness is shown in sacrificing his opinions to his interests or fears, the less likelihood is there that he would omit any rite necessary to secure his interests or his person from danger. On the other hand, it is granted, on all sides, that by no one, under Henry, whether layman or ecclesiastic, that is, for the space of at least ten years, was his consecration ever called in question; that his ordinations were undisputed, and his assistance at the consecration of prelates unchallenged; though it seems impossible that, out of so small a body as the English hierarchy, the omission of a rite accounted essential should have passed unnoticed; that he appeared and voted, not merely in his place in Parliament, but also in the convocations, and other assemblies of the clergy, as a recognised bishop, and that, too, in the presence of men to whom he had rendered himself, by his opinions and connection with Cranmer, exceedingly obnoxious; and who, or some of whom, evinced no unwillingness to seize every opportunity of ruining the gospellers with the king, as Cranmer more than once experienced. This, I think, shows that, by his contemporaries, probably not the worst judges of a matter of fact, Barlow’s consecration was not doubted. It may be deserving of notice, that Barlow, not merely on the episcopacy, but on most other religious subjects, was well known to be a scoffer and an unbeliever.

[“The consecration of Barlow cannot be positively *proved*, and, therefore, however

Of his assistants, Hodgkins, suffragan of Bedford, had been consecrated bishop according to the Catholic pontifical; Scory and Coverdale according to King Edward's ordinal. The main difficulty was thus at length overcome. The new church was no longer without a metropolitan, and thenceforward the vacant sees began rapidly to fill. On the 18th, the very day after Parker's consecration, the queen sent six writs, directed to Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, and primate and metropolitan of all England, ordering him to proceed to the confirmation and consecration of six bishops elect, for six different sees. To enable him to comply with this injunction, Parker hastened to remove from his consecrators and future assistants, Barlow and Scory, the impediment under which they had laboured, by restoring them to the exercise of their forfeited jurisdiction, not over their former sees, but by confirming the election of Barlow to the see of Chichester, and of Scory to that of Hereford. This circumstance is particularly deserving of remark, as these two, being the only deprived prelates who were restored to episcopal sees, it proves the inaccuracy and folly of the assertion, that, under Elizabeth, the Protestant prelates were merely reinstated in the dioceses of which they had been unjustly deprived under Mary. The fact is, that not one single prelate was restored to the see from which he had been degraded. "And though the not restoring of them to their former sees might seem to justify the late Queen Mary in their deprivation, yet the queen wanted not good reasons for their present removal: not that she did consult therein her own power and profit, (as is thought by some,) but studied rather their content and satisfaction than her own concerns. For Barlow having wasted the revenue of the church of Wells, would not with any comfort behold a place which he had so spoiled; and Scory having been deprived of the see of Chichester, under pretence of wanting a just title to it, desired not to be put upon the hazard of a second ejection. But as for Coverdale, he did not only wave the acceptance of Oxen, but of any other church then vacant. He was now 72 years old, and desired rather to enjoy the pleasure of a private life, than be disquieted in his old age with the cares of government. And somewhat might be also in it of a disaffection, not to the calling but to the habit."¹

With the assistance of Barlow, Scory, and Hodgkins, Parker proceeded at once to the consecration of the bishops elect. "On the 21st of the same December, Dr. Edmond Grindall was consecrated to the see of London; Dr. Richard Cox to that of Ely; Dr. Edwin Sandys to the church of Worcester; Dr. Rowland Mer-

certain it may be considered, cannot be otherwise regarded than as *highly probable*, even by those who undertake to maintain it; whereas, on the other hand, there are weighty reasons which render it still *more highly probable*, that he never received episcopal consecration." Anglican Ordinations, chapter xii., p. 187. See also, chapter x throughout. — *Am. Ed.*

¹ Heylin, p. 123.

rick unto that of Bangor. On the 21st of January then next following, Dr. Nicholas Bullingham was, by the like consecration, made Bishop of Lincoln; the right learned Mr. John Jewel, (who afterwards accepted the degree of Doctor) Bishop of Salisbury; Dr. Thomas Young, Bishop of St. Davids; and Mr. Richard Davis, Bishop of St. Asaph. The 24th of March was honoured with the consecration of three other bishops; that is to say, of Mr. Thomas Bentham to the see of Coventry and Litchfield, of Mr. Gilbert Barclay to the see of Wells, and of Dr. Edmund Guest to that of Rochester.¹ On the 14th of July comes the consecration of Dr. William Alley to the church of Exon, and that of Mr. John Parkhurst to the church of Norwich, on the first of September. By which account we find no fewer than sixteen sees to be filled with new bishops, within the compass of the year, men of ability in matter of learning, and such as had a good report for the integrity of their lives and conversations. Nor was it long before the rest of the episcopal sees were supplied with new pastors. The queen's commission of survey had not crossed the Trent, which possibly may be the reason why we find no new bishops in the province of York; and Winchester must afford one Michaelmas rent more to the queen's exchequer, before the lord treasurer could give way to a new incumbent."²

To complete the history of the re-establishment of the hierarchy, it will be useful to bring to notice a circumstance which occurred a few years later than the events which we have been tracing, but which must not be lost sight of in forming a judgment on the English ordinations. Early in January, 1563, the oath of supremacy had been appointed by act of Parliament, as a test before admission into almost every office, whether of church or state, and powers had been given to the bishops to administer the oath to "every spiritual person in their proper diocesses." "Horne, Bishop of Winchester, acting upon this right, required that test of Bonner, then confined in the Marshalsea, a prison within his diocese. The requisition being met by a refusal, legal proceedings were instituted against the deprived prelate."³ Bonner defended himself in the Court of King's Bench "by means of two eminent lawyers, Christopher Wray, afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the learned Edmund Plowden." "By them and their advice the whole pleading chiefly is reduced to these two heads, (to omit the niceties and punctilios of lesser moment,) the first whereof was this, that Bonner was not at all named in the indictment, by the stile and title of Bishop of London, but only

¹ According to other accounts, Guest was consecrated on the 21st of January; also to the above prelates must be added, James Pilkington, consecrated on the 2d of March, to the see of Durham; and on the same day, John Best, to that of Carlisle. Strype's Parker, i., 127.

² Heylin, p. 123. For the rest of the bishops, see the same historian, p. 139.

³ Soames, Hist. Ref., iv., p. 690.

by the name of Dr. Edmond Bonner, clerk, Dr. of the lawes, whereas at that time he was legally and actually Bishop of London, and therefore the writ to be *abated*, as our lawyers phrase it, and the cause to be dismissed out of the court. The second principal plea was this, that Horn at the time when the oath was tendered, was not Bishop of Winchester, and therefore not empowered by the said statute, to make tender of it by himself or his chancellor. And for the proof of this that he was no bishop, it was alleged that the form of consecration of archbishops and bishops, which had been ratified by Parliament in the time of King Edward, had been repealed in the first year of Queen Mary, and so remained at Horn's pretended consecration.¹ The cause being put off from term to term, comes at the last to be debated amongst the judges at Serjeants Inne. By whom the cause was finally put upon the issue, and the tryal of that issue ordered to be committed to a jury of the county of Surry. But then withall it was advised, that the decision of the point should rather be referred to the following Parliament, for fear that such a weighty matter might miscarry by a contrary jury, of whose either partiality, or insufficiency, there had been some proof made before, touching the grants made by King Edward's bishops, of which a great many were made under this pretence, that the granters were not actually bishops, nor legally possessed of their several sees."²

Accordingly in the ensuing Parliament, it was declared, that "Whereas, for the avoiding of all ambiguities & questions that might be objected against the lawful confirmations, investing, & consecrations of the sayd archbishops & bishops, her highness in her letters patent for the confirmyng, investing & consecratyng of anye parson elected to the office anye archbishop or bishop hath not onely used such wordes & sentences as were accustomed to be used but also used & put in divers other general wordes & sentences, whereby her highness of her supreme authoritie hath dyspensed with all causes & doubtles of anye imperfection or disabilitye that cann or maye in anye wise be objected against the same, as by her majestyes sayd letters patent remayning of record more plainly will appeare, it is enacted that King Edward's order or forme for the consecrating of archbishops, bishops, &c., shall stande & be in full force & effect, & that all persons that have byn or shall be made, ordered, & consecrated, archbishops, bishops, &c., after that forme & order be in very deed, & also

¹ Heylin's account of this transaction is incomplete. Bonner's objections were both statutable and canonical. He denied Horn's right to administer the oath, because Horn had been consecrated by a form not legally established, and by a metropolitan who was himself no bishop. And this latter assertion he defended on these two grounds, first, that Parker had been consecrated by King Edward's ordinal; and secondly, that Parker's consecrators were, both legally and canonically, disqualified from officiating at that consecration, being deprived of their benefices.

² Heylin, p. 173, 174.

by authoritye hereof enacted to be archbysshops, byshops, &c., & rightly made, ordered, & consecrated, anye statute, law, canon, or other thing to the contrarye notwithstanding.”¹

We have now before us a brief history of Protestant ordinations at this eventful crisis. Those orders have never been recognised in any portion of the Catholic church, as conferring the priestly or episcopal character. Whether from doubting the fact of Parker’s consecration, or its validity, as contravening the canons, and administered according to an ordinal considered deficient in matters essential to the collation of holy orders,—a defect acknowledged and remedied, as far as it could be, at a later period, by the established church,—or whether from these and other reasons united, there is no instance on record of the orders of the Anglican church having been admitted as valid by the Catholic and Episcopal Church of Christendom; whilst there are sundry examples of orders having been conferred on individuals previously ordained in the English Church, just as unconditionally as if that church advanced no claims to episcopal succession.

Though the earnest longings of the leaders amongst the gospels had been gratified with the mitre, the new prelates were doomed to view, in bitter disappointment, the spoliation of the temporalities of their sees. The acts under which the queen was enabled to take possession of the lands of each bishopric, with the exception of the chief mansion and its domain, have been already mentioned. In vain did the new prelates remonstrate, in vain did they appeal to the charity and piety of their royal patroness, and represent to her their inability to preserve that dignity and splendour which she so much wished to retain in the public service, if stripped of their most valuable possessions; nor would the offer of an annual present of one thousand pounds tempt her to lose her hold of the goodly prize; she refused either to receive their homage, or to restore to them their temporalities until the provisions of the act had been carried out to the letter. Not that the crown profited much by the pillage; as usual the richest spoils passed into the hands of the lay reformers, who now, as heretofore, took care that the sincerity of their change of religion

¹ The question of the illegality of King Edward’s ordinal was treated as follows: “That their not restoring of that book to the former power in terms significant and express, was but *casus omissus*; and secondly, that by the statute 5th and 6th Edw. VI., it had been added to the Book of Common Prayer and administration of the sacraments, as a member of it, or at least an appendant to it, and therefore by 1 Eliz. was restored again, together with the said Book of Common Prayer intentionally at the least, if not *in terminis*. But being the words in the said statute were not clear enough to remove all doubts, they did therefore revive it now; and did accordingly enact, that all persons that had been, or should be made, ordered, or consecrate, archbishops, bishops, priests, ministers of God’s holy word and sacraments, or deacons after the form and order prescribed in the said book, be in very deed, and also by authority hereof, declared and enacted to be, and shall be, archbishops bishops, priests, ministers, and deacons, rightly made, consecrate, and ordained, any statute, law, canon, or any thing to the contrary notwithstanding.” Heylin, p. 174.

should not be tested at least, by the forfeiture of any worldly advantage.¹

Nor will it be useless, to enable us to form an opinion of the sincerity and godliness of these reformed prelates, to inquire, for a few moments, how far they exhibited in their conduct that disinterestedness, and zeal for God's honour and his church, which their professions, and the condemnation of their predecessors, justify us in expecting. Surely, men so holy as to assume to themselves the name of gospellers and reformers, could not stain their hands with the low, base, and degrading vices of speculation and robbery, unworthy not merely of the Christian, but of the man, much more of the prelate, and of the reforming prelate divinely called to reprove and correct the vices of a guilty church. And yet, so it is, that their professions, if tried by their actions, will appear little else than the cunning hypocrisy of men, whose path to eminence and wealth was to be smoothed by professions of superior piety easily accredited by the vulgar, and admitted, though smiled at, by the more observant, as necessary or useful for the obtaining of ends, in which their common interests were involved. This spirit of rapine in the prelates shows that they deemed godliness gain; in the laymen, who professed to follow and not to lead, to be reformed and not to reform, it probably, in many instances, merely proved that, according to the general laws of human nature, men, and men especially of not very tender consciences, or of very profound theological attainments, will give the readiest reception to truths which preserve or increase their worldly comforts. But can they be called honest men, who had been, during the last reign, so active against their real opinions? The following specimens of the apostolical disinterestedness and honesty of these new prelates may suffice.² "Next follows the translation of Dr. Thomas Young, Bishop of St. David's, to the see of York, which was done upon the 25th of February, in an unlucky hour to that city, as it also proved: for scarce was he settled in that see, when he pulled down the goodly hall, and the greatest part of the episcopal palace in the city of York, which had been built with so much care and cost, by Thomas the elder, one of his predecessors there, in the year of our Lord 1090. Whether it were for covetousness to make mo-

¹ Stat. of Realm, iv., p. 381. Strype, i., p. 97. Soames, iv. As Sir W. Cecil was the director of the queen's councils, at this period, his share of the plunder may be cited as an example. "During the vacancy whereof, (of the see of Peterborough,) and in the time of his incumbency, Sir W. Cecil, principal secretary of estate, possessed himself of the best manners in the Soake which belonged unto it; and for his readiness to confirm the same manners to him, preferred him to the see of Norwich, anno 1584." Heylin, p. 138.

² "A disorderly state of the church, arising partly from the want of any fixed rules of discipline, partly from the negligence of some bishops, and simony of others, but above all, from the rude state of manners and general ignorance of the clergy, is the common theme of complaint in this period, and aggravated the increasing disaffection towards the prelacy." Hallam, Const. Hist., i., p. 259.

ney of the materials of it, or out of sordidness to avoid the charge of hospitality in that populous city, let them guess that will."¹ "The violence of Aylmer's temper (Aylmer was Bishop of London) was not redeemed by many virtues, it is impossible to exonerate his character from the imputations of covetousness and of plundering the revenues of his see; faults very prevalent among the bishops of that period."²

Such was the prelacy substituted, under a system that professed to be a reformation, in the place of the Catholic hierarchy. To the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, had succeeded that of the queen; a lay and female instead of an episcopal, head of the church; a change not very clearly to the advantage of religion, nor likely to promote its interests, in any of those various ways in which a supreme governor is generally deemed useful, not to mention the danger or certainty of sinking the independence of the church, in the authority vested in the crown. Elizabeth, it is true, in words and by proclamation, softened and almost explained away her supremacy, but, by means of the high commission court,—the atrocities of which we shall soon see,—she took care to assert it practically with no little despotism. The bishops of the primitive had been replaced by those of a new church, which, whilst it retained the outward regimen of its predecessor, was still destitute of any authorized exposition of faith, and even of

¹ Heylin, p. 138.

² Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, i., p. 274. "An information was laid against him for felling his woods, which ended not only in an injunction, but a sharp reprimand from Cecil in the star-chamber." Strype's *Aylmer*, p. 71. When he grew old, and reflected that a large sum of money would be due from his family, for dilapidations of the palace at Fulham, etc., he literally proposed to sell his bishopric to Bancroft. *Id.*, p. 169. The other, however, waited for his death, and had above £4000 awarded to him; but the crafty old man having laid out his money in land, this sum was never paid. Bancroft tried to get an act of Parliament in order to render the real estate liable, but without success. *Ib.*, p. 194. Hatton, the lord keeper, built his house in Holborn, on the Bishop of Ely's garden. Cox, on making resistance to this spoliation, received this singular epistle from the queen:

"Proud Prelate,

"You know what you were before I made you what you are, if you do not immediately comply with my request, by G—I will unfrock you.

"ELIZABETH."

The bishop's reply is printed in Strype's *Annals*, vol. ii., App., p. 84. This bishop in consequence of such vexations, was desirous of retiring from the see before his death. After that event, Elizabeth kept it vacant eighteen years. During this period we have a petition to her from the Lord Keeper Puckering, that she would confer it on Scambler, Bishop of Norwich, then 88 years old, and notorious for simony, in order that he might give him a lease of part of the lands. Strype, *iv.*, p. 246. The queen in her speech to Parliament on closing the session of 1584, when many complaints against the rulers of the church had rung in her ears, told the bishops that if they did not amend what was wrong, she meant to depose them. D'Ewes, p. 328. This exercise of the supremacy seems never to have been questioned during her reign. Thus she suspended Fletcher, Bishop of London, of her own authority, only for marrying "a fine lady and a widow." Strype's *Whitgift*, p. 458. For similar proof of the complete and base slavery of the bishops, see Harrington's *State of the Church*, in *Nugæ Antiquæ*, i., p. 170, 217, 250.

discipline. These changes had been effected, not merely without the concurrence of, but even in opposition to, and by the degradation of those who had hitherto been considered divinely commissioned to feed the flock of Christ; unsupported also and condemned by the universities of the land, and by the convocation of the clergy. Promoted by a few private individuals, whose opinions would, in other days, have claimed but little attention, in matters not deemed likely to have formed the subject of their studies, a new system had been raised, which, whilst it differed from that of the vast majority of the Christian world, had not even the advantage of coinciding with that of any of the various sects spawned by their prolific parent, designated the reformation. It cannot then surprise us that, when the usual land-marks of faith had been removed, and the rejection of the authority of the church had practically proclaimed to the nation, that it was not merely lawful, but a duty, for each one to reject or embrace, on his own responsibility, whatever opinions his private and unguided judgment might approve or condemn; that all unity of faith should have been at an end, and that, however clearly the leaders of the religious revolution might see the truth of their own, and the folly of every other religious scheme, others should, with equal sincerity and confidence, prefer the conclusions of their own minds, and as industriously propagate and defend them. Accordingly, we find nothing but confusion and contradiction in the opinions and practices of the very ministers who filled the churches, held under the same head and hierarchy, and professedly constituting the same church. It does not, however, fall within the scope of these lectures to trace in detail the origin and progress of that party which, first appearing under Edward, strengthened in exile amongst the foreign Protestants, especially at Frankfort, threatened, at one time, to overturn in England, as it did in Scotland, the Episcopal Church,¹ against which, its hierarchy, ceremonies, and discipline, the Calvinistic or puritan party, as it was called, directed then, as now, such deadly efforts. "In some places they had taken down the steps where the altar stood, and brought the holy table into the midst of the church; in others

¹ "These objections were by no means confined, as is perpetually insinuated, to a few discontented persons. Except Archbishop Parker, who had remained in England during the late reign, and Cox, Bishop of Ely, who had taken a strong part at Frankfort against innovation, all the most eminent churchmen, such as Jewel, Grindal, Sandys, Nowel, were in favour of leaving off the surplice, and what were called the popish ceremonies. Whether their objections are to be deemed narrow and frivolous or otherwise, it is inconsistent with veracity to dissemble, that the queen alone was the cause of retaining those observances, to which the great separation from the Anglican establishment is ascribed. Had her influence been withdrawn, surplices and square caps would have lost their steadiest friend, and several other little accommodations to the prevalent dispositions of Protestants would have taken place. Of this it seems impossible to doubt, when we read the proceedings of the convocation in 1562, when a proposition to abolish most of the usages deemed objectionable was lost only by a vote, the number being fifty-nine to fifty-eight." Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, i., p. 237.

they had laid aside the ancient use of godfathers and godmothers in the administration of baptism, and left the answering for the child to the charge of the father. The weekly fasts, the time of Lent, and all other days of abstinence by the church commanded, were looked upon as superstitious observations. No fast by them allowed of but occasionally only, and then, too, of their own appointing. And the like course they took with the festivals also, neglecting those which had been instituted by the church, as human inventions, not fit to be retained in a church reformed. And finally, that they might wind in their outlandish doctrines with such foreign usages, they had procured some of the inferiour ordinaries to impose upon their several parishes certain new books of sermons and expositions of the Holy Scripture, which neither were required by the queen's injunctions, nor by act of Parliament. Some abuses also were discovered in the regular clergy, who served in churches of peculiar or exempt jurisdiction. Amongst whom it began to grow too ordinary, to marry all such as came unto them, without banns, or license, and many times not only without the privity, but against the express pleasure and command of their parents."¹

These and similar irregularities annoyed and alarmed the real friends of the establishment. Fears were entertained that Elizabeth, disgusted with the outbreak of innovation, would abandon the Protestant side, or crush, by her supremacy, all liberty of conscience in the gospellers, as she had in the Catholic.² But where was a remedy to be found? Could they who had just repudiated the faith of their fathers, and rejected the authority of the church, re-establish a power, to the denial of which they owed their existence? If they had repudiated and denounced, on their own private authority, not merely the discipline, but the faith of a church so universal, and so ancient, and with claims to divine guidance so long acquiesced in, could they, with any consistency, refuse that others, in their turn, should reject the ceremonies of a church which had no hold on their respect, from its antiquity, or extent; and which claimed no other guidance or authority than what is merely human and fallible. If they asserted a divine authority inherent in the church, how could they justify

¹ Heylin, p. 144. For other particulars see Strype's Parker, p. 152, 153, 157, 173. "Some of the ministers wore the habits, others laid them aside; some communicants received the sacrament sitting, or standing, or kneeling, according to the minister's taste; some baptized in the font, others in a basin; some with the sign of the cross, others without it. The people in London and other towns, siding chiefly with the malecontents, insulted such of the clergy as observed the prescribed order. Many of the bishops readily connived at deviation from ceremonies which they disapproved. Some who felt little objection to their use, were against imposing them as necessary." Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, i., p. 242. See also Collier, p. 508. In the Lansdowne collection, vol. viii., p. 47, is a letter from Parker, Apr., 1565, complaining of Turner, Dean of Wells, for having made a man do penance for adultery in a square cap.

² This apprehension of Elizabeth's taking a disgust to Protestantism is intimated in a letter of Bishop Cox. Strype's Parker, p. 229.

their schism; would not they stand self-condemned of resisting and breaking through a divine injunction; but if there were no power derived from heaven to enforce obedience, would not all compulsory enforcement of articles or discipline be usurpation and tyranny, whilst the experience of a few years had already proved, that no church, any more than a state, could subsist, the members of which were not controlled by a paramount and indisputable authority. After all, to exercise that authority over the dissidents would merely be to mete out to them the same measure, which they, as well as the dominant party, had already dealt to the Catholic. That faith they had proscribed, nor could they justly complain if their novelties in turn were disapproved. The charge of inconsistency, to which the exercise of that power would expose the new church, could not at all events come from men who had evinced so much eagerness to prohibit the Catholic worship; and against any toleration to which they still so loudly declaimed, in the midst of the boldest assertion of the rights of conscience for themselves.¹ Parker resolved, at every risk, to

¹ A few aged men (Catholics) having been set at liberty, Sampson, the famous puritan, himself a sufferer for conscience' sake, wrote a letter of remonstrance to Lord Burleigh. He urged in this that they should be compelled to hear sermons, though he would not, at first, oblige them to communicate. Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, i., p. 189. Strype, ii., p. 330. See too in vol. cxi. app. 68, a series of petitions intended to be offered to the queen and Parliament, about 1583. These came from the puritanical mint, and show the dread that party entertained of Mary's succession and of a relapse into popery. It is urged in these, that no toleration should be granted to the popish worship in private houses. Nor in fact had they much cause to complain that it was so. Knox's famous intolerance is well known. "One mass," he declared in preaching against Mary's private chapel at Holyrood-house, "was more fearful unto him than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm on purpose to suppress the whole religion." *McCrie's Life of Knox*, ii., p. 24. In a conversation with Maitland, he asserted most explicitly the duty of putting idolaters to death. *Id.* p. 120. This was the spirit of nearly all, if not of all the leading reformers. But as the effrontery or ignorance of these our days belauds the moderation of the magnanimous authors of the reformation, I will cite a few facts, showing that they represented and looked on the persecution of their opponents even to death, as one of the most sacred of duties. 1. Cranmer is known to have inculcated this, passing by his code of ecclesiastical laws, the meaning of which has been disputed, to induce and compel King Edward to sign the death-warrant of Joan Bocher. 2. When Calvin had put Servetus to death on account of certain opinions on the Trinity, Melancthon—the meek and most moderate Melancthon—wrote to the reformer of Geneva, declaring his own approbation of the crime. 3. Passing from England, Geneva, and Germany, to Knox of Scotland, we come to the very incarnation of blood-thirstiness, as the following extracts will show. In 1564, Maitland of Lethington, and several Scotch noblemen invited the most eminent reformers to a private conference. Knox, in the 4th book of his History has recorded minutely what passed between himself and Lethington on that occasion. "'Our question is,' said Lethington to Knox, 'whether that we may and ought to suppress the queen's mass, or whether that her idolatry shall be laid to our charge?' 'What ye may,' said Knox, 'by force, I dispute not; but what ye may, and ought to do by God's express commandment, that can I tell. Idolatry ought not only to be suppressed, but the idolater ought to die the death, unless we will accuse God.' 'I know,' said Lethington, 'the idolater is commanded to die the death, but by whom?' 'By the people of God,' said the other. 'For the commandment was made to Israel, as ye may read, that if it be heard that idolatry is committed in any one city, that inquisition shall be taken; and if it be found true, that then the whole body of the people shall arise and destroy that city, sparing in it neither man, woman, nor child.' 'But there is no commandment given to the people to punish their

procure or force uniformity. For this purpose, he set forth a book called "advertisements," containing orders and regulations for the discipline of the clergy. He next summoned the ringleaders before the ecclesiastical commission, punished the refractory by deprivation, but soon found, notwithstanding his threats, the dissidents resolute and numerous. Out of ninety-eight clergymen in London, thirty-seven openly refused to adopt the obnoxious ceremonial. They were, in consequence, suspended from their ministry, and their livings put in sequestration. This severity aggravated the evil. Hitherto, if there had been irregularity and want of uniformity, there had been at least no schism; now conventicles began to be raised, and, as usual, separation on account of discipline widened into the rejection of doctrine. The prelates being the direct instruments of their oppression, became hateful to the seceders, and that animosity soon spread from the individual to the order. The hierarchy was looked upon as a mere human scheme of government, not warranted by Scripture, and therefore not to be tolerated by a scriptural church. Thomas Cartwright led on the attack against episcopal government; raised the presbytery to the height of apostolical dignity; nay, soon elevated its claims far higher than any prelate had dared to look, since the headship of the church had been vested in the crown, and fully as high as ever the most ambitious Pontiff, in the palmiest days

king,' said the secretary, 'if he be an idolater.' 'I find no privilege granted unto kings,' said the other, 'by God, more than unto the people to offend God's majesty.'" Knox, p. 357.

When in the course of the discussion, Knox quoted the example of Jehu, who, even while he was a private person, received a divine commandment to destroy the posterity of Achab: "'We are not bound to imitate extraordinary examples,' said Lethington, p. 360, 'unless we have like commandment and assurance.' 'I grant,' said the other, 'if the commandment be repugnant to the law. But where the example agrees with the law, and is as it were the execution of God's judgment expressed in the same, I say that the example approved of God stands to us in place of a commandment: for as God in his nature is constant and immutable, so can he not damn in ages subsequent, that which he has approved in his servants before us. But in his servants before us, he by his own commandment has approved that subjects have not only destroyed their kings for idolatry, but also rooted out their whole posterity, that none of their race was left after to empire above the people of God.' 'Whatsoever they did,' said Lethington, 'was done at God's commandment.' 'That fortifies my argument,' said the other; 'for God by his commandment has approved that subjects punish kings for idolatry and wickedness by them committed.' 'We have not the like commandment,' said Lethington. 'That I deny,' said the other, 'for the commandment that idolaters shall die the death is perpetual, as ye yourself have granted; ye doubted only who should be the executors against the king; and I said the people of God.'" Without appealing to the enormities practised by the Anabaptists in Germany, we have here Cranmer, Calvin, Melancthon, and Knox, to whom must be added Beza, Luther, and the rest of the gospellers who have treated on this subject, declaring it not merely not sinful, but virtuous, but a duty to persecute to the death for what they deemed heresy. In fact, the principles of even toleration were utterly unknown at this period, except in the Catholic church, and amongst Catholic writers. "Not to mention Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, the principle of toleration had been arrived at by the Chancellor l'Hopital and many others in France," Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, i., p. 164. The appeal to the judicial law of Moses was not peculiar to Knox in Scotland. "Many of them (the English Puritans under Elizabeth) asserted the obligation of the judicial law of Moses, at least in criminal cases, and

of their power, had been said to elevate his supremacy.¹ Reformer was now pitted against reformer, and the gossellers that were pleased to advance a few steps beyond Parker and his associates, in the path of reform or change, found every inch of ground must be secured, at the peril not merely of liberty and property, but in some instances even of life.² Thus the principles on which the reformation was based began to produce their natural consequences, in the multiplication of sects; and the Catholic saw in the rise and fall of religious systems, ever reforming and never reformed, a practical proof of the truth of his own creed, which alone conferred stability—a stability tested in every clime and nation, and under every form of government, and gradation of barbarism and of ignorance, or of refinement and knowledge,—whilst he smiled to hear each fresh reformer denouncing all previous reformations as incomplete and unscriptural; and mourned to see not only liberty of conscience, but even toleration unknown, and the blood-stained instruments and machinery of persecution called into unceasing and remorseless action, by those very men who had begged so piteously for mercy in a former reign.

Protestant writers of a certain party have, I am aware, been apt to represent the reformation as an honourable and glorious struggle for religious liberty, and the free exercise of private judgment. Enough has been already seen of the conduct of the reformers, during their ascendancy, towards the Catholic, to prove the utter futility, the ignorance, and the effrontery of this statement; but we now view reformers in collision with reformers, evincing not love, but such bitter hatred of religious freedom, and

deduced from this the duty of putting idolaters, (that is, Papists,) adulterers, witches, and demoniacs, sabbath-breakers, and several other classes of offenders to death." Hallam, i. 281.

¹ "It must be remembered," says Cartwright, in his *Admonition*, quoted in Neal's *Hist. of Puritans*, i., p. 88, "that civil magistrates must govern the church according to the rules of God prescribed in his word, and that as they are nurses, so they be servants unto the church; and as they rule in the church, so they must remember to submit their sceptres, to throw down their crowns before the church, yea, as the prophet speaketh, to lick the dust off the feet of the church." These principles had been broached before Cartwright's time, by those who called Calvin master. Calvin had become himself a sort of prophet-king at Geneva. "Collier quotes passages from Knox's *Second Blast*, inconsistent with any government, except one slavishly subservient to the church." P. 444. Hallam, *Const. Hist.* i., p. 254.

² Parker wrote to Lord Burleigh, (June, 1573,) exciting the council to proceed against the dissenters: "He knew them," he said, "to be cowards, and if they of the privy-council gave over, they would hinder her majesty's government more than they were aware." Strype's *Parker*, 325. Neal, 187. Cartwright's *Admonition* was now prohibited to be sold. *Ibid.* The first instance of actual punishment inflicted on Protestant dissenters, was in June, 1567, when a company of more than one hundred were seized during their religious exercises at Plummer's Hall, which they had hired on pretence of a wedding, and fourteen or fifteen of them were sent to prison. Strype's *Parker*, p. 242. *Life of Grindal*, 114. "Not merely the preachers . . . but plain citizens for listening to their sermons were dragged before the high commission, and imprisoned upon any refusal to conform." Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, i., p. 262, 263. For an account of the dissenters that perished in prison, or on the scaffold, see Neal's *History of the Puritans*.

of every exercise of private judgment leading to opinions different from their own, as to denounce, banish, imprison, and even doom to death the men that presumed to exercise those privileges for which we are told they themselves so strenuously contended. Every weapon which the armoury of power could furnish was wielded by the dominant or court-party, to crush the rising sects of other and bolder dissenters from the ancient faith. It was not their fault that dissent was not cut up, root and branch. Their efforts were useless, nay, foolish; as foolish as could be the attempt to arrest the river by merely encumbering the stream; the source of the evil was, and is, inherent in the system, and will, like all other evils, work in time its own cure, by the magnitude and peril of its consequences. A church, like that of the ancient faith, which rejected, by an essential principle of its constitution, every doctrine which could not, as clearly as the authenticity and inspiration of the Scriptures, be proved to have been admitted uniformly and perpetually, from the apostolic days, throughout the whole extent of Christendom, and thus rejected every attempt to impose the discoveries or interpretations of erring men as divine truth; a church, every member of which repudiated every novel doctrine as false, every discovery in faith as an imposture, and claimed to believe those truths only which had God for their author, and the apostles for their disseminators; whilst men, however venerated, holy, and learned, were admitted as witnesses and not as interpreters—as the guardians of a holy deposit, and not its discoverers—might indeed lay claim, with justice, to an unfettered liberty, a freedom without any bounds but those set by a divine hand. But what greater tyranny could there be than for men, confessedly fallible, who, but yesterday, refused to submit to the teaching of the church universal, to impose their interpretations, under the penalty of death, or under any penalty, on men their equals in every thing, but the power to coerce? It is clear, then, that the reformation was not a struggle to obtain, but to crush religious liberty in all but the ascendant party. It is clear that the religious liberty, and the exercise of private judgment contended for by the reformers, did not by any means include a freedom to think as the Catholic, that is to say, as nine-tenths of Christendom thought. It did not include the exercise of private judgment, which saw no bishops in the Scripture. It did not include the freedom of dissent from the Athanasian creed. The liberty which they contended for, and the right of private judgment which they established, was the liberty of torturing the Scriptures into a justification of confiscating the property of the Catholic and of the dissenter; of hunting them like wild beasts to the death, and of seeing in this the accomplishment of one of the most sacred of Christian duties. And it is clear that this was the character of the reformation in all its varying shades, of Calvinism, triumphant in Geneva; of Presbyterianism, omnipotent in

Scotland; of Anabaptism in Germany; of Episcopalianism in England; all and each dragged the sacred code through fire and blood, and laid the foundations of their respective churches on the ruins of every other.

§ 4.

English and Latin Liturgies.—Heylin's Remark on the Liturgy for the Irish.—Instances of Severity.—Grindal.—Mary, Queen of Scots.—Note.—Ferdinand and Elizabeth.—Convocation of 1563.—The thirty-nine Articles.—Remarkable Instance of Ignorance and Inconsistency.—Marks of the Queen's Displeasure with the Ancient Religion.—Parker and Wentworth.

It has been said that there was reason to fear lest the disunion amongst Protestants might drive the queen back into the arms of the Catholics. It is certain that, within a very short period after the publication of the "Injunctions" of 1559, there were manifest symptoms of disinclination to proceed further in, and even to retrace some part of the work of reformation. Her anxiety to retain and restore the use of pious pictures and images has been already mentioned. Early in 1560, at the solicitation of the universities and of the colleges of Winchester and Eton, she had caused the English liturgy to be translated into Latin; "to be used by them not only in all colleges and halls, but also in their several and respective chapels."¹ But this was not all: "the queen, in thus gratifying the universities and the colleges, added an exhortation, which rather savours of prejudice, if not of superstition. She recommends clergymen to read privately to themselves the Latin translation of the daily prayers, those days in which they celebrated not the English offices in their churches."² It was likewise provided, in the same year, that, in those parts of Ireland where the English language was not understood, the liturgy should there also be read in Latin; an act betraying the palpable hypocrisy of the outcry against the use of that language in the ancient service.³ To Feria, the Spanish ambassador,

¹ Heylin, p. 131. "And she caused, further, some selected hymns to be added to it for some particular occasions, but most especially to be sung in funerals and solemn obsequies; which not being warranted by the statute of the year preceding, were therefore authorized with a 'non obstante.'" Ibid. "This volume, containing this version of the liturgy, was also rendered acceptable to the lovers of former usages, by the insertion in it of a service for commemorating such as have founded, or benefited public institutions, and of a form for administering the holy communion at funerals. Both these offices are in Latin, and the use of them, as of the liturgy in the same tongue, rests upon the queen's exercise of her prerogative." Soames, iv., p. 721.

² Soames, vol. iv., p. 721.

³ "There also passed an act for the uniformity of common prayer, &c., with the permission for saying the same in Latine, in such church or place, where the minister had not the knowledge of the English tongue. But for translating it into Irish (as afterwards into Welsh in the 5th year of this queen) there was no care taken, either in this

when about to return to Spain, she declared in a private conversation, that her religious opinions did not differ much from those of the Catholic church: that in particular she held the real presence in the sacrament, and had no objection to the mass except in a few particulars.¹

This being the disposition of the queen, it has been frequently asserted on the authority especially of Elizabeth's eulogist, the historian Camden, that, though the act of uniformity, if enforced, would have operated as an absolute interdiction of Catholic worship, however privately celebrated, there is reason to believe that the government connived, during several years at least, at the domestic exercise of that religion. "This may possibly have been the case with respect to some persons of very high rank, whom it was inexpedient to irritate. But we find instances of severity towards Catholics, even in that early period, and it is evident that their solemn rites were only performed by stealth and at much hazard. Thus Sir Edward Waldgrave and his lady were sent to the Tower in 1561, for hearing mass and having a priest in their house. Many others, about the same time, were punished for the like offence. Two bishops, one of whom, I regret to say, was Grindal, write to the council in 1562, concerning a priest apprehended in a lady's house, (Lady Carew,) that neither he nor the servants would be sworn to answer to the articles, saying they would not accuse themselves; and, after a wise remark, that 'papistry is like to end in anabaptistry,' proceed to hint, that 'some think that if this priest might be put to some kind of torment, and so driven to confess what he knoweth, he might gain the queen's majesty a good mass of money by the masses that he hath said, but this we refer to your lordship's wisdom.'"² Under Mary it was the council that urged on even Bonner to violence and crime: here we have prelates propelling the agents of government into the paths of persecution, and calling for the rack and the blood-stained instruments of torture. It was not the fault of such men that the lives of Catholics were not, from the first, forfeited as well as their liberty; as it was, though the persecution was not fiery hot and bloody, it was petty, minute,

Parliament, or in any following. For want whereof, as also by not having the Scriptures in their native language, most of the natural Irish have retained hitherto their old barbarous customs, or pertinaciously adhere to the corruptions of the church of Rome. The people are required by that statute, under several penalties, to frequent their churches, and to be frequent at the reading of the English liturgy, which they understand no more than they do the mass. By which means the Irish were not only kept in continual ignorance as to the doctrines and devotions of the church of England, but we have furnished the Papists with an excellent argument against ourselves, for having the divine service celebrated in such a language as the people do not understand. Heylin, p. 128.

¹ "Que in muy poco deferia ella da nos otros; porque creia que Dios estaba en el sacramento de la eucaristia, et que en la missa la descontaban solo tres o quatro cosas: que ella pensaba salvarse como el obispo de Roma." Feria to Philip, apud Gonzales, p. 22.

² Hallam, Const. Hist., i., p. 153.

destructive of individual liberty, household independence, domestic peace, and too often of property. This persecution drove many English Catholics beyond seas;¹ where some of them were employed by the states that sheltered them, in intrigues and enterprises annoying, and at times dangerous to Elizabeth, just as that queen had fostered, by money, advice, and armed troops, a rebellion in Scotland, which had for its direct object the extermination of the Catholic worship, and the dethronement of the lawful sovereign, merely on account of her religion. Her support of the rebel party in France, where, as in almost every other part of Europe,² the dissenters from the ancient faith had risen in arms, called down on her government a retaliation which only ceased with her reign. But notwithstanding the examples set them by the reformers; notwithstanding the pressure of persecution increasing almost yearly; despite the atrociously wicked instigation of a misled or foolish Pontiff; the armed approach of a Catholic power, then the mightiest in Europe; the exhortations of the indignant exiles; and every art and trick to entrap them into conspiracy, used by an unscrupulous government, thirsting for their blood, to the eternal honour of the English Catholics, their loyalty passed untarnished through the fiery ordeal; as a body, with a few and desperate exceptions, whilst they steadily adhered to their faith at all costs, and abided the bloody penalty of its profession, they remained not more faithful to their God, than true, under unparalleled provocation and temptation, to their queen.

¹ Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, i., p. 153.

² In a preceding note has been shown the intolerance of the reformers; their disloyalty is a fact as clearly attested by history. In England, Lady Jane Grey was substituted by the gossellers for Mary, merely because Mary was a Catholic. In Scotland, the "congregation" behaved with wanton ferocity towards their liege sovereign, which would horrify, if it would not even surprise us, in savages. When the hapless Mary of Scots first appeared amongst them, the reformers did not even wait till the Sunday-mass to give their queen a hint of what she was to expect. "Pageants were presented before her, calculated to throw dishonour and reproach on the religion which she professed: and shows, made for the ostensible purpose of honouring the queen, were so conducted as to cast derision on the Catholic worship. As Mary made her solemn entry into Edinburgh, she was conducted under a triumphal arch, when a boy came out of a hole, as it were from Heaven, and presented to her a Bible, a psalter, and the keys of the gates, with some verses, now lost, but which we may be sure were of a Protestant tendency. The rest of the pageant exhibited a terrible personification of the vengeance of God upon idolaters; and Korah, Dathan, and Abiram were represented as destroyed in the time of their idolatrous sacrifice. The devisers of this expressive and *well-chosen* (!) emblem intended to have had a priest burnt on the altar, in effigy, it is to be hoped, in the act of elevating the host; but the Earl of Huntley prevented that completion of the pageant. These are the reports of Randolph, envoy of England, who was present on the occasion, and who seems to have felt that by such proceedings the Protestants were acting too precipitately, and overshooting their own purpose." Sir Walter Scott, quoted in the *Pictorial History of England*, part xix., p. 565. Knox, in the following horrible address to the queen, thus renounced his submission, upheld the holiness of regicide and the murder of Catholic priests; "Samuel," said this fearful man, to the young queen, "feared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate King of Amalek, whom King Saul had saved: neither spared Elias Jezebel's false prophets and

But though the first ten years of Elizabeth's domestic administration were a season of undisturbed quiet, called by her contemporaries "her halcyon days," the Parliament, held during that period, passed laws progressively increasing in severity against the professors of the ancient worship. In 1559 were enacted the statutes of supremacy and uniformity, the rigour of which has been already seen. But, intolerant as were the provisions of those acts, and enormous as were the penalties to which they doomed the Catholic, the Parliament of 1563 thought proper to sharpen their severity. A law was passed, entitled an act of "assurance of the queen's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions." By the acts of 1559, no individual, whether layman or churchman, could obtain office in the state or church; no heir holding of the crown could sue out the livery of his land; no student could become a member of either university, unless he previously had taken the oath of supremacy, which was deemed equivalent to a renunciation of the Catholic faith. By the act of 1563, the above provisions were made so extensive, as to embrace not merely those who wished to share in the benefits of the constitution, but the whole Catholic population. 1st. "It enacts, with an iniquitous and sanguinary retrospect, that all persons who had ever taken holy orders, or any degree in the universities, or had been admitted to the practice of the laws, or held any office in their execution, should be bound to take the oath of supremacy, when tendered to them by a bishop, or by commissioners appointed under the great seal."¹ 2d. The oath was required to be taken, not only by all persons entering into holy orders, but also by all schoolmasters, barristers, benchers, and attorneys, by all officers of any court of common law, or other court whatever, and by all the members of the House of Commons. 3d. It was also to be tendered to all who should openly disapprove of the established worship, or should celebrate any private mass; that is, to the whole Catholic population of the realm. To members of the House of Commons, schoolmasters, private tutors, and attorneys it could only be tendered once, the penalty of refusal being in their regard, as in that of others, *præmunire*, that is, the forfeiture of their movable estate, besides imprisonment at discretion. All others who, after the space of three months from the first tender, should again refuse it when in like manner tendered, were subjected to the punishment of death, as in cases of high treason.² It is clear that, as every Ca-

Baal's priests, though King Agag was present. Phineas was no magistrate, yet feared he not to strike Cozbi and Zimri in the very act of filthy fornication. And so, madam, your grace may see that others than the chief magistrate may lawfully inflict punishment on such crimes as are condemned in the law of God." The fearful tragedy which resulted from these opinions is well known. The religious opinions of the reformers convulsed Europe with sedition and war, in every country where rebellion had any chance of success, and the sovereign refused to adopt their novelties.

¹ Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, i., p. 155.

² 5 Eliz., c. 1.

tholic in the kingdom fell within the action of this cruel statute, their lives were at any moment at the mercy of their enemies. Whether afraid to attempt so fearful an experiment on so large a portion of her subjects, or moved with horror at the bloody prospect before her, the queen contented herself, for the present, with exhibiting to the Catholics the sword suspended by a thread over their heads, and gave instructions to Parker to send a secret, but peremptory circular to the bishops, to proceed with caution and moderation. To the letter of the primate, "Cecil¹ added a paragraph of earnest exhortation to mildness, and takes it for granted that nothing but the wilfulness of 'some of that sort' could 'compel' a bishop to tender the oath to them, and enjoins him in that extreme case not to offer the oath a second time without consulting the archbishop."²

The oath of supremacy could not be tendered to a peer, the queen declaring her full confidence in those hereditary counselors. Several peers of great weight and dignity were still Catholics, and it must be truly gratifying to every Catholic to know that, whilst Protestant prelates and peers were breathing threatenings and slaughter, the claims of justice and mercy were upheld, in the midst of the cries of these "bloodthirsty bull-dogs of the 16th century,"³ by a Catholic peer in the Lords, and by Mr. Atkinson in the Commons. Their speeches against the bill have been preserved, breathing such generous abhorrence of persecution as some erroneously imagine to have been unknown to that age, because we rarely meet with it in theological writings. "This law," said Lord Montague, "is not necessary; forasmuch as the Catholics of this realm disturb not, nor hinder the public affairs of the realm, neither spiritual nor temporal. They dispute not, they preach not, they disobey not the queen; they cause no trouble nor tumults among the people; so that no man can say that thereby the realm doth receive any hurt or damage by them. They have brought into the realm no novelties in doctrine and religion. This being true and evident, as it is indeed, there is no necessity why any new law should be made against them. And where there is no sore nor grief, medicines are superfluous, and also hurtful and dangerous. I do entreat," he says afterwards, "whether it be just to make this penal statute to force the subjects of this realm to receive and believe the religion of Protestants on pain of death. This I say to be a thing most unjust; for that it is repugnant to the natural liberty of men's understanding.

¹ Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith, (Feb. 27,) admits the extreme rigour of these laws, but adds, "such be the humours of the Commons House, as they thynk nothing sharp ynough ageynst Papists."

² Mackintosh, iii., p. 127. "I am never willing," says Mr. Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, i., p. 157, "to admit as an apology for unjust or cruel enactments, that they are not designed to be generally executed; a pretext often insidious, always insecure, and tending to mask the approaches of arbitrary government."

³ Hallam, i., p. 190.

For understanding may be persuaded, but not forced.” And further on, “It is an easy thing to understand that a thing so unjust, and so contrary to all reason and liberty of man, cannot be put in execution but with great incommodity and difficulty. For what man is there so without courage and stomach, or devoid of all honour, that can consent or agree to receive an opinion and new religion by force and compulsion; or will swear that he thinketh the contrary to what he thinketh? To be still, or dissemble, may be borne and suffered for a time—to keep his reckoning with God alone; but to be compelled to lie and to swear, or else to die therefor, are things no man ought to suffer and endure. And it is to be feared, rather than to die they will seek how to defend themselves; whereby should ensue the contrary of what every good prince and well-advised commonwealth ought to seek and pretend, that is, to keep their kingdom and government in peace. Let them beware of those who looked to wax mighty and of power by the confiscation, spoil, and ruin of the houses of noble and ancient men.”¹

Though a check had been placed on the fiery zeal of the more violent amongst the bishops, we must not fancy that the statute was intended as a mere idle threat. “In Strype’s collections, we find abundance of persons harassed for recusancy; that is, for not attending the Protestant Church, and driven to insincere promises of conformity. Others were dragged before the ecclesiastical commission for harbouring priests, or for sending money to those who had fled beyond sea. Students of the inns of court, where popery had a strong hold at this time, were examined in the star-chamber as to their religion, and on not giving satisfactory answers were committed to the Fleet.”² The Catholic clergy were forced to travel in various disguises to administer in secret the comforts of religion to the persecuted flock of Christ, and the last consolatory rites to the dying. The days of the early Christians were renewed throughout England. “By stealth, at the dead of night, in private chambers, in the secret lurking-places of an ill-peopled country, with all the mystery that subdues the imagination, with all the mutual trust that invigorates constancy, these proscribed ecclesiastics celebrated their solemn rites, more impressive in such concealment, than if surrounded by all their former splendour.”³

The Catholics of Europe sympathized with their afflicted brethren of England. In September, 1563, soon after the passing of the bill, the Emperor Ferdinand addressed two letters to Eli-

¹ Strype, i., p. 259—273. Collier, Parliamentary History. The original source is the manuscript collection of Fox, the martyrologist. The following is a specimen of the sort of answer given to these arguments: “They say it touches conscience, and it is a thing wherein a man ought to have a scruple; but if any hath a conscience in it, these four years’ space might have settled it. Also, after his first refusal, he hath three months’ respite for conference, and settling of his conscience.” Strype, p. 270.

² Hallam, i., p. 161

³ Idem, p. 163.

Elizabeth interceding for the Catholics, that they might be freed from the dangers to which the new act rendered them liable, and that their religion might be tolerated. "He suggested that it might be reasonable to allow them the use of one church in every city; and he concluded with an expression, which might possibly be designed to intimate that his own conduct towards the Protestants in his dominions would be influenced by her concurrence in his request.¹ In her answer to Ferdinand, the queen declares that she cannot grant churches to those who disagree from her religion, being against the laws of her Parliament, and highly dangerous to the state of her kingdom, as it would sow various opinions in the nation to distract the minds of honest men, and would cherish parties and factions, that might disturb the present tranquillity of the commonwealth."² Here are brought into contrast the principles of a Catholic and of a Protestant sovereign; the one pleading for that toleration which had for a time existed in his own dominions, the other refusing even a single church wherein to celebrate that faith which she had herself embraced, and but a few years before had sworn so solemnly to preserve. Here too we have a fact which proves that, unprovoked by any overt act of the Catholic party, in the midst of the profoundest tranquillity, laws had been passed, not merely denying liberty of conscience and worship, and the exercise of private judgment to the Catholic, but laws of the most atrocious and persecuting character, by which the liberty, the property, and the lives of every Catholic in the realm, might be forfeited at any hour, without further crime or provocation than the refusal to apostatize.

This was not the only instance in which Ferdinand had to encounter the bigotry of the queen. Cecil had contrived, about the end of 1564, to renew a negotiation for the marriage of Elizabeth with the Archduke Charles. The question was agitated from two to three years, and "the pretext eventually made for relinquishing the treaty with the archduke, was Elizabeth's constant refusal to tolerate the exercise of his religion."³

¹ "Nobis vero factura est rem adeo gratam, ut omnem simus daturi operam, quo possimus eam rem serenitati vestræ mutuis benevolentiæ et fraterni animi studiis cumulatissime compensare." Strype, vol. ii., p. 67.

² Hallam, i., p. 160.

³ Hallam, i., p. 168. "The council appear in general to have been as resolute against tolerating the exercise of the Catholic religion in any husband the queen might choose, as herself: we find, however, that several divines were consulted on two questions. 1. Whether it were lawful to marry a Papist. 2. Whether the queen might permit mass to be said. To which answers were given not agreeing with each other. Strype, ii., p. 150, and append., p. 31, 33. When the Earl of Worcester was sent over to Paris in 1571, as proxy for the queen, who had been made sponsor for Charles IX.'s infant daughter, she would not permit him, though himself a Catholic, to be present at mass on that occasion." Hallam, *Ibid.*, quoting Strype, ii., p. 171. What a contrast between the intolerance of Elizabeth, and the Christian liberality of her Catholic rival queen, the unfortunate Mary of Scotland. "Mr. Knox," writes Randolph to Cecil, "spoke upon Tuesday unto the queen. She charged him with his book, with his most severe dealing with all men that disagree with him in opinions. She willed him to

According to custom, the convocation had assembled at the same time with the Parliament. The first meeting was on the 12th of January, 1563, in the chapter-house of St. Paul's; and the convocation held, between this period, and its prorogation on the 14th of April, thirty-six sessions. The matters brought under notice were of the highest importance. A violent struggle was made by the puritans to assimilate the new Church of England to that of Geneva, but a "proposition to abolish most of the usages deemed objectionable was lost only by a vote, the numbers being fifty-nine to fifty-eight."¹ This remarkable fact is not to be lost sight of, when endeavouring to form an opinion of the meaning of those articles which have produced a schism in the established church. It was further proposed to secure a more ample provision for the lower order of the clergy, who had been impoverished by the system of lay-impropriations under Henry and Edward; and to increase the power of the clergy by the establishment of a code of ecclesiastical discipline. As it was not, however, the wish of the courtiers to increase either the wealth or the authority of the churchmen, these two proposals were rejected. But there was a third which, as it interfered with no personal interest, was not opposed. The church was still without any authorized exposition of faith; nay, it had not even been defined what books of Scripture were to be retained as canonical, and what rejected. To remedy this evil, the forty-two articles published by the authority of Edward VI. were revised by Archbishop Parker,² and proposed to the consideration of the convocation, by which, a few articles having been omitted, and others slightly altered, the new standard of orthodoxy, reduced to thirty-nine articles, was, on the 31st of January, being its ninth session, unanimously adopted. Besides the reduction of the number from forty-two to thirty-nine, the chief alterations made upon the original articles were, 1. In the article on the eucharist, in which the express denial of the bodily or real presence being omitted, it was merely said that "the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the supper, onely after an heavenly and spiritual manner; and the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the supper is faith."³ 2. The canonical books of Scripture

use more meekness in his sermons." Queen Elizabeth and her times, a series of Original Letters, edited by Thomas Wright. 2 vols. 8vo., Lond., 1838.

¹ Hallam, i., p. 237.

² A MS. copy of King Edward's articles, with numerous alterations made by Archbishop Parker's red-lead pencil, is yet preserved in Bene't College library. Strype's Annals, i., p. 485.

³ Heylin, App., p. 191. This writer gives the forty-two and the thirty-nine articles in opposite columns, for facility of comparison. "The secret of the omission was this: the queen and her council studied, as hath already been shown, to unite all into the communion of the church; and it was alleged, that such an express definition against the real presence might drive from the church many who were still of that persuasion; and therefore it was thought to be enough to condemn transubstantiation, and to say, that Christ was present after a spiritual manner, and received by faith; to say

were enumerated, and the grounds on which some were received to the exclusion of others, stated in the sixth article. "In the name of Holy Scriptures, are understood those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the church." This decision is the most memorable instance of ignorance and inconsistency that ever appeared in an authorized exposition of faith. Of ignorance, as in the enumeration of sacred writings occur seven distinct pieces, forming about one-third of the New Testament, the authority of which had not only been doubted of in the church, but actually repudiated, and this not for a brief period only, but for centuries. Whilst, on the other hand, books were rejected, the evidence in favour of whose authority equalled, if it did not surpass, that which can be adduced in support of the deuterocanonical writings above alluded to, as admitted by the articles. Of inconsistency, as an appeal is here made not merely on a question of history, but on one of doctrine, to the testimony of the church; and this not in one instance only, but in that of every writing of which the sacred records are composed. The authority of the Scriptures, too, be it observed, is the very key-stone of the whole system of Protestantism, it is that which gives authority to every other doctrine; and yet, whilst the testimony of the church is appealed to, to vindicate the principle from which every detail of doctrine is said to be drawn, that testimony is pronounced of itself insufficient to establish any one individual doctrine. Each special doctrine rests on Scripture, the authority of Scripture on the uniform testimony of the church, and yet not that testimony, but the Scripture, is declared to be the rule of faith. Nay, mere Scripture is not merely declared to be the rule of faith, but the sole rule of faith, for "it containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought necessary or requisite to salvation," and yet the authority of Scripture is deduced, not from Scripture, which would be an absurdity, but from the doctrine of the church in all ages. Either, then, the authority of Scripture is no article of faith, or the Scripture does not contain every article of faith; and if the Scriptures contain not every article of faith, it is not the sole rule of faith. Much of what has been here said applies with equal force to the xxth article, which defines "the Church to have *authority* in controversies of faith," and consequently repudiates the Scriptures as the *sole* authority; and declares "the church to be a witness and keeper of holy writ," and consequently claims for the church a divine commission to preserve and bear testimony, with a consequent obligation to accept her testimony, to the very fundamental doctrines on which all other more, as it was judged superfluous, so it might occasion division." Burnet, Ref., iii., p. 633.

doctrines lean, namely, the authenticity, the inspiration, and the canon of Scripture.¹

The subscription by the convocation and the publication of the articles under its authority, as the standard of English orthodoxy, may be considered as setting the seal to the Anglican reformation. It is true that another revision of the articles took place in 1571, and that until that year subscription to the articles was not imperative on the clergy, of which more hereafter; but as no alterations of any moment were made, the adoption of the thirty-nine articles, in 1563, may be justly considered as the final judgment of the Anglican Church. The various interpretations which have been given of the articles, by eminent men in the established church, are a sufficient proof, that the principles promulgated in that creed are far from being evident or easily discovered. With the details of the system it is not the place here to meddle, but probably the following will not be accounted an unfair, or inaccurate statement of the great and distinctive principle of the established church. "The Church of England, it is always to be remembered, no more adopts or sanctions the principle of the private interpretation of Scripture than does the Church of Rome. Differing from the Church of Rome in holding the Scripture to be the sole rule of faith, it still insists that the Scripture shall be received, not as any individual may interpret it for himself, but as it is expounded in the articles and other formularies of the church. It may, indeed, be doubted if the puritans themselves, at this early period, (1563,) had arrived at what it has been common in later times to speak of as the great fundamental principle of Protestantism,—the right of every individual to be his own interpreter of the word of God; for this, when carried out, would seem to lead directly to the conclusion that the church ought to be unrestrained by any articles or formularies whatever; in other words, ought to be built upon so comprehensive a foundation as to take in all the varieties of belief and opinion which ever have been, or ever can be conceived by any individual to have their warrant within the four corners of the Bible." "Besides accom-

¹ It was my intention to have entered into some details on the Protestant translations of the Scriptures into English; but the length to which my remarks have already extended will prevent this. I will, however, subjoin one or two observations. "A translation of the Scriptures was published by authority, (in 1559,) which, after passing through several emendations, became, in the succeeding reign, the basis of our present version. This was the work of translators not deeply versed in the opinions, languages, manners, and institutions of the ancient world, who were born before the existence of eastern learning in Europe, and whose education was completed before the mines of criticism had been opened, either as applied to the events of history, or to the reading, interpretation, and genuineness of ancient writings." Mackintosh, iii., p. 18. "The accounts of the early editions of the English Bible in Burnet, Collier, Strype, and an essay by Johnson in Watson's Theological Tracts, vol. iii., are erroneous or defective. A letter of Strype in Harleian MS. 3782, which has been printed, is better; but the most complete enumeration is in Cotton's list of editions, 1821." Hallam, Const. Hist., i., p. 111.

plishing this important object, (the compilation of the articles,) the convocation authorized the second book of homilies, and a catechism for the use of those above mere elementary religious instruction, compiled by Dr. Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, chiefly from a similar production, which was recommended by royal authority within a short time of Edward's demise."¹

Between the dissolution of the Parliament of 1563, and that held in 1571, there is but little deserving of remembrance connected with the history of religion. "In 1568, however, a notable mark of the queen's displeasure was fixed on the ancient religion, by the exclusion of Catholics from court. Shortly after, they were excluded from the bar by an order in council, which directed the benchers or governors of the inns of court, the places of legal education, to enforce the oath of supremacy upon all candidates for the bar or the bench."² Excluded from the church, the bar, and the universities, deprived of any but the secret practice of their religion, and this at the peril of their fortunes and lives; driven to church under pain of ruinous forfeiture; forbidden, under enormous penalties, to educate their children under Catholic masters;³ this refined and unsparing persecution, which dogged them at every turn, in public and in private, with the perseverance of the bloodhound, was made further to resemble that of the apostate Julian, by subjecting the very books printed and read by Catholics and dissenters, to an inquisitorial inspection. Proclamations were issued against the printers, and even readers of books unlicensed by the ordinary. Jewel refused to license an apology by one of the opponents of the new faith, saying, "I am afraid of printers; their tyranny is terrible."⁴

Such were the laws passed to exterminate the Catholic faith and worship, in the first ten years of Elizabeth's reign. During that period the queen had no more faithful subjects than the Catholics; there was no resistance to her authority; no violent assaults on the new faith; in the cave and the secret hiding-place were celebrated the Catholic mysteries; though the law moved round them and goaded them with its thousand swords; though driven from their wonted temples and hallowed altars; their ministers hunted like wild beasts, and the land of their fathers made to them a house of bondage, the Catholics betrayed outwardly no animosity, no resistance, but, whilst they renewed the constancy of the first heroes of Christianity, forgot not in their

¹ Soames, *Ref.*, iv., p. 736, quoting Strype's *Annals*, c. 28. Churton's *Nowell*, Sect.

² Mackintosh, iii., p. 128.

³ To remedy, as far as possible, this evil, Dr. Allen, afterwards made cardinal, founded the celebrated college of Douay in 1568. It was dissolved by Requesens, while Governor of Flanders, but revived at Rheims, in 1578, under the protection of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and returned to Douay in 1593. Similar colleges were founded at Rome in 1576; at Valladolid in 1589; at St. Omer in 1596; and at Louvain in 1606.

⁴ Strype, *Ann.*, vol. i., part ii., c. iii., p. 272.

sufferings the patience and the loyalty of those glorious ages of our faith.¹ We must now pass to the further acts of severity passed against Catholics in the Parliament of 1571.

It was enacted that the obtaining, using, or publishing any bull from Rome, or absolving and reconciling any one to the church of Rome, or being so reconciled, should involve the penalties of high treason; and such as brought into the realm any agnus deis, crosses, pictures, or superstitious things consecrated by the Pope or under his authority, should be liable to a præmunire. Those who should conceal or connive at the offenders were to be held guilty of misprision of treason.² "This statute exposed the Catholic priesthood, and in a great measure the laity, to the continual risk of martyrdom; for so many had fallen away from the faith through a pliant spirit of conformity with the times, that the regular discipline would exact their absolution and reconciliation before they could be reinstated in the church's communion."³ The terrors of the penal laws, and especially the penalties attached to non-attendance at church, had caused many Catholics to seek for liberty of worshipping God according to their consciences in other lands. It will be recollected that by the act of the first of Elizabeth, those who absented themselves from their parish-churches were liable to a forfeiture of one shilling to the poor, for every Lord's day on which they so absented themselves; if they continued their absence for a month together, they were liable to a forfeiture of £20 to the king, and if they kept in their own house any inmate guilty of such absence, they were to forfeit £10 for every such inmate. Every fourth Sunday was understood to complete the month; thus thirteen months were, in relation to these penalties, supposed to complete the year.⁴

¹ I take no notice of the conspiracy of the two Poles, as there is no proof even that they were Catholics, nor that one single Catholic in the whole realm was connected with them or knew of their designs, which after all may have been nothing more than one of Cecil's plots to keep up the irritation of the queen against the house of Guise. See Forbes, ii., p. 1, 186. Hallam, whilst he exonerates the Catholics in the following passage, shows a willingness to wound, which may be a sufficient security to the bigot that nothing can be extracted from this intrigue, by those most solicitous to find the Catholics disloyal, as a set-off to the disloyalty of the Protestants, and to the persecution under Elizabeth. "I know not how to charge the Catholics with the conspiracy of the two Poles, nephews of the cardinal, and some others, to obtain five thousand troops from the Duke of Guise, and proclaim Mary queen. This seems, however, to have been the immediate provocation for the statute 5 Eliz.; and it may be thought to indicate a good deal of discontent in that party upon which the conspirators relied. But as Elizabeth spared the lives of all who were arraigned, and we know no details of the case, it may be doubted whether their intentions were altogether as criminal as was charged." Hallam, i., p. 155, referring to Strype, i., p. 333, and Camden, p. 388, (in Kennet.)

² 13 Eliz., c. 2.

³ Hallam, i., p. 186.

⁴ According to the value of these fines in our money, one Sunday's absence from church subjected the delinquent to a forfeiture of three shillings; a month's absence, to a forfeiture of £60; a year's, to £780. Andrews, in his continuation of Henry's Hist., ii., p. 35, computes the annual amount of money received, on this score, by Elizabeth, at £20,000. The wonder is not that some should have apostatized, and others

To escape these penalties, some of the ancient nobility had gone into voluntary exile, whilst others prepared to follow their example, when, by an act of enormous tyranny, it was ordered that every person who had left, or who should leave the realm, with or without license, should return in six months after warning by proclamation, under the penalty of forfeiting his goods and chattels, and the profits of his lands during life to the use of the queen.

The iron hand of the law, heavy as it lay on the Catholic, did not, in the minds of the new religionists, press intolerably enough. It was proposed that not merely should the Catholic be forced to attend at the Protestant church, but that his sincerity or hypocrisy should be tested by a compulsory participation of the sacrament, according to the new form. At this horrible and sacrilegious proposal, the Catholic lords, who still formed a large body in the Upper House, were seriously alarmed. They proposed to remonstrate with Elizabeth that, by such an act, they would be driven from their country, whilst even that refuge would entail on them the loss of their fortunes. The bill, enjoining communion, was abandoned, but the other penal laws above enumerated passed the two Houses and received the royal assent. Scarce a voice seems to have been raised against these cruel outrages on justice and religion, though the puritans, themselves the objects of persecution, were so numerous in this very Parliament, as to have opposed and gained a decided victory over the more courtly part. When Aglionby, in opposition to the bill for compelling all above a certain age to receive the Protestant communion, pleaded the rights of conscience, he was told by some, so utterly ignorant of, or hostile were these times to the first principles of religious liberty, "that it was no straitening of consciences, but only a charge on the goods of those who would not vouchsafe to be, as they should be, good men and true Christians."¹

It was also at this period that the subscription to the thirty-nine articles was rendered obligatory on the clergy of the establishment. For this purpose it seems to have been thought necessary to obtain the sanction of Parliament. "Of these articles the far greater portion relate to matters of faith, concerning which no difference of opinion had as yet appeared. Some few, however, declare the lawfulness of the established form of consecrating bishops and priests, the supremacy of the crown, and the power of the church to order rites and ceremonies. These involved the main questions at issue: and the puritan opposition was strong enough to withhold the approbation of the legislature from this

conformed, and have hated the system that made them hate or despise themselves, but that any should have run the gauntlet of so many penalties, and still remain Catholics. Of course these fines weighed heavily on the rich; impoverished the middle classes; and reduced the labourers to almost paupers.

¹ D'Ewes's Journal, p. 161, 177.

part of the national symbol. The act of 13 Eliz. c. 12, accordingly enacts, that every priest or minister shall subscribe to all the articles of religion which *only* concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, comprised in a book entitled "articles whereupon it was agreed," &c. "That the word *only* was inserted for the sake of excluding the articles which established church authority and the actual discipline, is evident from a remarkable conversation which Mr. Wentworth, the most distinguished assertor of civil liberty in this reign, relates himself in 'a subsequent session,' that of 1575, to have held on the subject with Archbishop Parker. 'I was,' he says, 'among others, the last Parliament sent for unto the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the articles of religion that then passed this house. He asked us, 'why we did put out of the book the articles for the homilies, consecrations of bishops, and such like!' 'Surely, sir,' said I, 'because we were so occupied in other matters, that we had no time to examine them how they agreed with the word of God!' 'What!' said he, 'surely you mistake the matter; you will refer yourselves wholly to us therein!' 'No; by the faith I bear to God,' said I, 'we will pass nothing before we understand what it is; for that were but to make you popes; make you popes who list,' said I, 'for we will make none! and sure, Mr. Speaker, the speech seemed to me a popelike speech, and I fear lest our bishops do attribute this of the Pope's canons unto themselves; Papa non potest errare.'" It is well known that the judges interpreted this portion of the act to mean all the articles without exception.²

§ 5.

Norfolk's Conspiracy.—The northern Rebellion.—Elizabeth's Revenge.—Camden's Remark.—Bull of Pius V.—Loyalty of the Catholics.—Felton.—The Star Chamber.—Remarks of Hallam, Hume, Mackintosh, &c., on this Tribunal.—Elizabeth and the Commons.—Sampson, the Puritan.—Persecution.—Fanaticism.—Flames of Smithfield.—Cuthbert Mayne.

THERE are few writers so darkly and monstrously bigoted as to assert that any thing could justify, though many have endeavoured to extenuate the severity of these ferocious enactments. It is said that Norfolk's conspiracy, the insurrection of the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, and, above all, the bull of Pius V., had implicated the Catholics, as a body, in treason; rendered them deservedly objects of suspicion, and called for, if not acts so bloody, at least measures of coercion and punishment.

1. And yet Norfolk's conspiracy was planned, and conducted by Protestants; Norfolk was himself a Protestant; and the object

¹ Hallam, i., p. 260, 261.

² Collier, ii., p. 530. Neale, c. v.

was not sectarian, but purely political; nay, if any thing, hostile to the Catholic faith. Murray, Maitland of Lethington, two known enemies of the Catholic faith, Leicester, Elizabeth's favourite, and Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the experienced diplomatist and plotter, were the real conductors of the intrigue, in whose hands the unfortunate duke was a mere tool for an obvious political purpose. When the duke at last agreed to the marriage, it was one of his stipulations, in the letter written to Mary by Leicester, that the Protestant religion should be "established both in Scotland and England." On the scaffold, the duke was accompanied by Foxe, the martyrologist, who had been his tutor, and by Dr. Nowell, the compiler of the catechism, and professed his adherence to the new faith. There is no proof that any one Catholic subject was connected with the plot.

2. The insurrection of the northern counties, under the Earl of Northumberland, compromised not the Catholic body, but the loyalty of a body of men, the majority of whom were Catholics. Whatever may have been the real object of that rebellion, it was evidently the interest of its directors to enlist, if possible, in their favour, the religious feelings of that portion of the kingdom. There, at a distance from the court, Protestantism had made little or no progress. "In that country," according to Sir Ralph Sadler, "there were not ten gentlemen that favoured and allowed of her majesty's proceedings in the cause of religion."¹ It was natural to expect that the penal laws should have caused great irritation. Besides, Europe was in flames, enkindled by religious feuds. In Scotland, the new religionists had crushed the ancient faith by open violence; in France and the Netherlands, aided by English money and troops, the reformers were engaged in desperate conflict with their respective sovereigns. And, more than all, the unfortunate Mary of Scotland, whose title to the throne many looked upon as superior even to that of Elizabeth, and whom the nation at large looked forward to, as the legitimate successor to the crown, was inhumanly and unjustly detained a prisoner in the hands of men who openly sought her ruin, and kept it no secret that one of their most powerful motives in wishing for this consummation, was the firm adherence of that queen to the ancient faith.²

These circumstances were not lost sight of by the insurgent leaders, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate the simulated from the real, in their proclamations. The following facts will enable us to understand, as far as history lends its light, the character of this transaction. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland were Catholics, as were many, probably the majority of their followers, who consisted principally of the re-

¹ Sadler's State Papers.

² Strype's Life of Parker, 354. Annals, ii., p. 48—330; iii., app. 68.

tainers of these noblemen,¹ and may be supposed to have followed the fortunes of their masters, as much from affection and dependence as any other motive. They issued a proclamation, calling upon all good Catholics to join them, and, in their progress, mass was celebrated in the cathedral of Durham. In their application for foreign aid a zeal for religion was also assigned, and there seems reason to think that Dr. Nicholas Morton, who had come from Rome with the title of apostolical penitentiary, was busily engaged in urging the northern counties to revolt; and it is possible that he may have informed them of the Pope's intended bull of excommunication, which, however, was not fulminated till the following year. These facts tend to show that the restoration of, or liberty to worship according to the ancient faith, was one of the motives assigned by the insurgents; one that drew to their standard a party of men, considerable, indeed, but still small if it be looked upon as an outbreak of indignation in the Catholic body at the sufferings which they had endured. But was this the real, or the most prominent motive or object? There are decisive and incontrovertible facts to prove that it was not: that the movement was political much more than religious. 1. The Earl of Sussex, who had been appointed to the command of the royal troops, found his army to consist in a great measure of Catholics. 2. It was well known to Elizabeth's counsellors that religion was but a colour given by the leaders to the insurrection, to swell the number of their followers. Their real and foremost designs were the liberation of Mary from prison and the hands of her enemies, and the obtaining of a declaration of her right to the crown, in case Elizabeth died childless. This is established by the following authorities: "I find the gentlemen of this county," says Sir Ralph Sadler, "though the most part of them be well affected to the cause which the rebels make the colour of their rebellion, yet in outward show well affected to serve your majesty truly against them; and yet I see no such cause as I may be utterly void of suspicion towards them, and therefore it is wisdom to be furnished with such force as your majesty may be assured of, which will the rather enforce them to serve truly, though they had any meaning to the contrary." "It is very true that they only coloured outwardly their rebellious attempts with a pretence of religion. It is well known that the principal cause of that rebellion was wrought, (you will not say by the Queen of Scots;) but sure you are, by her ministers both here and in Scotland, and by some of the principal parties of the nobility in Scotland that do hate the Roman religion." Digges, 3.² The queen writes to Sussex:

¹ "The force of the rebels is, I am credibly informed, about the number of 6000 footmen and 1000 horsemen, very well appointed, whereof a great number of them being serving-men, servants, and tenants to the earls and to the other gentlemen, their associates in this wicked rebellion." Sir R. Sadler's State Papers.

² "She by her ministers entered into such intelligence with certain of our noblemen in the north part of our realm, as they now since Michaelmas burst out into open

"These rebels do make religion to be the show of their enterprise, when in very deed, as yourself well knoweth, their intention is grounded upon another devise." Haynes, p. 556. Hamelyn, Northumberland's agent, says in his confession, "that the setting up the mass was meant to provoke the people; but the principal intent was to put the Queen of Scots to liberty, and, as he thinketh, to make her Queen of England." Haynes, p. 596. Bishop wrote to Mary to stay the rebellion, because "he was resolved in his own opinion that the cause of the rebellion was for the cause of the said Scots queen." Murdin, p. 216. "The queen's majesty hath had a notable tryal of her whole realm and subjects in this time, wherein she hath had service readily of all sorts, without respect of religion." Cecil to Norris, Cabala, 180.

Elizabeth took a fearful revenge. It is true that, by desperate efforts, the ringleaders contrived to escape to the Spanish Netherlands, but the vials of Elizabeth's wrath were poured, with all the ferocity of her father's spirit, on the retainers and friends of the fugitives. The more substantial yeomen had the formality of a trial by jury; for their forfeitures, by attainder, would feed the avarice of the queen and her courtiers; the poor were despatched by martial law. On the 4th and 5th of January, "sixty-six constables and others" were executed at Durham alone;¹ thence Sir George Bowes, with his executioner, traversed the whole country between Newcastle and Netherby, a district sixty miles in length and forty in breadth, "and finding many to be fauters in the said rebellion, he did see them executed in every market-town and in every village, as he himself (says Stowe) reported unto me." Whilst the whole county was thus dotted with gibbets, there was a characteristic scramble for the forfeited property. One noble lord was very eager to obtain the Earl of Northumberland's best falconer; another was equally eager for his lordship's white jennet, for "he represented the carrying of a noble mane;" even those who had been the bosom friends of the fugitive lords evinced no greater moderation.²

At length Elizabeth issued a proclamation, in which she not merely imposed, as she justly might, the obligation of taking the oath of allegiance, but also of the oath of supremacy, thus bring-

rebellion, making their outward show of intent to change the state of religion contrary to the laws of our realm; but in very deed, as manifestly it is to us more known and truly discovered, their meaning was to set her up, not only in her own country, but in this our realm." Ibid. p. 15. "*Ut multitudinem imperitam contraherent, alios imperarunt ut armati se conjungerent ad reginam tutandam, aliis innuerunt universos Angliæ procures ad Romanam religionem restaurandam conspirasse, aliis se necessarie adactos ut arma sumerent, ne prisca Angliæ nobilitas a novis hominibus conculcicaretur.*" Camden. In their proclamation the queen's title was expressly acknowledged: "*Declarant se in reginam nihil moliri, cui obsequentissimos subditos esse et fore devovent.*" Ibid.

¹ Holinshed, iv., p. 337.

² Wright. There are some letters in this collection, written at the moment, which show in a most disgusting light the mercenary and unfeeling spirit of the times.

ing into further action that obnoxious and tyrannical principle, by which the religious opinions of the individual were made the test of his civil allegiance, so that whosoever should assert the Pope, and not Elizabeth, to be the spiritual head of the church, should be reputed no loyal subject.

The case, therefore, seems to stand thus. Certain noblemen, in common with the majority of the nation,¹ looked upon Mary's title to the succession as clear, but in danger of being voided by the intrigues of a faction, on account of that sovereign's unconquerable attachment to the Catholic religion. Under these circumstances, to prevent the possibility or probability of an injustice, they were guilty of an actual crime, and rose in armed insurrection, in that part of the kingdom in which the rights of Mary of Scotland were most respected, and in which her hereditary claims came not into collision with, but in support of, the religious opinions of the multitude, and where support might be obtained most readily from her friends in Scotland. An appeal to the Catholics, smarting under persecution, was a ready trumpet-call, which was then ringing through Europe, and shaking thrones. Their bishops were lingering in prison; their clergy had been driven from the churches; they themselves were forced, each returning Sunday, to simulate themselves Protestants, and to attend at a service which their consciences repudiated; the universities, the Lower House of Parliament, the bench, and the bar closed to them, they had become, in ten brief years, without fault or provocation on their part, and purely for refusing to apostatize from their faith, outcasts in their native land. Thus driven by the sword of a cruel persecution beyond the pale and protection of the constitution, unrighteously and unmeritedly, is not the conduct of those who joined in the rebellion to be ascribed rather to the indignation of wounded feelings, and a desire, just and honourable and manly in itself,—though vitiated in this instance,—to recover their rights and privileges as citizens, men, and Christians, than to any cool and calculating project of obtaining a religious ascendancy. The law was cruel, unjust, and tyrannical towards them, before they resisted its authority. Nor must it be forgotten, that the leaders of the insurrection, in their proclamation, deemed it necessary to profess, if they did not actually feel, the utmost loyalty to the reigning queen; and in this distinguished their rebellion from that of the Presbyterians in Scotland, and the religious wars of the continent.

This then was the ordeal through which the loyalty of the Catholic had to pass. At that moment, and this is no unimportant consideration, the arms of the Catholic monarchs of France and Spain had nearly crushed the revolt of their Protestant subjects.

¹ "The Queen of Scots' strength," as Cecil admits in a remarkable minute on the state of the kingdom, in 1569, "standeth by the universal opinion of the world for the justice of her title, as coming of the ancient land." Haynes, p. 580.

Elizabeth was known to be an object of deserved dislike to both these monarchs, on account of her unceasing support of armed insurrection in their dominions, and yet, goaded by such provocation, and by laws framed to exterminate their faith, and with such prospects of foreign aid, not more than seven thousand men, even granting the whole army of the two earls to have been Catholics, and those principally dependants and tenants of the two noblemen, were found to swerve from their allegiance. Instead, then, of being cited as an instance of disloyalty on the part of the Catholics as a body, he who knows the human heart, and he who has read history, especially the history of that period, will probably see, in the conduct of that party, which still formed a large mass, if not the majority of the nation,—a moderation not surpassed, if it was ever equalled, in any nation of Europe similarly circumstanced. This, in fact, is no new conclusion to draw from this event. “The two earls,” says an unquestionable authority, Camden, “sent letters to the Papists all around the kingdom; but so far were they from joining with them, that most of them sent the letters which they had received with the bearers of them to the queen. Every one strove who should be most forward in the tender of his service, and the offer of his purse and person towards reducing the rebels: so that the queen was highly delighted, and returned thanks to God for this singular proof of the loyalty of her subjects.” Add to this clear testimony that of Cecil, and it will appear evident that “the queen’s majesty had a notable tryal of her whole realm and subjects, wherein she had service readily of all sorts, without respect of religion.” They who, notwithstanding testimonies like these, dare brand the Catholics as disloyal, or adduce this insurrection as, if not justifying, palliating the ferocious intolerance of the reformers, must surely need reminding, that they are the successors of men who, having insulted, persecuted, and threatened the heir presumptive to the crown, violated their oaths and placed an usurper on the throne, levied armies against their lawful sovereign, and this with no other pretext (for they gloried in the act) than because that sovereignty was a Catholic,—deeds done not by a lord or two and his retainers, but by the first and foremost prelates and founders of the reformation. Such men, if they plead this insurrection as extenuating the penal and bloody laws of Elizabeth, must be prepared to mete the same measure to Mary and her sanguinary career.

3. It was during the desultory struggle on the Scottish borders that followed the suppression of the northern rebellion, that the celebrated bull of Pius V. was fulminated. His predecessor, Pius IV. had endeavoured, at two distinct periods of his pontificate, to open the path to a reunion between the two churches. His attempts were vain; but were limited to the use of reasoning and persuasion. His successor, Pius V., was not satisfied with

such weapons; but, after vainly attempting to obtain reinforcements from Philip of Spain to promote insurrection in England, resolved to awaken the long-neglected thunder of the Vatican. To him the English queen appeared as the sworn enemy of the Catholic faith. She had, by intrigues, money, and men, excited and supported rebellion amongst the foreign Protestants, against their liege sovereigns; by her instrumentality the Catholic religion had not merely been suppressed in England, but also in Scotland, whose queen, the last hope of the Catholics in those kingdoms, she still detained close prisoner, contrary to every principle of justice and honour. These, and similar actions, he represented to the courts of France and Spain, demanded their interference and that of every Catholic sovereign, to rescue from her treacherous hands the hapless Queen of Scotland. He, on his part, prepared, with much form and solemnity, and at length published,¹ on learning the indiscriminate massacre of the Catholics of the north,—to the number, it was said, of eight hundred victims,—a bull in which he excommunicated the queen as guilty of heresy, deprived her of her “pretended” right to the crown of England, and absolved her English subjects from their allegiance. Few documents have ever furnished writers of a certain class with more eloquent and hot invective than this amazing instrument. Had their indignation been confined within just limits, and condemned the author of the bull and its approvers, without involving, in their denunciations, those who reprobated as much, and with far greater reason than they, this unfortunate, but, to the Protestant at least, innocuous production; there would be no need for the following remarks, which will prove that the bull in question may have furnished a pretext to men who, in the absence of this, would, as they had already, easily have found other pretexts for increasing the penal laws against those who still adhered to that religion from which they themselves had apostatized; but to adduce it as an extenuation, much more as a justification of those laws, is the height of folly, of ignorance, or of fraud.

1st. Before the English Catholic can be held responsible for the bull of Pius, it must, in common honesty, be shown either that that instrument was published at his desire, or that his principles as a Catholic required of him to admit the authority and right of the Pope to interfere in civil matters: to interfere, as in the case before us, to depose princes under any plea whatever, or for any crimes to absolve subjects from their allegiance. On the spiritual censure of excommunication, or the declaration that Elizabeth had ceased to belong to his communion, I need say nothing. Now, so far

¹ “The bull, ‘*Regnans in excelsis*,’ &c., is dated by Camden and Dod 5 Calend. Mart. 1569, which, in modern language and style, would be the 23d of February, 1570. One copy Dod found dated 5 Cal. Maii, 1570, which would make it two months later.” Mackintosh, iii., p. 135.

is it from being possible to criminate the English Catholics on either of these two heads, or to affix any such monstrous doctrine on them, as the admission of the temporal power of the Pontiff, much more of a temporal power so enormous, as an article of their faith, 'that whosoever will read, with an impartial mind, the history of this memorable epoch, will discover that, while the Catholics shed their blood for the truth of their religion, they were equally ready to pour it forth for the liberties of their native land; thus giving to the world that noblest, sublimest proof of genuine patriotism; of unflinching fidelity to their country and their God.' "Some of their gentlemen," says Hume, "when they could not obtain commissions in the army and navy, served in them as volunteers. Some equipped ships at their own charge, and gave the command of them to Protestants." "The sacred sentiment of affection," says another, "even to a country in which they were oppressed, extinguished their (well-founded) resentments; they joined the rest of their countrymen, heart and hand, against foreign domination." In truth, never did the most violent supporter of papal claims ever assert that this power, like the spiritual supremacy, was the inalienable and incontrovertible prerogative of the Holy See; and few ever thought of resting this claim on any other basis than the common weal of Christendom, as arbiter amongst whose rulers the Pope had for ages been constituted, as least likely to be warped in his judgment, and from his station the most likely to be obeyed, in determining, amongst other disputes, fraught with the fate of nations and of kings, that most difficult question—at what point the tyranny of the superior becomes so oppressive to the subject, that submission ceases to be a conscientious obligation—where tyranny begins, and allegiance ends.

2d. This power of deposing princes, unthought-of in the Christian world until the days of Gregory VII.,¹ and unasserted by any Pontiff, until those of Boniface VIII., was, by writers of undoubted and unimpeached orthodoxy and sanctity, denied, denounced, and condemned, whenever and by whomsoever asserted, not as an article of faith, for as such it was never defended, but

[¹ The student of history who wishes to investigate this important subject, may consult with much advantage the following works, among others, which, within the last half century, have treated with uncommon learning, candour, and eloquence, the vexed question of the temporal power of the Popes. The two works first named are by German Protestant writers.

Histoire du Pape Grégoire VII., et de son Siècle, by J. Voight, Professor at the University of Halle, 2 vols. 8vo., translated by the Abbé Jager. *Histoire du Pape Innocent III., &c.*, par Fr. Hurter, *Président du Consistoire à Schaffouse*, translated by the Abbé Jager and Ph. Vial, 2 large vols. 8vo. This second work may be considered a complete vindication of the Pontiffs of the middle ages.

See also, the Count J. De Maistre's beautiful work, "Du Pape," vol. i., book ii., chapters v., vi., vii., and an article in the Dublin Review, No. xxii., 1841, entitled "Pope Boniface VIII.," from the pen of that admirable writer and erudite prelate, the Right Rev. N. Wiseman, D. D., Bishop of Melipotamus.—*Am. Ed.*]

repudiated as an opinion unjust, tyrannical, and opposed to the universal tradition and practice of the church, during eleven centuries of submission to kings, some of whom were tyrants, others apostates, and some even idolaters. Nay, it would seem impossible for any imputation to be urged against us on this head, by men who know the history of the Gallican church, which hurled back the thunders of the Vatican unscathed; or who have read one of the noblest productions of learning and genius which the mind of Bossuet has left us, in his triumphant and indignant refutation of any papal right or title to interfere in the temporal affairs of nations, much less to be guilty of this crime of tampering with the allegiance of subjects, and the dethronement of kings.¹ These two decisive facts, which clear the principles of our church, however they may have been suppressed or obscured by some writers, are acknowledged by Hallam. "The bull of Pius V., far more injurious in its consequences to those it was designed to serve than to Elizabeth, forms a leading epoch in the history of our English Catholics. It rested upon a principle never universally acknowledged, and regarded with much jealousy by temporal governments, yet maintained in all countries by many whose zeal and ability rendered them formidable,—the right vested in the supreme Pontiff to depose kings for heinous crimes against the church."²

3d. But it may be urged that, though the "deposing power" is no article of Catholic faith; though many Catholics had denounced the ambitious pretensions from the time it was first advanced, still, may there not have been some ground for connecting the English Catholic with this document? was it not solicited by them, applauded, acted upon, considered binding by them, or was it solely the act and deed of an imprudent, or ill-informed prelate? The history of the papal bull in England is this: on the morning of the 15th of May, a copy of the bull was found affixed to the gates of the Bishop of London's residence. Elizabeth and the council were filled with wonder and consternation. Was it the concerted signal of rebellion at home, and of invasion abroad? Search was immediately made, and first, and especially, amongst the inns of court, where, in the chamber of one of the students of Lincoln's Inn, another copy of the instrument was found. The poor student was forthwith stretched upon the rack, and a confession extorted from him that he had received the copy from John Felton, an enthusiastic Catholic layman, of considerable property, who lived near Southwark. Felton was apprehended and racked; but, though he gloried in the act of which he had been accused, no torture could extort from him information as to any accomplice, or the person from whom he had

¹ *Defensio Declarationis Cleri Gallicani*, forming the 9th vol. of the edition published at Paris, in 1836. [See, also, the Count J. De Maistre's works "*Sur l'Eglise Gallicane*, and "*Du Pape*," *passim*.—*Am. Ed.*]

² Hallam, i., p. 185.

received the document. He was confined in the Tower from the 25th of May to the 4th of August, when he was arraigned at Guildhall, and found guilty of high treason. Four days after, he was drawn into St. Paul's churchyard, and there hanged on a gallows, set up that morning before the bishop's palace-gate, and, being cut down alive, he was bowelled and quartered. Felton bore his fate with all the enthusiasm of a martyr to what he had erroneously persuaded himself was his duty; but though he refused to the last to admit Elizabeth as his rightful queen, at the same time, to show that he bore her personally no malice, he drew a diamond ring from his finger, of the value of £400, and sent it to her as a present. His wife had been maid of honour to Mary, and friend to Elizabeth. It is generally stated that the copies of the bull had been put into his hands by the chaplain of the Spanish ambassador, who, knowing his danger, had instantly left the kingdom. Copies of the bull are said to have been sent by the Pontiff to the Duke of Alva, with a request that he would make them known in the sea-ports of the Netherlands; and those which reached England, we are told, had been forwarded by the duke to the Spanish ambassador.¹ From this account, it follows, that there was not even proof of the authenticity of the bull; that it was never canonically promulgated, or made known to the English Catholics in any cognisable form as a papal declaration; that no Englishman, whether layman or clergyman, introduced the bull into the kingdom, and that one man only, and he an enthusiast, is known to have expressly recognised its authority. Further, neither Spain,² nor France, nor any Catholic power in Europe, took any notice of the appeal, which had no other result than to sharpen the sword of persecution against the Catholic body, to whom it proved a cruel, and heartless, and bloody instrument of torture. The deprived Catholic bishops hastened to repudiate the imputation, which the very publication of such an instrument seemed to affix on the loyalty of the English Catholics; and their example was followed³ by the most eminent of

¹ Becchetti, xii., p. 105, 107. Stow. Camden, p. 211—215. Bridgewater, p. 42.

² Philip of Spain, in a letter to his ambassador, (June 30,) declares that he knew nothing whatever of the bull, which he ascribes to the imprudent zeal of the Pontiff. *Memorias*, p. 351.

³ Soon after the publication of the bull of Pius, the following quere was put: "whether Queen Elizabeth was divested of the kingdom by the deposing bull of Pius V., or by any other sentence passed or to be passed, or her subjects discharged from their allegiance?" To which it was answered that, "notwithstanding the bull, or any other declaration, or sentence of the Pope passed or to be passed, we hold Queen Elizabeth to be the lawful Queen of England and Ireland, and that obedience and fealty is justly due to her, as such, by all her English and Irish subjects.

(Signed)

"Richard Watson.

"John Feckenham.

"Henry Cole.

"J. Harpsfield.

"N. Harpsfield."

Burleigh, in his "Execution of Justice," says that "Heath, Archbishop of York, and

those divines who had, like the bishops, shown their zeal and sincerity in their faith, by forfeiting every worldly interest for its profession. Contemporary writers admit that these judgments were followed by the Catholic body, who condemned and despised the bull; whilst foreign Catholic courts continued, as usual, their correspondence with the queen, just as if no such instrument had ever appeared.¹ "So audacious a manifestation of disloyalty," Hallam acknowledges, "was imputed with little justice to the Catholics at large."²

Having vindicated the loyalty of the Catholics, I will subjoin a few remarks on the penal laws, for which the northern insurrection, and the papal bull, furnished a pretence. "After the deposing bull, and the audacity with which it was affixed on the Bishop of London's palace, a severe measure against papal bulls was naturally to be expected; and if it had been limited within the bounds of reason, would doubtless have been justifiable. But the Parliament made it "high treason to obtain, or receive from the Bishop of Rome any bull, writing, or instrument, containing any matter or thing whatsoever;" a persecuting enactment, which reduced Catholics to the alternative of exposing themselves to death, or of foregoing many of those moral relations of life, which were in their opinion legitimized only by the intervention of papal authority. This statute adopts a principle of cruel injustice, in order to preclude the possibility of some evasion, and outlaws the members of a great community, to avoid the risk of the introduction of a few criminal bulls, under cover of that multitude of them which were perfectly innocent. It might doubtless be said, and is indeed intimated in the preamble of this bill, that those who acknowledged the power of a Pope who had issued the deposing bull, lived in a permanent state of treason, and granted to the queen no more than a truce till they were better prepared for warfare. By such modes of reasoning, however, all tyranny might be justified, and peace might be forever banished from human society. Greater discrimination in making laws, and a more assiduous vigilance in their execution, will always secure a government as much as that object can be ob-

the Bishops Poole, Tonstal, White, Oglethorp, Thurlby, Tuberville, and many abbots and deans, acknowledged the same question." Butler's Vindication, quoting Pattinson's Image of Churches, p. 403. It is deserving of remark, that the see of Rome never attempted to issue any similar instrument against any of the princes who had apostatized and supported the reformation in Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Scotland, Berne, &c.

¹ Hanc bullam pontificii plerique modestiores improbabant, multique eorum in debita deinceps obedientia firmi permanserunt, cum vicinos principes et Catholicas provincias assuetis cum regina commercii minime abstinere, et bullam tanquam vanum verborum fragorem contemni viderent. Camden, an. 1570.

² Const. Hist., i., p. 185. Even whilst rendering justice to the Catholics at large, Hallam is unjust to the Catholic missionary priests. From the narrative in the text it is clear that they had nothing whatever to do with the bull of Pius.

tained with safety to the permanent well-being of mankind.”¹ With the remarks in the above extract no one can find fault. Every necessary precaution to fence and secure the civil authority of the queen, and to test the loyalty of the Catholics, would have been perfectly justifiable; they who acted on the deposing bull, and refused to acknowledge the queen’s title to the throne, by any overt act, would have justly been punished as traitors; but any interference with the merely spiritual connexion resulting from the acknowledgment of the spiritual supremacy of the pope, was an act of gross tyranny and persecution; only surpassed, if indeed it were surpassed, by that refined cruelty which, after rendering home odious, nay, insupportable, pursued, with unrelenting rage, such of its victims as fled for liberty and peace and religion to foreign lands. To the bigot whom reason cannot convince, and nothing silence but recrimination, it will be enough to add, that the deposing power was not merely taught, but acted upon in every instance where power and opportunity favoured, by the reformers. In our own history, the treason which elevated Lady Jane Grey to the throne, found amongst its supporters and vindicators, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer and Jewel; whilst the savage king-killing doctrines of Knox and of the reformers of Scotland, are still the horror of every loyal and peaceful subject. They dethroned kings for retaining the Catholic religion. Pius denounced, but in vain, a sovereign for apostatizing from it.

Since nothing tends so much to strengthen any government as an unsuccessful endeavour to subvert it, Elizabeth, after the suppression of the northern rebellion, began to feel her power, and to exercise it. “Her pretensions became despotic, and her policy intolerant. She rudely trampled on the privileges and personal liberty of the Commons; she claimed for her proclamations the authority of law in matters spiritual and temporal; she sharpened the edge of penal enactments and persecution against Puritans and Catholics; she inflicted the slow torture of an iniquitous captivity of nineteen years upon a suppliant, a kinswoman, and a queen: and she shed the blood of her victim, with a mixture of barbarity and dissimulation which renders her character as a sovereign hateful, as a woman monstrous.”² Little or no blood, it is true, had been hitherto shed, however much private suffering had been endured, for religion; but it may be doubted whether this moderation is not as much to be ascribed to her fears, and the precarious situation in which she found herself, as to any abhorrence of bloodshed, felt in the earlier years of her reign, but overcome when hardened by intrigue and

¹ “It is clear that Elizabeth dreaded something like the assumption of a deposing power by the hierarchy of the Puritans.” (Strype’s *Life of Parker*.) “The statute (of 1571) requires of them a declaration that they believed in their consciences that Elizabeth was and ought to be lawful queen, notwithstanding any act or sentence done or given by any synod, consistory, church, or other ecclesiastical assembly.” Mackintosh, iii., p. 284.

² *Ibid.*, p. 283.

power. By her laws, the lives of one-half her subjects might, at any moment, be declared forfeit; and this, purely because religious opinions, contrary to those of a faction, had been declared treasonable; and though the bloody penalty was not at first exacted, the sword was held suspended and fell at last; and, in the mean while, a complicated and vast machinery of persecution was kept constantly in operation against the liberty and property of her subjects. It may be useful to give a brief sketch of the tremendous machinery of intolerance set in motion by the craft of the politician and the fiery zeal of the reformer to exterminate every religion but their own. First and foremost stands the Court of High Commission, or of Inquisition, for such it was. It will be recollected that, in the first of Elizabeth's Parliaments, in order to avoid the inconveniences attendant on a female head of the church, it had been provided, that the jurisdiction necessary for the correction of errors, heresies, schisms, and abuses, should be annexed to the crown, with the power of delegating such jurisdiction to any person or persons whatsoever, at the pleasure of the sovereign. So that, whilst Elizabeth softened her personal pretensions to the spiritual supremacy vested in her by the act of supremacy, by which all ecclesiastical jurisdiction had been centered in the crown, she took care practically to exercise a summary and despotic control over the consciences and worship of her subjects, by means of delegated commissioners, appointed under the great seal, whose assemblies were called the Court of High Commission, or, from the chamber in which their sittings were held, the Star Chamber.

"Several temporary commissions had sitten under the act of supremacy,¹ with continually augmented powers, before that appointed in 1583; wherein the jurisdiction of this anomalous court almost reached its zenith. It consisted of forty-four commissioners, twelve of whom were bishops, many more privy-counsellors, and the rest either clergymen or civilians. This commission, after reciting the acts of supremacy, and two others, directs them to inquire from time to time, as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as by witnesses and all other means

¹ "The only legal ground for this monstrous tribunal in a country pretending to law or liberty, was a clause in the act of supremacy of the first year of Elizabeth. If such power were conferred by it, the sovereign was absolute; if it was not conferred, Elizabeth set herself above the laws. Sir Edward Coke pronounces the commission against law, (4th Inst. ;) and he says that, from a secret distrust of consciousness of its illegality it was not enrolled in Chancery as other commissions, to prevent its validity from being questioned. This appears to be the reason of a stunted lawyer, who identified substance with formality. The commissioners were exercising their jurisdiction by fines and imprisonments, ransacking the houses of the people by their pursuivants, and their consciences by administering oaths. This, assuredly, was a more likely mode of challenging the question of its legality, than the recording of it on the Chancery-roll. At a subsequent period, indeed, when Elizabeth reissued a similar commission, a man slew a pursuivant who with a warrant from the commissioners entered and searched his house, and the man was discharged from the bar by the judges of assize, on the ground that the warrant was illegal." Mackintosh, iii., p. 289, 290.

they can devise, of all offences, contempts, and misdemeanors done and committed contrary to the tenor of the said several acts and statutes; and also to inquire of all heretical opinions, seditious books, contempts, conspiracies, false rumours or talks, slanderous words and sayings, &c., contrary to the aforesaid laws. Power is given to any three commissioners, of whom one must be a bishop, to punish all persons absent from church, according to the act of uniformity, or to visit and reform heresies and schisms according to law; to deprive all beneficed persons holding any doctrine contrary to the thirty-nine articles, and to punish all who should refuse to appear or to obey their orders, by spiritual censure or by discretionary fine, or imprisonment; to alter and amend the statutes of colleges, cathedrals, schools, and other foundations, and to tender the oath of supremacy, according to the act of Parliament."¹

The principles of this court were the very same as those of the worst period of the Spanish Inquisition.² All ordinary courts of ecclesiastical law were superseded; delinquents were removed from the jurisdiction of their ordinaries; an ecclesiastical authority was conferred on the commissioners, extending over the kingdom, with powers, not merely to take cognisance of overt acts or words, dissenting from the faith and worship established by the reformers, but even to scrutinize the conscience of a suspected person by administering an oath: "Whoever refused this oath, though under pretext that he might thereby be brought to accuse himself or his dearest friend, was punishable by imprisonment."³ Any word or writing, which tended towards heresy, schism, or sedition, was punishable by the High Commissioners, or any three of them. They alone were judges what expressions had that tendency. They proceeded not by information, but by rumour, suspicion, or according to their own fancy. In short, an inquisitorial tribunal, with all its terrors and iniquities, was erected in

¹ Hallam, i., p. 271, 272.

² Whosoever will compare the powers of the two courts, that of the Inquisition and that of the Star Chamber, will agree with Hallam that the Spanish tribunal was the model of the Court of High Commission, and that they differed but in name. "The primary model of this court was the Inquisition itself" Const. Hist., i., p. 272. This is the uniform opinion of the most competent judges. "The queen, to restore unity in the church, appointed as Grindall's successor, Whitgift, a stern inquisitor, irritated by previous controversy; and placed in his hands a commission, comparable only to that celebrated tribunal, which, in England, has been regarded as the most odious in the world." Mackintosh, iii., p. 288. "It was," says Hume, "a real Inquisition, attended with all the iniquities as well as cruelties inseparable from that tribunal." c. xli. I need scarcely refer to Neale's History of the Puritans, i., p. 10. Maclain, in his notes on Mosheim, says, speaking of this court: "It was empowered to make inquiry not only by legal methods, but also by rack, torture, inquisition, and imprisonment; and the fines and imprisonment, to which it condemned persons, were limited by no rule, but its own pleasure." Vol. iv., p. 395.

³ In the first commissions the power of interrogating the person accused on his oath was not expressly inserted: yet the judges always attempted it, because they were ordered to inquire by all ways and means they could devise.

the kingdom. Full discretionary powers were bestowed, with regard to inquiry, trial, sentence, and penalty inflicted."¹

"Proceedings so tyrannical excited general indignation. The Commons offered a gentle suggestion of their disapproval. Elizabeth rebuked them in a tone of spiritual supremacy not exceeded by the Pope. She said that by censuring the church they slandered her, whom God had appointed supreme ruler over it; that nothing was exempt from abuse and error, or she would deprive them of their office; that she was deeply read in religious science, for which she had more leisure than most other persons; that she would not tolerate the licentiousness and presumption with which many people, she perceived, canvassed Scripture, and started innovations; that she was resolved to guide her people by God's rule in the mean between Romish corruptions and sectarian licentiousness; that the Papists were enemies of her person, but the sectaries were hostile to all kingly government, and, under colour of preaching the word of God, presumed to exercise their private judgment, and censure the acts of the prince."²

We see here the spirit of the reformers; the bitter, blind, bigoted hatred of religious toleration, much more of religious liberty; the determination to crush every expression of private judgment, not in accordance with their own; nay, to search into their victim's heart and conscience for his thoughts, that, if opposed to theirs, they might fine, imprison, torment, and rack him, for daring to have an opinion of his own. And at the head of this detestable tribunal was a bishop; twelve of its members were bishops; three of their body were vested with full powers to decide and punish as their fancy led them; to enter by their pursuivants the houses of those whom they might choose to suspect; to rack their victim, however peaceable and inoffensive, and, from insidious questions put to him, and answers extorted during his agony, to adjudge him to pay such fines, and to undergo such imprisonment, as they pleased. Even the hardened Burleigh remonstrated against the mode of examination, "so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, as he thought the inquisitors of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and trap their prey."³

But the fiery zeal of this tremendous tribunal was not brought to bear, in all its fury, upon the Catholics, immediately on the passing of the further bill of pains and penalties in the year 1571. It will be therefore necessary to trace rapidly the gradual encroachments of a persecution increasing yearly in violence and inhumanity. "The queen, so far as we can penetrate her dissimulation, seems to have been really averse to extreme rigour against her Catholic subjects: and her greatest minister was at

¹ Hume, *Hist. of Engl.*, c. xli.

² Mackintosh, iii., p. 289.

³ Strype's *Whitgift*, p. 157, 160.

this time in the same sentiments. But such of her advisers as leaned towards the puritan faction, and too many of the Anglican clergy, whether puritan or not, thought no measure of charity or compassion should be extended to them.”¹ Sampson, the celebrated puritan, wrote a letter remonstrating with Lord Burleigh for not compelling the Catholics to attend at Protestant sermons.² Mr. Strickland, the most liberal of the puritan party, in the House of Commons, entered into lengthened arguments to prove that the Catholics might and ought to be forced to receive communion according to the Protestant form:³ and Archbishop Parker “complained of what he called a ‘Machiavel government;’ that is, of the queen’s lenity in not absolutely rooting them out.”⁴ Contrast the necessity under which was the council under Mary, to excite and threaten the Catholic prelates into the execution of the penal laws against Protestants,—laws which, notwithstanding those remonstrances and threats, more than one-half the Catholic bishops refused to put in force,—and you will form some notion of the relative claims of the reformed and Catholic bishops, to the titles of lovers of justice and liberty of conscience. And of what did these ferocious men complain? Even at this period the Catholic religion was not tolerated, nor was its private exercise connived at.⁵ The queen’s declaration, published in 1570, whilst it professes that she intends not “to sift men’s consciences,” declares that no loyal subject can refuse to attend at the public service of the church, and insists that all shall do so.⁶ “Nor did the government always abstain from an inquisition into men’s private thoughts. The inns of court were more than once purified of popery by examining their members in articles of faith. Gentlemen of good families in the country were harassed in the same manner. One Sir Richard Shelley, who had long acted as a sort of spy for Cecil on the continent, and given much useful information, requested only leave to enjoy his religion without hindrance; but the queen did not accede to this without much reluctance and delay. She had, as we have seen, assigned no other ostensible pretext for breaking off her own treaty of marriage with the Archduke Charles, and subsequently with the Dukes of Anjou, and Alençon, than her determination not to suffer the mass to be celebrated even in her husband’s private chapel. It is worthy to be repeatedly inculcated on the reader, since so false a colour has often been employed to disguise the ecclesiastical tyranny of this reign, that the most clandestine ex-

¹ Hallam, i., p. 189.² Strype, ii., p. 330.³ D'Ewes, p. 161, 177.⁴ Strype’s Parker, p. 354.⁵ Hallam, Const. Hist., p. 190.⁶ Strype’s Annals, i., p. 582. Even Walsingham, though he says that the queen thinks consciences are not to be forced, but to be won, adds that, “as a prince of great wisdom and magnanimity, she would suffer but the exercise of one religion.” Cabala, p. 407. This was confidently brought forward in proclamations, and in the instructions to the ambassadors at foreign courts; of which see a remarkable example in Mackintosh, iii., p. 250, from a MS. in the state-paper office.

ercise of the Romish worship was severely punished. Thus we read, in the life of Whitgift, that on information given that some ladies and others heard mass in the house of one Edwards by night, in the county of Denbigh, he being then Bishop of Worcester, and Vice-president of Wales, was directed to make inquiry into the facts; and finally was instructed to commit Edwards to close prison; and as for another person implicated, named Morice, "if he remained obstinate, he might cause some kind of torture to be used upon him, and the like order they prayed him to use with the others." But this is one of many instances, the events of every day forgotten on the morrow, and of which no general historian takes account.¹ Nor was the law which made it treason to return, or as it was called, to be reconciled to the Catholic faith, an idle letter. We read of several who were imprisoned for life, and punished with the loss of all their goods and lands for that exercise of their judgment.²

But it was soon discovered by the dominant party, that, severe as were the sufferings and penalties inflicted to enforce apostasy or conformity, they were inadequate to their purpose: that, on the contrary, sects but increased, several of which broached doctrines subversive of every principle of morality. Amongst these was "the family of love;" the "family of the mount," which "held all things in common, denied the propriety of prayer and the resurrection of the dead, and questioned even whether there was a heaven or a hell." As these sectaries travelled through mysticism, so "the family of the essentialists," founded by Mrs. Dunbar, a woman of Scotland, were worked up by their conceit of having perfectly purified their souls into a universal system of immorality, holding all outward actions to be absolutely indifferent to the pure in heart. "No man sinneth," said one of them; "whatever is done God does it all."³ The foul

¹ The following extract from a letter written by Topcliffe, a man whose daily occupation was to hunt out and molest Catholics, will show the kind of treatment complained of as too lenient by the godly reformers, and will exhibit Elizabeth herself as at times occupying herself during her progresses as an informer against Catholics. "The next good news, but in account the highest, her majesty hath served God with great zeal and comfortable examples: for by her council two notorious Papists, young Rockwood, the master of Euston-hall, where her majesty did lie upon Sunday now a fortnight, and one Downes, a gentleman, were both committed, the one to the prison at Norwich, the other to the county-prison there, for obstinate Papistry; and seven more gentlemen of worship were committed to several houses in Norwich as prisoners; two of the Lovells, another Downes, one Bedingfield, one Parry, and two others not worth memory for badness of belief. I was so happy lately amongst other good graces, that her majesty did tell me of sundry lewd Papist beasts that have resorted to Buxton. Lodge, ii., p. 188, 30 Aug., 1578. Further instances of the ill-treatment experienced by respectable families, (the Fitzherberts and Foljambes,) and even aged ladies, without any other provocation than their refusal to apostatize, may be found in Lodge, ii., p. 372, 462; iii., p. 22. Aylmer, Bishop of London, remarkable even in those days for his persecution of non-conformists, is said by Rishton de Schismate, p. 319, to have sent a young lady to be whipped in Bridewell for refusing to conform. "If the authority is suspicious," says Hallam, i., p. 193, "the fact is probable."

² Lodge, ii., p. 46.

³ Mackintosh, iii., p. 168.

abominations of these sects; the increasing boldness of the puritans; and the failure of the severities hitherto tried, seem to have convinced the ruling reformers that there was no middle course between the persecution which exterminates, and the toleration or liberty which conciliates. It was now resolved to wreak the full vengeance of the law on those who refused to square their consciences and faith by the thirty-nine articles. The first victims were from a sect unconnected with any of the great parties in the state. At the suggestion of Grindall, Bishop of London, domiciliary visits were made through all the parishes of the metropolis, in order to ascertain the number of foreigners, and the nature of their religious opinions.¹ In 1574, Sandys, his successor, delivered sixteen Anabaptists, under which name the various foreign sects were designated, to the lord mayor, to be transported out of the kingdom: the next year, on Easter-day, a congregation of Dutch Anabaptists were surprised at Aldgate, of whom twenty-seven were committed to prison. On the 27th of April, a commission was granted to the Bishop of London, assisted by civilians and judges, "to confer with the accused, and to proceed judicially in the case so required."² Being examined as suspected of heresy, they were found to maintain "that Christ had not taken flesh of the Virgin Mary, that infants ought not to be baptized, that a Christian ought neither to be a magistrate, nor to bear the sword, nor to take an oath." These opinions they were called upon to recant. Some obeyed the command and were dismissed with a reprimand, or, at most, after suffering the infliction of corporal punishment.³ Four or five others, for the accounts vary, were released, after bearing lighted faggots in their hands, and pronouncing their recantation at St. Paul's cross. Of the rest, two men and ten women⁴ were convicted and condemned to the flames; of whom one woman was persuaded to forsake her opinions, eight were banished instead of being condemned to the stake: but two men, named John Wielmacker and Hendrick Ter Woort, refused to renounce their faith. The queen calling to mind "that she was head of the church, that it was her duty to extirpate error, and that heretics ought to be cut off from the flock of Christ, that they might not corrupt others,"⁵ issued the fearful writ de heretico comburendo. To his honour, John Foxe, the nonconforming martyrologist, ventured to interfere in behalf of the unfortunate men, and wrote an earnest letter in Latin to the queen, beseeching her to spare their lives. He objected not to punishing, but to destroying, these

¹ Strype's Grindall, p. 123, 134.

² Privy-Council Books, April 27th, May 20th, June 26th, 1575.

³ Mackintosh, iii., p. 168, says on this occasion, "Corporal punishment is within the scope of the commissioners, as appears from Privy-Council Book, p. 20."

⁴ According to other accounts, the numbers were ten men and one woman. Stowe and Heylin are the earliest authorities, but even their accounts vary in the details.

⁵ Rymer, xv., p. 740, 741.

poor Anabaptists.¹ A month's reprieve was granted them, that they might repent of their errors; but they remained unshaken. On the 22d, or, according to others, on the 23d of July, they were consigned to the flames in Smithfield, dying, says the chronicler, "with great horror, crying and roaring."² This murder was hailed with acclamations by thousands of infuriated spectators. Four years later, Matthew Hammond, a ploughwright, was burned, by order of the Bishop of Norwich, in the ditch of that city, for the profession of similar opinions; and in the same place, but after an interval of ten years, was also consumed Francis Kett, a member of one of the universities, for uttering heterodox opinions on the divinity of Christ.³ The first blood had now been spilled, and henceforward it was shed like water in each returning year of this iron reign of terror. In 1577, Roland Jenks, a Catholic bookseller in Oxford, for speaking against the new religion, was, in the convocation held on the 1st of May, ordered to be apprehended, put in irons, his goods seized, and his trial "for high crimes and misdemeanours" to take place at the ensuing assizes, to be held in Oxford on the 4th of July. He was condemned to have his ears nailed to the pillory, and to deliver himself by cutting them off with his own hand.⁴

In the same year fell the proto-martyr to the Catholic faith, Cuthbert Mayne, a priest in Cornwall, who was accused of having obtained a bull from Rome;⁵ of denying the spiritual supremacy of the queen; and of having said mass in the house of Mr.

¹ "There are excommunications," he says, "and close imprisonment; there are bonds, there is perpetual banishment, burning of the hand, and whipping, or even slavery itself. This one thing I most earnestly beg, that the piles and flames in Smithfield, so long ago extinguished by your happy government, may not be now again revived." Translation in Crosby's History of the English Baptists. Even in pleading for this mitigation of the punishment of heresy, Foxe has the credit of standing alone, amongst the puritan party, as may be gathered from many parts of this lecture, and as Neale, their own historian, acknowledges, "Both parties agreed too well in asserting the necessity of a uniformity of public worship, and of using the sword of the magistrate for the support and defence of their respective principles, which they made an ill use of in their turns whenever they could grasp the power into their hands." Hist. of Puritans, i., p. 103. (Edit. of 1837.)

² Stowe, p. 680. Heylin, p. 105.

³ Stowe, p. 679, 685. Collier, p. 569.

⁴ Whoever takes an interest in the many singular coincidences of horrible sufferings attendant on persecutors, will read with attention the following extract from Anthony Wood's Antiq. Oxon., p. 294. "On the passing of the sentence on Jenks, (though my soul dreads almost to relate it,) so sudden a plague invaded the men that were present, (the great crowd of people, the violent heat of the summer, and the stench of the prisoners, all conspiring together; and, perhaps, also a poisonous exhalation breaking suddenly at the same time out of the earth,) that you might say, death itself sat on the bench; and, by her definitive sentence, put an end to all the causes—for great numbers immediately dying on the spot, others struck with death, hastened out of the court as fast as they could, to die within a very few hours." Besides the authority quoted above, the substance of Jenks' history may be found in Baker's Chronicle, and in Fuller's C. History, book 9, p. 109.

⁵ The bull was nothing but a printed copy of the bull of jubilee of the foregoing year. See MS. account of Mayne's trial and death, written in 1582, and published by Dr. Challoner in his Memoirs of Missionary Priests.

Tregian. It was found impossible to produce satisfactory evidence of these formidable crimes, but the judge informed the jury that "where plain proofs were wanting, strong presumptions were sufficient," and a verdict of guilty was accordingly returned. One of the judges being dissatisfied with the proceedings, the case was referred to the privy-council, who, after a suspense of two months, ordered the judgment to be carried into execution. On the scaffold he exhibited the constancy and calmness of the martyr, and having exclaimed, "Into thy hands, O! Lord, I commend my spirit," he was hanged, "without any charge against him except his religion."¹ With Mayne were condemned in the penalties of *præmunire*, fifteen persons, partly neighbours and partly servants of Mr. Tregian, as aiders and abettors in his treason. Mr. Tregian was himself condemned in the same penalty, by which he was doomed to perpetual imprisonment, and his estate, which was considerable, confiscated. Sir John Arundel was also prosecuted and cast into prison on the same occasion.

The martyrdom of Mayne, and the condemnation of Tregian, were the signals for a general outbreak of fanatical bigotry throughout the kingdom. The pursuivants of the Court of High Commission, and the informers, soon crowded almost every jail with Catholic prisoners. On one occasion not fewer than twenty Catholics of family and fortune, incarcerated on account of their religion, perished of an infectious disease in the Castle of York.² A similar fate befell the Catholics in Newgate, in July, 1580.³ On February 3d, 1578, John Nelson, a priest, driven by captious questions to admit that he considered the queen a heretic, and for refusing the oath of supremacy;⁴ and on February 7th, Thomas Sherwood, a boy, on the same grounds, were put to death with circumstances of barbarous cruelty.⁵ They were cut down alive, ripped up, and dismembered, in so horrible a manner that it is impossible for me to describe, and heart-rending to read, the history of the more than savage frenzy of their tormentors. The poor boy, said to have been but fourteen years of age, was cruelly racked to make him discover where he had heard mass; and then thrust into a dark, filthy cell, where he endured cold, hunger, and utter destitution, to the further trial of his constancy and faith, but vainly for the purposes of his torturers.

¹ Hallam, i., p. 196. "His offence was clearly against the statute, but it was religious, not political." Mackintosh, iii., p. 284. See, also, Bridgewater, p. 34, 35; the old edition of the State Trials, and Stowe, an. 1577.

² On the death of Elizabeth, Tregian, after having lingered in prison eight-and-twenty years, was liberated by King James, at the request of the King of Spain, on condition that he should leave the country. He died at Lisbon, on the 25th of September, 1608. Hallam, i., p. 196, referring to Holingshed, p. 344, mentions two others "who suffered at Tyburn for the same offence."

³ Strype, App., p. 157.

⁴ Stowe.

⁵ Ibid., and Bridgewater's *Concertatio*.

Arrival of the Jesuits, Campion and Persons.—House of Commons of 1583.—Increased Severities.—Seizure of Campion.—Disputation with the Protestants.—Meets Elizabeth.—His Martyrdom.—Hallam's Testimony.—Lord Burleigh.—Victims.—Snarcs, &c., for Catholics.—Spies.—The Pursuivants.—Instruments of Torture.—Note.—Archbishop Whitgift.—Burleigh's Memorial.—Parliament of 1584.—The Cup of Persecution filled to the Brim.—The Queen rejects with Scorn the Catholic Petition.—Women butchered for the Faith.—Note on the Fate of Mary, Queen of Scots, &c.—Fear of the Council.—Catholic Loyalty.—Horrid Proposition.—Elizabeth rejects it.—Persecution rages.—Concluding Remarks from Hallam's Constitutional History.

BOTH Nelson and Mayne had been educated at the college of Douay. At the request of Allen, to whose unwearied zeal the English Catholics were principally indebted for a succession of devoted ministers, Mercurianus, the general of the order of the Jesuits, then recently established, agreed to appoint members of that body, to share in the dangers and honour of the English mission. Edward Campion and Robert Persons, men of distinguished ability, were chosen for this purpose. Their arrival, in June, 1580, was soon known to the watchful government of Elizabeth. A challenge to disputation, prepared by Campion, and published by the indiscreet zeal of a friend,¹ excited the rage of the reformers who urged the pursuivants, and their official bloodhounds, to hunt down the two missionaries, whom they represented as emissaries, employed by the Pope and foreign powers, to excite the Catholics to revolt. The appearance of these two priests, the first that had trodden English ground; deputed from a body already the object of admiration, or of jealous hatred; at a time when a treaty of marriage was pending between the queen and the Catholic Duke of Anjou, created unfavourable suspicions in the minds of the fanatics, and furnished a ready pretext to the opponents of the union, to raise a redoubled outcry for the utter extermination of the Catholics. It was Elizabeth's policy, when engaged in any matrimonial speculation, or other treaty, with any of the foreign Catholic princes,—a policy that shows the intolerance of the

¹ On their arrival in England, Persons and Campion, before separating, drew up, in reply to the queen's proclamation, a statement of the reasons which had led them to return to England. Each confided his own paper to the care of a friend, with an injunction not to make it public, unless the writer were apprehended and thrown in prison. The zeal of one of those friends, named Pound, caused him to violate his engagement. The paper was published under the title of a letter to the lords of the council. In it Campion asserted that he had come merely to exercise the functions of the priesthood; requested permission to defend the Catholic faith before the queen, the council, and the universities; and declared that the body to which he belonged had resolved, for the sake of Christ, to brave every danger, and to expose their lives if necessary to martyrdom, in the propagation and support of the Catholic faith; but that he and his companion had been expressly and peremptorily forbidden to meddle in any way with politics. Bridge-water, i., p. 2, 5—19.

age,—to sharpen the penal laws against her Catholic subjects. On the present occasion, all those whose children, relations, or wards, had been sent to be educated abroad, were commanded by proclamation to give in their names forthwith, and to recall them within four months: and all persons were warned, that if they knew of any Jesuit or seminary priest in the kingdom, or harboured, or did not reveal where any such person was concealed, they would be prosecuted and punished as abettors of treason.¹ On their side the Catholics, whilst resolved to retain their faith and to celebrate their religious worship at any cost,—and the worship of God is a want of the people which becomes dearer to them from the very attempt to withhold it,—“were disposed to use all means of disarming the suspicions of the queen. Even the two Jesuits, the exercise of whose functions, as well as those of every Catholic priest, was a service of life or death, obtained, and brought over, from Gregory XIII. a relaxation of the bull against Elizabeth, which, however, he declared to be still binding upon her, though not upon the Catholics; who also suppressed an obnoxious book written by Persons.”² This modification of the bull, since it supposes, and merely holds in abeyance, or obtains a temporary withdrawal—which probably was all that could be expected from the court of Rome—of the obnoxious claims advanced in that instrument, will be condemned almost as severely as the original document itself, in these days, in which the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction have been, after centuries of violent struggle, more clearly defined, and the folly or crime of confounding religious with civil allegiance is universally recognised.³ But, according to the principles and practice of the reformers, whether under Edward or Elizabeth, or even according to the example of the Protestants throughout Europe, any deviation from the beaten path of approved orthodoxy was deemed to justify, and even to require, that it should be visited by the alienation not merely of civil privileges and rights, but even by positive and active persecution, and the forfeiture of liberty and life. It would then have been to expect too much from the sovereign Pontiff, to look for greater moderation and more subdued claims in him, to whose power, as supreme bishop or arbitrator, the nations of Europe had so long bowed, than in the upstart and self-created authority of a few individuals, styling

¹ Camden, p. 348.

² Mackintosh, iii., p. 285.

³ The judgment of the deprived English bishops, and of some eminent Catholic divines, has been already quoted in condemnation of the bull of Pius, stating broadly that neither that, nor any future bull, would justify the Catholics in violating their allegiance. This opinion does not seem to have been universal, as the following extract from Hallam seems to show. “The Earl of Southampton asked Mary’s ambassador, Bishop Lesley, whether, after the bull, he could in conscience obey Elizabeth. Lesley answered, that as long as she was the stronger, he ought to obey her. Murden, p. 30. After all, when we come fairly to consider it, is not this the case with every disaffected party in every state? a good reason for watchfulness, but none for extermination.” Const. Hist., i., p. 199.

themselves reformers. From the introduction of this mitigation of the bull by Campion and Persons, it might be concluded that they admitted the deposing power. That this, however, was not the fact, as far at least as Campion was concerned, is evident from his repeated acknowledgments, before the queen, at his trial, and lastly at the place of execution, where he recognised her, in almost every form of words, as his lawful queen both by possession and right. It seems then to have been their object to mitigate the bull, and to place it at least in abeyance, as they could not succeed in obtaining its revocation from the successor of Pius, Gregory XIII.¹

The necessities of the queen required her to assemble Parliament, in which her ministers called for fresh severities against the adherents to the ancient faith. As the majority was decidedly puritan,² nothing could have better suited their fanaticism. "A new generation had grown up in England, rather inclined to diverge more widely from the ancient religion than to suffer its restoration. Such were they who formed the House of Commons that met in 1583; discontented with the severities used against the puritans, but ready to go beyond any measures that the court might propose to subdue and extirpate popery. Here an act was passed, which, after repeating the former provisions that had made it high treason to reconcile any of her majesty's subjects, or to be reconciled to the church of Rome, imposes a penalty of £20 a month on all persons absenting themselves from church, unless they shall hear the English service at home: such as could not pay the same within three months after judgment were to be imprisoned until they should conform;" whilst they who should absent themselves for a whole year, upon certificate made thereof in the Queen's Bench, besides their former fine, should, in punishment of their recusancy,—as the wilful absence of Catholics from church came now to be denominated,—be obliged to procure two sureties in £200 each, for his good behaviour. And to prevent the concealment of priests as schoolmasters in private families, every schoolmaster, not attending at church, or unlicensed

¹ The following are Hallam's remarks on this subject: "Many availed themselves of what was called an explanation of the bull of Pius V., given by his successor, Gregory XIII.; namely, that this bull should be considered as always in force against Elizabeth and the heretics, but should only be binding on Catholics when due execution of it could be had. This was designed to satisfy the consciences of some Papists in submitting to her government, and taking the oath of allegiance. But in thus granting a permission to dissemble, in hope of better opportunity for revolt, this interpretation was not likely to tranquillize her council, or conciliate them towards the Romish party. The distinction, however, between a king by possession and one by right, was neither heard for the first, nor for the last time, in the reign of Elizabeth. It is the lot of every government that is not founded on the popular opinion of legitimacy, to receive only a precarious allegiance. Subject to this reservation, which was pretty generally known, it does not appear that the priests or other Roman Catholics, examined at various times during this reign, are more chargeable with insincerity or dissimulation than accused persons generally are." I. 199, 200.

² Neale, vol. i., p. 297. Hallam, i., p. 195.

by the ordinary, was to be punished by a fine of £10 per month, disabled from teaching school, and to suffer a year's imprisonment; and £10 a month to be levied from his employer. The saying of mass was punishable by a year's imprisonment, and a fine of 200 marks; the hearing of it by a fine of 100 marks, and the same term of imprisonment.¹

Hitherto the penal laws had been passed by men unstained at least with blood; these were enacted after five victims had bled—a fearful pledge that the murderous code just sanctioned would soon, if it did not multiply hypocrites, crowd the jails with fresh sufferers, and the scaffolds with martyrs. “These grievous penalties established a persecution which fell not at all short in principle of that for which the Inquisition had become so odious. Nor were the statutes designed for terror’s sake, to keep a check over the disaffected, as some would pretend. They were executed in the most sweeping and indiscriminating manner, unless perhaps a few families of high rank might enjoy a connivance.”²

Edward Hanse was the first to suffer death after these renewed and increased severities. He had been educated in the university of Cambridge, and received orders, and exercised the ministry, as a Protestant clergyman, but returned to the ancient faith, and, after two years’ study at Rheims, devoted himself to the English mission. “He was arraigned in the sessions-hall, in the Old Bailey, where he affirmed that himself was subject to the Pope in ecclesiastical causes, and that the Pope hath now the same authority in England that he had an hundred years past, with other traitorous speeches, for the which he was condemned and executed.”³

It would fatigue and horrify the reader, to state in detail the name, the trial, the sufferings, and the death of each victim of this persecution: I shall therefore pursue the plan followed when describing the persecution under Mary, and single out one instance, which may serve as a sample of the rest. For this purpose, a more remarkable example does not present itself than that of the next sufferer after Hanse, the Jesuit Campion. This remarkable man had studied with much applause at Christ-church hospital, and afterwards at St. John’s college, Oxford, where he had received deacon’s orders according to the new ordinal. But, having repented of that step, he entered Douay College, where, amongst many distinguished men, he was remarkable for piety and learning. Aspiring to what he deemed a higher degree of perfection, he went to Rome, where, in 1573, he was admitted

¹ 23 Eliz., c. i.

² Hallam, i., p. 196. Strype’s Whitgift, p. 117, and other authorities, *passim*.

³ Stowe, an. 1581. The same writer adds: “At the same sessions were brought from the fleet, Gatehouse, Newgate, and the counters, sundry prisoners indicted for refusing to come to the church; all which being convicted by their own confession, had judgment accordingly to pay twenty pounds for every month of such their wilful absence from the church.”

amongst the Jesuits, and by them was sent to Bohemia, where, during several years, he exercised the usual priestly functions with great reputation and success. His entrance on the English mission has been already mentioned, as also the special effort made to apprehend him. That anxiety was increased on the appearance of a tract addressed to the two universities, in which he assigns ten reasons for the confidence of success which had led him to challenge them to disputation, and on which he justified the Catholic, and argued against the new religion. During thirteen months, Campion continued to elude the vigilance of his enemies, but on the 17th of July, 1581, he was betrayed into their hands, and found, with two other priests, secreted in a hiding-place in Mr. Yates's house, at Lyfford, in Berkshire. "He offered," says a contemporary account published in 1582, "his two companions, that if they thought all that ado was for him, and that his yielding himself up might acquit them, he would give himself up: but they would not suffer this in any wise." On his way to London, "besides the tying of his legs under his horse, and binding his arms behind him, which was done to the others also, the council appointed a paper to be set upon his hat, with great capital letters, 'Campion, the seditious Jesuit;' and gave orders that they should stay at Colebrook a good part of Friday, and all the night, that thence they might bring him and his companions, upon Saturday, in triumph through the city, and the whole length thereof, especially through such places where, by reason of the markets of that day, the greatest concourse of the common people was, whom in such matters their policy seeks most to please."

It must be recollected that the Duke of Anjou was in London, with every prospect of soon being united to Elizabeth, and that increased severities, and examples of the kind described, were deemed necessary to allay the apprehensions of the reformers, and to prevent the frenzy of their zeal from turning itself against the queen and her government, for venturing to negotiate with a Catholic. To this fearful bigotry we shall soon see Campion and other victims sacrificed. Campion was no sooner lodged in the Tower, than he was subjected to inquisitorial visits, not only from the commissioners of the Star Chamber, but even from the lord chancellor, and other members of the council. He was next stretched upon the rack, and tortured in so inhuman a manner, that the very excess horrified the nation; forced the calm and grave Lord Burleigh to defend in print the conduct of the torturers, and thus for a time caused a mitigation of the barbarity. "He was divers times racked, to force out of him, by intolerable torments, whose houses he had frequented, by whom he was relieved, whom he had reconciled, when, which way, for what purpose, and by what commission he came into the realm; how, where, and by whom he printed and dispersed his books, and

such like. He was so cruelly torn and rent upon the torture the two last times, that he told a friend of his that found means to speak with him, that he thought they meant to make him away in that manner. Before he went to the rack, he used to fall down at the rack-house door, upon both knees, to commend himself to God's mercy; and upon the rack he called continually upon God, repeating the holy name of Jesus. He most charitably forgave his tormentors, and the causers thereof. His keeper asking him the next day, 'How he felt his hands and feet?' he answered, 'Not ill, because not all.'" The second time that he was placed upon the rack, he discovered the names of several gentlemen at whose houses he had been received; but this, as he asserted, and repeated on the scaffold, under an assurance given him by the commissioners on oath, that the disclosure should never be turned to their harm. That oath was violated. This act of weakness was taken advantage of, not merely to imprison and fine those who had harboured him,¹ but also to give currency to reports "that there was great hope he would become a Protestant; sometimes that he had been at church and service; another while that he had uttered upon the rack all that he ever knew, yea, sometimes, that he had therefore killed himself in prison." This was but a revival of those infamous devices by which Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More were tempted and slandered, previous to their execution. Campion lamented bitterly having been weak enough to trust those blood-stained commissioners even on their oaths, in matters involving the liberty, property, and lives of Catholics; and addressed a letter to a friend, to remove the scandal and apprehensions caused by the exaggerated reports,² and declared that though he had mentioned the names of certain gentlemen in whose houses he had been received, yet "he had never discovered any secrets there declared, and never would, come rack, come rope." This letter was intercepted, and the "secrets" alluded to in the letter, magnified into a secret conspiracy against the state. He was twice more stretched upon the rack, and kept upon that instrument of torture until it was thought he had expired; but he then, and to the last, solemnly affirmed "that the secrets he meant in that letter were not, as it was misconstrued by the enemy, treason and conspiracy, or any matter else against her majesty or the state; but saying of mass, hearing confessions, preaching, and such like duties and functions of priesthood." In the intervals between the torturings, divines were commissioned to dispute with him: by the Protestants it was asserted that he hardly supported his reputation;³ by the Catholics, the impression

¹ "We have gotten from Campion knowledge of all his peregrinations in England—Yorkshire, Lancashire, Denbigh, Northampton, Warwick, Bedford, Buckingham, &c. We have sent for his hosts in all countreys." Letter in Digges, Aug. 10, 1581. Strype, iii., p. 578.

² Howell's State Trials, 1060.

³ Expectationem excitatam ægre sustinuit." Camden, p. 349.

made upon his hearers, and the conversions which followed the discussion, were appealed to as proofs of his superiority.¹ History has preserved us one specimen of the manner in which the controversy was conducted, which will enable us to form some judgment of the rest. Campion asserted that Luther put by the epistle of St. James, as redolent of good works, with the nickname of "an epistle of straw." This he alleged as a proof that the renegade friar was not moved by the spirit of God. An edition of Luther's works was produced by one of his adversaries, Whitaker, and in it Campion was unable to find the passage, but protested that he had read it in the innovator's works, and asked for time to procure the different editions from Germany. This request, says a contemporary writer, "was laughed at as if one were to send to Germany for a lawyer." However, even Whitaker at last acknowledged that the assertion was really made by Luther.²

Such was Campion's reputation, that even Elizabeth caused him to be secretly conveyed from the Tower to the house of the Earl of Leicester, where, in the presence of that nobleman, of the Earl of Bedford, and of the two secretaries, she asked him whether he acknowledged her for queen, and whether he believed that the Pope could lawfully excommunicate her. To the first, he replied, that she was not only his queen, but his lawful queen; to the second, that it was not for him to give any opinion on a question of so much difficulty; but that, as the Pope was liable to error, as are other men, the excommunication might on that ground be reputed insufficient; that it was an extreme exercise of authority at the best, and one which was denied or admitted by divines, according to their various judgments, without trenching on the Catholic faith.³

At length, on the 12th of November, Campion, with twelve other priests, and one layman, were arraigned and accused, not, as they had expected, of teaching the Catholic religion, but of a conspiracy to murder the queen, to overthrow the church and state, and to withdraw the queen's subjects from their allegiance. Whereupon "he, with the others, was commanded, as custom is in such cases, to hold up his hand; but both his arms being pitifully benumbed by his often cruel racking before, and he having

¹ Bartoli, p. 167, 183. The Earl of Arundel was one. His barbarous treatment, a few years later, when he ventured to act upon the convictions of his judgment, is mentioned by all historians. Two others present at the dispute were committed to prison, for saying that Campion "was discreet and learned, and disputed very well." Strype's Aylmer, App., p. ii.

² Whitaker, in his reply to a defence of Campion by Duraeus, after describing the trouble he had been at in examining the different editions of Luther's works, says, "*vidi quandam Lutheri præfationem antiquissimam, an. 1525, Wirterbergæ, in qua Jacobi epistolam præ Petri et Pauli epistolis stramineam vocat.*" P. 7. Daillé, who had several times, on Whitaker's authority, denied the genuineness of the quotation, recanted in his "*Replique a Adam et a Cotteby*, p. iii., and c. xxiii., p. 295.

³ Bartoli, p. 160. Howell's State Trials, p. 1062.

them wrapped in a furred cuff, he was not able to lift his hand so high as the rest did, and was required of him; but one of his companions, kissing his hand so abused for the confession of Christ, took off his cuff, and so he lifted up his arm as high as he could, and pleaded not guilty, as all the rest did. 'I protest,' said he, 'before God, and his holy angels, before heaven and earth, before the world and this bar whereat I stand, which is but a small resemblance of the terrible judgment of the next life, that I am not guilty of any part of the treason contained in the indictment, or of any other treason whatsoever.' Then lifting up his voice, he added, 'Is it possible to find twelve men so wicked and void of all conscience in this city or land, that will find us guilty together of this one crime, divers of us never meeting, or knowing one the other, before our bringing to this bar?' In fact, several had never been either at Rheims or Rome, the places where they were accused of having plotted, or out of England in their lives; others had for many years lived constantly in England, though the time of the plot was said to be March and April of the preceding year; some, as Campion observed, had never seen each other before confronted at the bar; and they observed that, if they had indeed been guilty of a crime so monstrous, how came it that liberty had been so frequently offered them in prison, on condition that they would apostatize from their faith? It is clear—and I am not aware that bigotry has ever openly ventured on a contrary assertion—that their conspiracy consisted in preaching the Catholic faith, and in refusing to imitate the apostasy of their persecutors; and that not one particle of evidence, which would now for a moment be received in a court of justice, was adduced to implicate any one of the prisoners in any plot or design whatever, opposed to their allegiance and duty as loyal subjects. During his trial, Campion appealed to his repeated declarations that he acknowledged, notwithstanding the deposing bull, Elizabeth as his queen by right as well as by possession; that he had stated this personally to Elizabeth; and frequently to her commissioners. 'I acknowledged her majesty both *de facto et de jure* to be queen. I confessed an obedience due to the crown, as to my temporal head and primate. This I said then, this I say now.'"¹

Their offence was religious, not political; "they offended against a sanguinary statute, which should never have been passed; but there was no evidence of their having conspired or instigated conspiracy to destroy or depose the queen."² "Nothing that I have read," says Hallam, "affords the slightest proof of

¹ Howell, p. 1062. "The trials and deaths of Campion and his associates are told in the continuation of Holingshed with a savageness and bigotry which, I am very sure, no scribe for the Inquisition could have surpassed. P. 456. But it is plain even from this account that Campion owned Elizabeth as queen." Hallam, i., p. 198.

² Mackintosh, iii., p. 286.

Campion's concern in treasonable practices."¹ But innocence was no protection against fanaticism, and, after an hour's deliberation, the jury returned a verdict of guilty against all the prisoners.² Before judgment was pronounced, a Protestant barrister, named Lancaster, arose and swore that Colleton, one of the prisoners, consulted him in his chambers in London, on the very day in which he was charged with having conspired at Rheims. Even this merely caused Colleton to be remanded; the rest were adjudged to suffer the death of traitors.³

The iniquity of those proceedings seems to have staggered even Elizabeth's council. "Elizabeth herself was well known," says Camden, "not to have believed the greater part of these unfortunate priests guilty of any designs against her or their country."⁴ But Burleigh remonstrated; and pointed to the excitement then prevailing in London, at the prospect of the queen's marriage with a Catholic. That must be allayed by the death of some at least of the prisoners.⁵ This advice prevailed, and Campion, Sherwin, and Briant, were selected for execution. They were all three dragged on hurdles to Tyburn, the place of execution. There Campion attempted to address the people, but was prevented by Sir Francis Knowles, and the sheriffs. He then publicly begged pardon of all men whom he might have offended, and especially of those whose names he had mentioned when on the rack, and hoped to receive pardon in return. He was asked "to beg the queen's forgiveness and pray for her: he meekly answered, 'Wherein have I offended her? In this I am innocent: this is my last speech; in this give me credit; I have and do pray for her.' Then the Lord Charles Howard asked of him, for which queen he prayed, whether for Elizabeth, the queen? to whom he answered, 'Yea, for Elizabeth, your queen, and my queen.'⁶ And the cart being drawn away, he meekly and sweetly yielded his soul unto his Saviour." With him suffered Sherwin and Briant, and with him prayed with their last breath for their enemies.

The other nine who had been condemned, were flung into prison, and kept there for several months, during which time they were frequently questioned by the commissioners, and hypothetical cases put to them, in order to extort from them some dis-

¹ Hallam, i., p. 197.

² State Trials, p. 1049—1072.

³ State Trials, 1049—1072.

⁴ Camden, Ann.

⁵ Camden, p. 379. Bartoli, p. 209. The following is Sir J. Mackintosh's account. "It would appear from the delay of their trials and execution, that the ministers of Elizabeth hesitated to sacrifice them. But they lost the grace of this humane hesitation by sacrificing them at last to state policy and popular fanaticism. Campion and his accomplices were executed to satisfy the people that Elizabeth, in receiving the addresses of the Duke of Anjou, did not cease to be a zealous Protestant." Hist. of Eng., vol. iii., p. 286.

⁶ "Io ho pregato, e prego per lei. Allora il signor Howardo li domando per qual regina egli pregasse, se per Elisabetta? al quale rispose, Si, per Elisabetta." Tract, printed at Macerata, in 1585.

loyal expression, or to wring from them opinions as to what would be their conduct in certain extreme and improbable emergencies. Two priests and a layman gave satisfactory answers; the rest replied that their private thoughts were not crimes against the state; that the circumstances contemplated had never been the matter of their reflections; that they who put such questions sought not to find them innocent, but thirsted for their blood; that it was not for them to pretend to determine controversies of such moment, which divided the most eminent divines in Christendom; but that no impeachment touched their loyalty, as they freely and heartily acknowledged Elizabeth as their queen. These answers were deemed evasive, and they all suffered at Tyburn on the 30th of May, 1582.

It is a remarkable fact, and one evincing the principles of loyalty inculcated by their religion, that of the two hundred Catholic priests martyred for their faith, not one was ever proved guilty of even mentioning the deposing bull, much less of proposing it as authoritative; they all, with one solitary exception, acknowledged Elizabeth as their lawful queen; very few of them could be proved, by satisfactory evidence, to have even exercised their priestly functions, and, to establish this, recourse in most instances was had to torture and the rack; though every base and foul art that dissimulation and treachery could devise, was practised to obtain or create information injurious to their loyalty, as a pretext for their death. "Snares were laid to involve them unawares in treason; their steps were watched by spies, and it was become intolerable to continue in England."¹ "Counterfeit letters were privately sent in the name of the Queen of Scots, or of the exiles, and left in the houses of Catholics;"² "agents were sent everywhere abroad to collect rumours, and to catch unguarded words;"³ of these some feigned themselves Catholics, and even entered into the foreign seminaries, under the pretext of preparing for the English mission, but in reality to betray whatever might come to their knowledge.⁴ At length, when every other baseness failed, "false informers were encouraged to accuse Catholics,"⁵ so that things came at length to such a pass, as Camden himself acknowledges, "that innocence, even when guarded by prudence, was scarcely a security to the Catholic."⁶ Thus was a demoniacal agency going about the length and breadth of Europe, to tempt the English Catholics to offend

¹ Hallam, i., p. 268.

² *Literæ ementiæ sub reginæ Scotorum, et profugorum nominibus clam submissæ, et in pontificiorum ædibus relictæ.* Camden, Ann., 1586. *Subreperunt emissarii, et submissæ sunt tam fictæ quam veræ literæ, quibus in perniciem impellerentur.* Ibid. "Proofs of the text are too numerous for quotation, and occur continually to a reader of Strype's 2d and 3d vols." Hallam, Ibid.

³ *Emissarii ubique ad colligendos rumores et verba captanda dispersi.* Camden, Ibid.

⁴ Mem. Miss. Pr. passim.

⁵ *Vana deferentes admissi.* Camden, Ibid.

⁶ *Vix presidio erat innocentia prudens.* Ibid.

against the government, that the honour and glory of dying for their religion might be wrested from them, and a colour given to the bloody persecution of the reformers.

There is one, and happily but one, parallel instance to this, in the annals of human villany, and that, too, offered by a man who, like the reformers, having apostatized from the faith, has been branded as *the* apostate Julian. He wished to tarnish the crowns of the martyrs; proclaimed toleration, and washed out the promise in blood; denounced the Christians as traitors, and vainly endeavoured to exterminate them.¹

In abstaining from all interference in politics, the Catholic priests but fulfilled the instructions furnished them, before entering on their perilous labours. "All conversations," writes the founder of the foreign seminaries, "on subjects of state or policy, were strictly prohibited to the students in the foreign seminaries, and they were enjoined to abstain from them, and from all interference in secular concerns, when they should be employed on the English mission."² From the same authority we learn that the students were particularly admonished to acknowledge the queen's title to the throne, notwithstanding the deposing bull; and the question of the deposing power was not merely banished from the public schools, but forbidden to be discussed even in private conversation. Contrast these injunctions and the conduct of the Catholic missionaries, with the fierce denunciations circulated by the Protestant exiles under Mary.³ We have seen them recommending rebellion, applauding the rebels, and denouncing the Protestants that did not rise in armed force to resist the authority of the queen; and such was the virulent and open treason of the more Calvinistic amongst them, that they inserted in their notes to the Bible, doctrines the most bloody and disloyal.⁴

To put such means in operation required the vilest agents.

¹ Furebat adversus nos nefandus imperator, ac ne eos honores qui martyribus haberi solent consequeremur, (hos enim Christianis invidebat,) primum illius artificium hoc fuit, ut qui Christi causa patiebantur, tanquam fontes et facinorosi cruciatu afficerentur. . . . Hoc molitur Apostata, ut vim afferat, et afferre non videatur; ut nos supplicia perferamus, et eo interim honore, qui pro Christi nomine patientibus haberi solet, careamus." S. Greg. Naz., orat. 1, in Julian.

² Dr. Allen's Tract was written in reply to one by Cecil, and was entitled "A True and modest defence of the English Catholics against a libel, entitled, the Execution of Justice in England."

³ I allude especially to Goodman, from whose writings extracts have been given in one of the preceding Lectures.

⁴ "The exceptionable notes, in the Geneva Bible, were on Exodus xv. 19; on 2 Chron. xix. 16, where Asa is censured for stopping short at the deposing of his mother, and not executing her; Rev. ix. 3, where the locusts that came out of the smoke are said to be heretics, false teachers, worldly, subtle prelates, with monks, friars, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, doctors, bachelors, and masters. But notwithstanding these, and some other exceptionable passages in the notes, the Geneva Bible was reprinted in the year 1576 and 1579, and was in such repute, that some, who had been curious to search into the number of its editions, say, that by the queen's own printers it was printed above thirty times" Neale's History of the Puritans, i., p. 136, 8vo., 1822.

Prisoners and criminals were promised pardon, liberty, and reward, on condition of entrapping Catholics; and even outlaws were allowed to return to their native country on the same infamous terms; though, in the majority of cases, such youths as had been expelled from college for disorderly conduct, or such as had apostatized on the rack, were the vile tools of this horrible conspiracy. Some of the most conspicuous of these spies and agents retracted their accusations;¹ but the innocent victims of their duplicity, of a rabid fanaticism, and unprincipled state-craft, have scarcely, at this distance of time, begun to receive the only benefits derivable to them from the recantation,—the posthumous glory of having ever been loyal subjects, sacrificed to the bigot and the politician, and in nothing guilty but in refusing to apostatize.

The accredited emissaries and pursuivants of the inquisitorial Court of High Commission were, in the mean while, everywhere hunting down the Catholics, and especially the Catholic clergy, as if they had been wild beasts. By the "Injunctions," published at the beginning of this reign, two informers had been appointed in every parish, to notice and denounce all who absented themselves from the new service; their names, as recusants, were now regularly entered; the magistrates were exhorted to renewed activity, and the more lenient warned that "their doings were narrowly observed;"² the warrants of the inquisitors bore down every obstacle, and respected neither law, nor age, nor rank; in open day, or, oftener, at the dead of night, houses were broken into; the pursuivants, followed by an infuriated mob, rushed into every apartment, frequently with drawn swords; and such was their violence and brutality, that in some instances ladies of rank were killed by fright, and in others lost their reason.³ Nothing

¹ Nicholls, Tyrrel, and Bennet may be cited as examples. Nicholls had been a Protestant, abjured his religion to obtain admission into the seminaries, whence he was expelled for misconduct, and returned to England. He was arrested, and conformed. His apostasy was much bruited at the time, and to enhance his value to the reformers, he published a book full of slanders against the seminarists and the Pontiff. From some cause he left England, was arrested at Rouen, and there, in letters addressed to Dr. Allen, lamented having been guilty of so much imposture, and pleads in extenuation the fear of the rack. "Alas! sir, it is no trifling thing for the body to be stretched upon the rack, until it is nearly two feet longer than nature made it. I therefore wrote down whatever names the governor, or his servant, ordered me," some unknown to him, others that he had never heard of. See his letters in Bridgewater, p. 230—234. Also, Bartoli, p. 119, 137, 138. Tyrrel acted much in the same manner. He addressed letters to the queen, wherein he declares all his accusations of Catholics to be false. In one place he writes thus: "As to Pope Gregory, I protest, as I hope to be saved, I never heard him speak any thing for your prejudice. But I have seen him shed tears for your majesty, and he has by his own mouth commanded us to pray for you, and not to intermeddle with any thing but what directly concerned our profession." Strype, iii., App., p. 158. So, a little further on, we find in the same collection, p. 250, a letter from Bennet, lamenting the false accusations he had made against Catholics.

² Sydney Papers, i., p. 276.

³ Lady Nevil was frightened to death in Holborn, and Mrs. Vavaser lost her reason in York. Bridgewater, p. 34, 55, 289, 299, 319. Bartoli, p. 118—121. Ellis's second series, iii., p. 86.

escaped their scrutiny; the knowledge that in many houses secret hiding-places had been contrived, sharpened their industry; and wherever a priest could be concealed, or any of the books, vestments, or sacred vessels used in celebrating mass secreted, they searched and rifled. Every inmate was questioned, and not even their persons escaped the search, under pretence that some relic, or cross, or agnus dei might be found upon them.

But neither the arts, nor agents used to inveigle the Catholics into treason; nor the violence of the pursuivants, no, nor scarcely even "the public executions, numerous as they were, form the most odious part of this persecution. The common law of England has always abhorred the accursed mysteries of a prison-house, and neither admits of torture to extort confession, nor of any penal infliction not warranted by a judicial sentence. But this law, though still sacred in the courts of justice, was set aside by the privy-council under the Tudor line. The rack seldom stood idle in the Tower for all the latter part of Elizabeth's reign."¹ Familiar as the people were with cruelty, and relentless as adverse religionists were to each other, the extent to which the use of the rack was carried, even when the objects were Jesuits and Popish priests, shocked the natural humanity of the nation. Burleigh was put upon his defence before the public. His vindication mainly consisted in alleging that Campion was tortured so mildly as to be able soon after to walk and sign his confession.² The genius of the reign of Elizabeth, and of the

¹ Hallam, Const. Hist., i., p. 200. The usual instruments of torture may be found described in Jardine's recent work on the use of torture, and in other writers. 1. The *rack*, by which, by means of levers, the body was stretched till the bones started from their sockets. 2. The *scavenger's daughter*, or *hoop* consisting of two parts, connected by a hinge. The body was compressed within it until the head and feet met. 3. *Iron gauntlets* which could be contracted by the aid of a screw. "I felt," says F. Gerard, one of the sufferers, "the chief pain in my breast, belly, arms, and hands. I thought that all the blood in my body had run into my arms, and began to burst out at my finger ends. This was a mistake: but the arms swelled, till the gauntlets were buried within the flesh. After being thus suspended an hour, I fainted; and when I came to myself, I found the executioners supporting me in their arms; they replaced the pieces of wood under my feet; but as soon as I was recovered, removed them again. Thus I continued hanging for the space of five hours, during which I fainted eight or nine times." Ap. Bartoli, p. 418. 4. The *little case*, or a cell so small that the prisoner could neither stand, sit, nor lie in it at full length. 5. The *needles* which were thrust under the nails of the accused. 6. The *dungeon of rats*. "This horrible dungeon," says Mr. Jardine, "was a cell below high-water mark, and totally dark; and as the tide flowed, innumerable rats, which infest the muddy banks of the Thames, were driven through the orifices of the walls into the dungeon. Instances are related in which the flesh has been torn from the arms and legs of prisoners, during sleep, by the well-known voracity of these animals." 7. A "*gentle method of torture*," says the same writer, "was that of *tying the thumbs* together, and suspending the accused by them to a beam." He adds that "in the long catalogue of the cases of torture, which occurred in the reign of a sovereign whom Protestants delight to honour, you will not fail to observe, that many instances, and those the most prominent for refinement of cruelty, unquestionably and avowedly arose from Protestant persecution."

² The paper alluded to bears for title, "A Declaration of the favourable dealing of her majesty's commissioners, appointed for the examination of certain traitors, and of tor-

age, is exhibited by a single trait, and a fearful glimpse, in this association of the *rack* with *mildness*. Elizabeth, to render her ministers more odious by the contrast of her own clemency, proclaimed that torture should be discontinued; and after the false glory thus gained by her, shut her eyes to the resumed or continued use of the horrid engine with renewed activity by her ministers."¹ About the same time she ordered seventy priests, either under sentence of death, or awaiting it, to be released from prison, the rack, and the scaffold,² a proof, fearful as the preceding, of the extent of this persecution.

"Such excessive severity under the pretext of treason, but sustained by very little evidence of any other offence than the exercise of the Catholic ministry, excited indignation throughout a great part of Europe."³ The queen and the reformers were looked upon as monsters disgracing human nature; and such was the universal feeling of horror created by the cruelty of the reformers, that the persecution of Catholics in England was made use of as an argument against permitting Henry IV., then a Protestant, to obtain the sovereignty in that country.⁴ It seems that, for a time, the very worst fanatics in England were staggered at the murderous scenes daily exhibited. Beale, clerk of the council, wrote, about 1585, a vehement book against the ecclesiastical commissioners, from which Archbishop Whitgift singled out various enormous propositions, as he considered them; one of which was, "that he condemned without exception of any cause, racking of grievous offenders, as being cruel, heinous, contrary to law, and unto the liberty of English subjects,"⁵ a signal instance this of the notions of right and liberty of conscience entertained by the reformed prelates. Even Elizabeth thought it necessary to issue a proclamation in defence of the recent barbarities;⁶ "but

tures unjustly reported to be done upon them for the matter of religion." "Its scope was to palliate the imputation of excessive cruelty with which Europe was then resounding. Those who revere the memory of Lord Burleigh must blush for this pitiful apology. Of Campion, he says 'he was never so racked but that he was perfectly able to walk and to write, and did presently write and subscribe all his confessions. The queen's servants, the warders, whose office and act it is to handle the rack, were ever by those that attended the examinations charged to use it in so charitable a manner as such a thing must be.' Such miserable excuses serve only to mingle contempt with our detestation." Hallam, i., p. 204.

¹ Mackintosh, iii., p. 287.

² Camden.

³ Hallam, i., p. 201.

⁴ A tract was published in 1586, bearing for title: *Avertissement des Catholiques Anglois aux François Catholiques, du danger on ils sont de perdre leur religion et d'experimenter comme en Angleterre, la cruauté des ministres, s'ils recoivent a la couronne un roy qui soit heretique.* It is in the British Museum.

⁵ Strype's Whitgift, p. 212.

⁶ The proclamation appeared on the 1st of April, 1582. The statement of Campion's answers, as given in the proclamation, differs from the declarations which he repeatedly made in public, both at his trial and before his death. In fact, it was no unusual thing for ministers to garble accounts of events and speeches unfavourable to their policy. The following may serve as a specimen. "The ministry garbled this (Parry's speech) before its publication in Holingshed and other books; but Strype has preserved a genuine copy, vol. iii., App., p. 102.

the charge of cruelty stood on too many facts to be thus passed over, and it was thought expedient to repel it by two remarkable pamphlets, both ascribed to the pen of Lord Burleigh."¹ But though the grave lord treasurer might think proper to gloss over before the public the rackings and murders, his calm and sagacious mind saw the unjustifiableness of the persecution, and condemned it. Accordingly we find him, in a memorial addressed to the queen, about the same year, 1583, recommending different counsels, in a strain of sagacious, and just and tolerant advice. "Considering," he says, "that the urging of the oath of supremacy must needs, in some degree, beget despair, since, in the taking of it, he (the Catholic) must either think he doth an unlawful act, as, without the special grace of God, he cannot think otherwise; or else, by refusing it, must become a traitor, which, before some hurt done, seemeth hard; I humbly submit this to your excellent consideration, whether, with as much security of your majesty's person and state, and more satisfaction for them, it were not better to leave the oath to this sense, that whosoever would not bear arms against all foreign princes, and namely the Pope, that should any way invade your majesty's dominions, he should be a traitor. For, hereof, this commodity will ensue, that those Papists, as I think most Papists would, that should take this oath would be divided from the great mutual confidence which is now between the Pope and them, by reason of their afflictions for him; and such priests as would refuse that oath then, no tongue could say for shame that they suffer for religion, if they did suffer.

"But here it may be objected, they would dissemble and equivocate with this oath, and that the Pope would dispense with them in that case. Even so may they with the present oath both dissemble and equivocate, and also have the Pope's dispensation for the present oath, as well as for the other. But this is certain, that whomsoever the conscience or fear of breaking an oath doth bind, him could that oath bind. And that they make conscience of an oath, the trouble, losses, and disgraces that they suffer for refusing the same do sufficiently testify, and you know that the perjury of either oath is equal." "I account," he says afterwards, "that putting to death does no ways lessen them, since we find, by experience, that it worketh no such effect, but, like hydra's heads, upon cutting off one, seven grow up, persecution being accounted as the badge of the church; and therefore they should never have the honour to take any pretence of martyrdom in England, where the fulness of blood and greatness

¹ "The Execution of Justice in England for Maintenance of public and private Peace." The following is Mr. Hallam's remark on this pamphlet. "That any matter of opinion, not proved to have ripened into an overt act, and extorted only, or rather conjectured, through a compulsive inquiry, could sustain, in law or justice, a conviction for high treason, is what the author of this pamphlet has not rendered manifest." *Const. Hist.* i., 203. Dr. Allen replied to the above tract. The second piece has been already noticed, when speaking of the use of torture

of heart is such that they will even for shameful things go bravely for death; much more, when they think themselves to climb heaven; and this vice of obstinacy seems to the common people as divine constancy, so that for my part I wish no lessening of their number, but by preaching, and by education of the younger under good schoolmasters."¹ But Burleigh's was not the character to carry out these principles in opposition to the court, at which there was never a more slavish worshipper.²

Parliament assembled in 1584. The time of the Lower House was principally occupied in abortive attempts to model the new church in conformity with the wishes of the Puritans. But, disunited as were the two Protestant parties, they concurred in hating, and a determination to exterminate, if they could not pervert the Catholic. Plots, real or pretended,³ were ready instruments on which to whet the sword of persecution. During the last three years, scarcely a month had elapsed in which the scaffold had not streamed with the blood of Catholics.⁴ But, wide as was the net of the law, it still suffered a few acts and victims to escape. To supply this omission, a law was enacted, enjoining all Jesuits, seminary priests and other priests, whether ordained within or without the kingdom, to depart from it within forty days, on pain of being adjudged traitors; all who harboured them were declared guilty of felony; the penalty of fine and imprisonment, at the queen's pleasure, was inflicted on such as, knowing any priest to be within the realm, should not discover it to a magistrate; all students in the Catholic seminaries, who did not return within six months after proclamation to that effect, were punishable as traitors; persons supplying them with money in any manner incurred a *præmunire*; parents sending their children abroad without license forfeited for every such offence one hundred pounds; and children sent for education to the seminaries were disabled from inheriting the property of their parents.⁵ "This seemed to fill up the measure of persecution,

¹ Somers' Tracts, p. 164.

² Hallam, i., p. 276.

³ I allude to the plots ascribed to Arden and Throckmorton. The first was Leicester's contrivance to rid himself of an obnoxious neighbour, and was never pretended to embrace above three individuals; of the second, Sir J. Mackintosh writes as follows: "Throckmorton's plot, so called, was detected or invented in 1584 . . . The conviction of Throckmorton, upon confessions obtained from him by deceitful promises and the fear of torture, shows that in England, at this period, life was as insecure as under the most implicit and barbarous despotism of the east or west. The process, indeed, of applying conjointly bodily torture and perfidious hope, was exactly similar to that of the tribunal which, in England, is a by-word for judicial iniquity. But whatever his guilt or his innocence, the Queen of Scots does not appear to have had communication with him, and the intercepted letter must have been fabricated as a pretext for seizing his person and his papers." Vol. iii., p. 298. Of Parry, part spy, part maniac and conspirator, I need say nothing.

⁴ During the three preceding years twenty-five Catholics had suffered death. During the same period two ministers of the Brownist persuasion were condemned and put to death. Neale, i., p. 313.

⁵ Stat. Realm, iv., p. 706. 27 Eliz. c. 2.

and to render the longer preservation of the obnoxious religion absolutely impracticable. Some of its adherents presented a petition against this bill, praying that they might not be suspected of disloyalty on account of refraining from the public worship, which they did to avoid sin; and that their priests might not be banished from the kingdom. And they all very justly complained of this determined oppression."¹ This petition received the approbation of the chief of the Catholic gentry and laity, and was presented to the queen by Richard Shelley, who, "though notoriously loyal, and frequently employed by Burghley, was taken up, and examined by the council for preparing it."² The queen rejected it with scorn; and there arose amongst the Catholics a conviction, that the laws passed were meant to legalize a general massacre of the ministers and prominent professors of the ancient creed. To escape the impending death, some professed an outward conformity, others fled to foreign lands.³ In the year following the act of 1584-5, eighteen suffered death for their religion, of which number thirteen were clergymen, four laymen, and one a lady of good family, named Cithero. Her crime was relieving and harbouring priests; her death was barbarous indeed. The worse than savages stripped her; two sergeants parted her hands and bound them to two posts in the ground, and in the same manner her feet; a sharp stone was put under her back; upon her were laid a door and huge weights, which breaking her ribs, caused them to burst through the skin.⁴

¹ Hallam, i., p. 208. The abstract of the petition, as given by Hallam, is very imperfect, and is far from doing justice to the Catholics. The petitioners declared, 1. That all Catholics, both laity and clergy, held Elizabeth to be their sovereign, as well *de jure* as *de facto*. 2. That they believed it sinful for any person whomsoever to lift up his hand against her, as God's anointed. 3. That it was not in the power of priest or Pope to give license to any man to do, or attempt to do, that which was sinful. And, 4. That if the contrary opinion were held by any one, they renounced him and his opinion as devilish and abominable, heretical and contrary to the Catholic faith. Painful as must have been the necessity of repudiating such horrible doctrines, it must have been doubly galling to do so to those who had been, during the best part of their lives, Catholics.

² Hallam, i., p. 208. This again is an imperfect statement. Shelley was committed to prison, and, after several years' confinement, died there.

³ The fate of the Earls of Arundel and Northumberland will at once occur to the reader.

⁴ "No woman," says Hallam, "was put to death under the penal code, so far as I remember; which of itself distinguishes the persecution from that of Mary, and of the house of Austria in Spain and the Netherlands." Vol. i., p. 196. The fact is, that besides the one mentioned, who suffered in 1586, Mrs. Ward was hanged, drawn, and quartered, for assisting a Catholic priest to escape; Mrs. Lyne suffered the same punishment, in 1601, for the same offence; and Mrs. Wells received sentence of death in 1591, and died in prison. For brevity's sake I have not entered into the history of the Queen of Scots. That one leading cause of her condemnation and death was her religion, is undeniable. Evidence has already been adduced, implicating an archbishop of the new church. Camden acknowledges this to have been one of the prevailing motives in the council, (485;) and the same cause was assigned by Lord Buckhurst, who had been deputed to announce to her her doom. What an insight into the character of the men who brought about the reformation at this period, does Mary's

In 1587, the persecutors breathed; only eight victims fell; but the prisons were crowded, and in the following year was offered a fearful sacrifice; nearly forty individuals, the majority priests, attested the sincerity of their faith by dying for it. And yet, notwithstanding this barbarous treatment, it was precisely at this period, that the Catholics displayed a spirit, or rather an enthusiasm of loyalty, which has wrung from their bitterest enemies unwilling commendations.¹ "As the Catholics endured without any open murmuring the execution of her on whom their fond hopes had so long rested, so for the remainder of the queen's reign they by no means appear, when considered as a body, to have furnished any specious pretext for severity. In that memorable year when the dark cloud gathered around our coasts, when Europe stood by in fearful suspense to behold what should be the result of that great cast in the game of human politics, what the craft of Rome, the power of Philip, the genius of Farnese could achieve against the island queen, with her Drakes and Cecil—in that agony of the Protestant faith and English name—they stood the trial of their spirits without swerving from their allegiance."² The council was seriously alarmed. The

history present. Leicester recommended that the Queen of Scots should be despatched by poison; and finding Walsingham demur sent a divine to convince him of its Christian lawfulness. (Camd. 485.) "It appears, that Elizabeth really wished to be relieved from killing her victim by her sign manual and warrant; but she sought relief in the alternative of secret assassination. She caused the two secretaries, Walsingham and Davison, to write to Paulet and Drury, to send them on the subject of privately despatching their prisoner. The two jailers, from integrity or prudence, rejected the suggestion." Mackintosh, iii., p. 322. The frantic bigotry of the times is also horribly exhibited, in the conduct of the Protestant Dean of Peterborough to the queen when on the scaffold. He preached, threatened, denounced eternal death, pursued her round the scaffold; a monster, the very incarnation of that fiendish fanaticism which, as much as policy, had pursued her to the death. The Earl of Kent observing that she prayed with a crucifix in her hand, exclaimed, "Madam, you had better leave such popish trumperies and bear him in your heart." She replied, "I cannot hold in my hand the representation of his sufferings, but I must at the same time bear him in my heart." When her head was severed from her body—"So perish all her enemies," subjoined the Dean of Peterborough, to the usual words of the executioner; "So perish all the enemies of the gospel," replied the fanatical Earl of Kent. This scene is a miniature picture of the glorious reformation.

¹ "The sacred sentiment of affection even to a country in which they were oppressed, extinguished the resentments or bigotry of the Catholics. They joined the rest of their countrymen, heart and hand, against foreign domination; and Elizabeth had what some of her adversaries called the temerity, but what was really the enlightened and courageous, if not generous prudence, to confide in them." Mackintosh, vol. iii., p. 362. "Some of their gentlemen," says Hume, "when they could not obtain commissions in the army and navy, served in them as volunteers. Some equipped ships at their own charge, and gave the command of them to Protestants; others were active in animating their tenants, vassals, and neighbours, to the defence of their own country." See, also, Stowe, p. 745. Harleian Miscel., ii., p. 64.

² These were the two motives assigned for the attempted invasion. It is deserving of remark, that not only not one single Catholic in England is known to have openly favoured or aided the Spanish party, but not a single English Catholic who had gone into voluntary exile on account of his religion, can be proved to have been engaged in the expedition. On the contrary, Camden tells us that Philip declined to employ them, though some of them were men of distinguished military talents. I need not observe

professed and open Catholics were still exceedingly numerous ; and it was one of the evils of the penal laws to have driven thousands to a temporizing conformity, the necessity for which generated and fostered that very hostility to the government which those laws were enacted to prevent or crush—a feeling the more rancorous and dangerous from being smothered for years through fear. Would they not hail as their deliverer, the most powerful of the Catholic monarchs, about to avenge the accumulated wrongs and insults of thirteen years of open and secret attack and interference on the part of Elizabeth, and above all to revenge the insult offered to the majesty of sovereigns by the death of Mary? Did not prudence, nay, justice to themselves require, that the sceptre of iron with which they had been ruled should be wrested from the hand of their oppressor? Had not the head of their church absolved them from their allegiance? These, and similar causes of apprehension and fear of retaliation, suggested a diabolical scheme of cold-blooded treachery and murder, to the reckless and hardened politicians of the queen's council. As if taking the horrible example of the massacre of St. Bartholomew for their guide, they proposed to mow down, in one indiscriminate slaughter, every Catholic of distinction and rank. Pretexts and justifications might easily be framed. But Elizabeth shrunk from the murderous advice as cruel and inhuman.¹ In the mean while the fidelity of the Catholics was severely tempted and tried. Under the plea of precaution, all recusant convicts were placed in custody ; a return of "persons suspected for religion" was required from the magistrates in the capital, and it showed an amount of 17,083 Catholics, whilst the total number of person able to bear arms was stated at no more than 30,000 ;² in several counties, probably in all, domiciliary visits were made ; the jails were crowded with Catholics of both sexes, and of every rank.³ "It was then that the Catholics in every county repaired to the standard of the lord-lieutenant, imploring that they might not be suspected of bartering the national independence for their religion itself. It was then that the venerable Lord Montague brought a troop of horse to the queen at Tilbury, commanded by himself, his son, and grandson. It would have been a sign of gratitude if the laws depriving them of the free exercise of their religion had been, if not repealed, yet suffered to sleep, after these proofs of loyalty. But the execution of priests and of other Catholics

that the assertion of Echard and others, that Cardinal Allen and about a hundred English Jesuits and monks accompanied the fleet, is devoid of authority, and untrue. It is certain that Allen remained at Rome ; Epist. ad Pernuim ; and for an account of the chaplains to the fleet, see Strype, iii.

¹ Ad securitatem capita pontificiorum, quæsitis causis, demetenda. Illa hoc ut crudele consilium aversata. Camden, p. 566.

² Murdin, p. 605, 606.

³ They were confined in jail on their own charges. Topcliffe advised the incarceration of the women too, "seeing far greater is the fury of a woman once resolved to evil, than the rage of a man." His proposal to Burleigh is in Strype, iii., p. 39.

became, on the contrary, more frequent, and the fines for recusancy exacted as regularly as before. The writer ought to have added that, in return for their loyalty, they were treated with greater severity. As if the blood of the Catholics were an offering of thankfulness to God, in acknowledgment of the deliverance of the nation, a selection from the prisoners was made, and six clergymen were indicted for their priestly character, four laymen for having been reconciled to the church, and four others, amongst whom was a gentlewoman of the name of Ward, for having aided or harboured priests. Not an accusation, except their religion, was brought against them at their trials; the usual trouble was not even taken to accuse them of disloyalty, and they were all at once hurried to the scaffold. In less than three months, fifteen of their companions shared the same fate.¹ The horrible barbarity of cutting them down alive, and embowelling and burning their bodies piecemeal, whilst the sufferer was in perfect possession of his senses, became general.² Henceforward the court usually dispensed with the examination of witnesses;³ by artful questions they were entrapped into an acknowledgment of some religious act or other made punishable by statute with fine, imprisonment, or death; liberty, immunity from punishment, and life were offered on the condition of conformity with the new religion, and, in case of refusal, the law was inexorably enforced. During the period between the defeat of the armada and the death of the queen, according to the lowest calculation, sixty-one clergymen, forty-seven laymen, and two gentlewomen, suffered capital punishment for some or other of the spiritual felonies and treasons which had been lately created.⁴ The penalties of recusancy were more rigidly enforced; and whenever the ruined for-

¹ Stowe, p. 749, 750. Ellis, 2d series, iii., p. 126, 128. Challoner, p. 209—237.

² "In an anonymous memorial among Lord Burleigh's papers, written about 1586, it is recommended that priests persisting in their treasonable opinion should be hanged, and the manner of drawing and quartering forborne." Strype, iii., p. 620. This seems to imply that it had been usually practised on the living. And Lord Bacon, in his observations on a libel written against Lord Burleigh in 1592, does not deny the "bowellings" of Catholics; but makes a sort of apology for it, as "less cruel than the wheel or forcipation, or even simple burning." Bacon's Works, i., p. 534.

³ By the 35 Eliz., c. 2, it was enacted that any one suspected of being a priest should be obliged to declare his character, and, in case of refusal, be imprisoned until he answered.

⁴ It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to ascertain the exact number of those who died for their religion during this reign. The above is Lingard's enumeration. He further adds that, between the 19th of June, 1573, and the death of the queen, 123 were executed, that is, 113 secular priests, eight Jesuits, one monk, and one friar. Moreover, thirty men and two women were executed as felons for the crime of harbouring and abetting priests, besides numbers of clergymen and laymen, who died of their sufferings in prison. "The Catholic martyrs," says Hallam, "under Elizabeth amount to no inconsiderable number. Dodd reckons them at 191; Milner has raised the list to 204. Fifteen of these, according to him, suffered for denying the queen's supremacy, 126 for exercising their ministry, and the rest for being reconciled to the Romish church. Many others died of hardships in prison, and many were deprived of their property." Vol. i., p. 221.

tunes of the victim prevented him from being able to pay the fine, the queen was empowered by law to seize the whole of his personal and two-thirds of his real estate every six months.¹ They who could succeed, by the influence of powerful friends, in entering into an annual composition with the government, deemed themselves highly fortunate;² though this composition merely mitigated the penalty of non-attendance at church, and left them equally liable to the fine of a hundred marks, and a year's imprisonment, each time that they heard mass; whilst, by a subsequent act,³ it was provided that every Catholic convicted of not attending at the new service should confine himself to his usual place of abode, and not stray above five miles from his own door, "on pain of forfeiting his goods, lands, rents, and annuities during life."⁴ The poorer Catholics, from whom little could be extorted, and from whose death, in the way of example, little benefit could be derived, when the executions of nobler victims took place in vain, were flung by hundreds into prison; until the counties, wearied of the expense, remonstrated with the government, and the magistrates obtained discretionary powers to liberate or confine them.⁵ Some were dismissed with a reprimand; some had their ears bored with a hot iron; others were publicly whipped; whilst, in other instances, the rapacity or fanaticism of the magistrates granted commissions to their officers to scour the country, with the purpose of extorting such portion of the fines incurred as could be torn from the poverty of their victims.

I must hurry to the close of this lecture, which has already extended to a length which I originally had not contemplated. But the importance of the facts stated will, I trust, prove a sufficient apology. I abstain from attempting a summary of those facts,

¹ Stat. of Realm, iv., p. 771.

² Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, found fault with these compositions, and petitioned the council that such persons might be removed "to some place where they might do less harm." Strype, iii., p. 240, 419.

³ 35 Eliz., c. ii., § 3.

⁴ To give one specimen of the sufferings inflicted on the Catholic gentry: "the following inscription was placed by order of Mr. Towneley, of Towneley in Lancashire, under his picture, which is still preserved in the portrait gallery at Towneley. 'This John, about the sixth or seventh year of her majesty's reign that now is, for professing the Apostolick Roman Catholick faith was imprisoned first at Chester castle, then sent to the Marshalsea, then to York castle, then to the Blockhouses in Hull; then to the Gatehouse in Westminster; then to Manchester; then to Broughton in Oxfordshire; then twice to Ely in Cambridgeshire; and so now seventy-three years old and blind, is bound to appear and keep within five miles of Towneley, his house. Who hath, since the statute of the twenty-third, paid into the Exchequer twenty pounds a month, and doth still, so that there is paid already above five thousand pounds. An. Dni. One thousand six hundred and one. John Towneley, of Towneley in Lancashire.'"

⁵ The numbers were so great, that at one sessions in Hampshire 400, at the assizes in Lancashire 600 recusants were presented. Strype, iii., p. 478, App., p. 98. Cooper, Bishop of Worcester, to get rid of them, presented "a humble petition that one hundred or two lusty men, well able to labour, might by some commission be taken up, and sent into Flanders, as pyoners and labourers for the armies." Ibid., p. 169.

as the history of the Reformation, being a subject interwoven with our dearest interests, both temporal and eternal, may well deserve a calm, complete, and, if possible, a dispassionate study. I will, therefore, pass over its origin under Henry in lust, rapacity, and the violation of every law, human and divine, and in the base and profligate subserviency and dissimulation of the first reformers; the repeated changes and the fearful persecution which condemned and disgraced it under Edward; the almost universal apostasy from their principles under Mary; nor exhibit to you the bloody laws of Elizabeth, the scourge, the prison-house, the rack, the burning fire, and the reeking scaffold; the fiendlike war against liberty of conscience; the Unitarian, the Baptist, the Puritan, the Catholic massacred indiscriminately, till England became the Heceldama of Christianity, the prison-house of the conscientious, and the grave of martyrs.¹

"The restraints and penalties, by which civil governments have at various times thought it expedient to limit the religious liberties of their subjects, may be arranged in something like the following scale. The first and slightest degree is the requisition of a test of conformity to the established religion, as the condition of exercising offices of civil trust. The next step is to restrain the

¹ The executions for religion continued, though more sparingly, under Elizabeth's successor, James I. Twenty-five died for their faith, of whom 18 were priests. James was unwilling to shed blood, but, in every other respect, the situation of the Catholics during his reign was even worse than under Elizabeth. The prisons overflowed. In 1616, when the treaty of marriage was proceeding between Charles and the infanta of Spain, 4000 sufferers for religion were released from prison. In 1622, we find 400 priests confined in prison. (Ellis, Orig. Lett., iii., p. 128.) The reader who wishes to see a complete and well-digested statement of the penal laws passed under this and the succeeding monarchs, may consult Burns' *Ecclesiastical Law*, vol. i., art. "Popery," p. 113—192, 8vo., 1824. The new code passed in 1606, repealed none of the laws then in force, but added to their severity by two new bills, containing more than 70 articles, inflicting penalties on the Catholics in all their several capacities, of masters, servants, husbands, parents, children, heirs, executors, patrons, barristers, and physicians. The king, even by his own account, derived a net income of £36,000 per annum from the fines exacted for recusancy. (Hardwicke Papers, p. 446.) In the reign of Charles I., and during the rebellion, 23 Catholics were martyred. Charles's views were moderate and conciliatory, but those of the zealots of the kingdom increased in bigotry and fanaticism. The Lords and Commons, on several occasions, remonstrated with the king on his unwillingness to shed blood, denounced such leniency, and compelled him to sign the death-warrants of several priests, "to advance the glory of Almighty God." Rushworth, Col., v., p. 1. But the bishops of this reign exhibited to the world a spectacle hitherto unseen, that of the authorized teachers of a church—and of a church professedly fallible and based on the right of private judgment—solemnly denouncing, in synod, religious toleration as a crime. The following document was signed by Archbishop Usher, and eleven other Irish prelates. It is termed "The judgment of diverse of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland on the toleration of religion," and sets forth "that the religion of the Papists is superstitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical; their church, in respect to both, apostatical; that to give them, therefore, a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion, is a grievous sin." Curry's *Civil Wars in Ireland*, i., p. 110. For similar declarations by Protestant prelates, see Collier, *Ch. History*, vol. ii.; for one by Archbishop Abbot, see Wilkins, iv., p. 606. Under Charles II. eight priests at least were "put to death, for no other crime than their having received orders in the R. C. church." Hume.

free promulgation of opinions, especially through the press. All prohibitions of the open exercise of religious worship appear to form a third and more severe class of restrictive laws. They become yet more rigorous, when they afford no indulgence to the private and most secret acts or expressions of opinion. Finally, the last stage of persecution is to enforce by legal penalties a conformity to the established church, or an abjuration of heterodox opinions. The first degree in this classification, or the exclusion of dissidents from trust and power, though it be always incumbent on those who maintain it to prove its necessity, may, under certain rare circumstances, be conducive to the political well-being of a state, and can then only be reckoned an encroachment on the principles of toleration, when it ceases to produce a public benefit sufficient to compensate for the privations it occasions to its objects. Such was the English test act in the interval between 1672 and 1688.¹ But, in my judgment, the instances which the

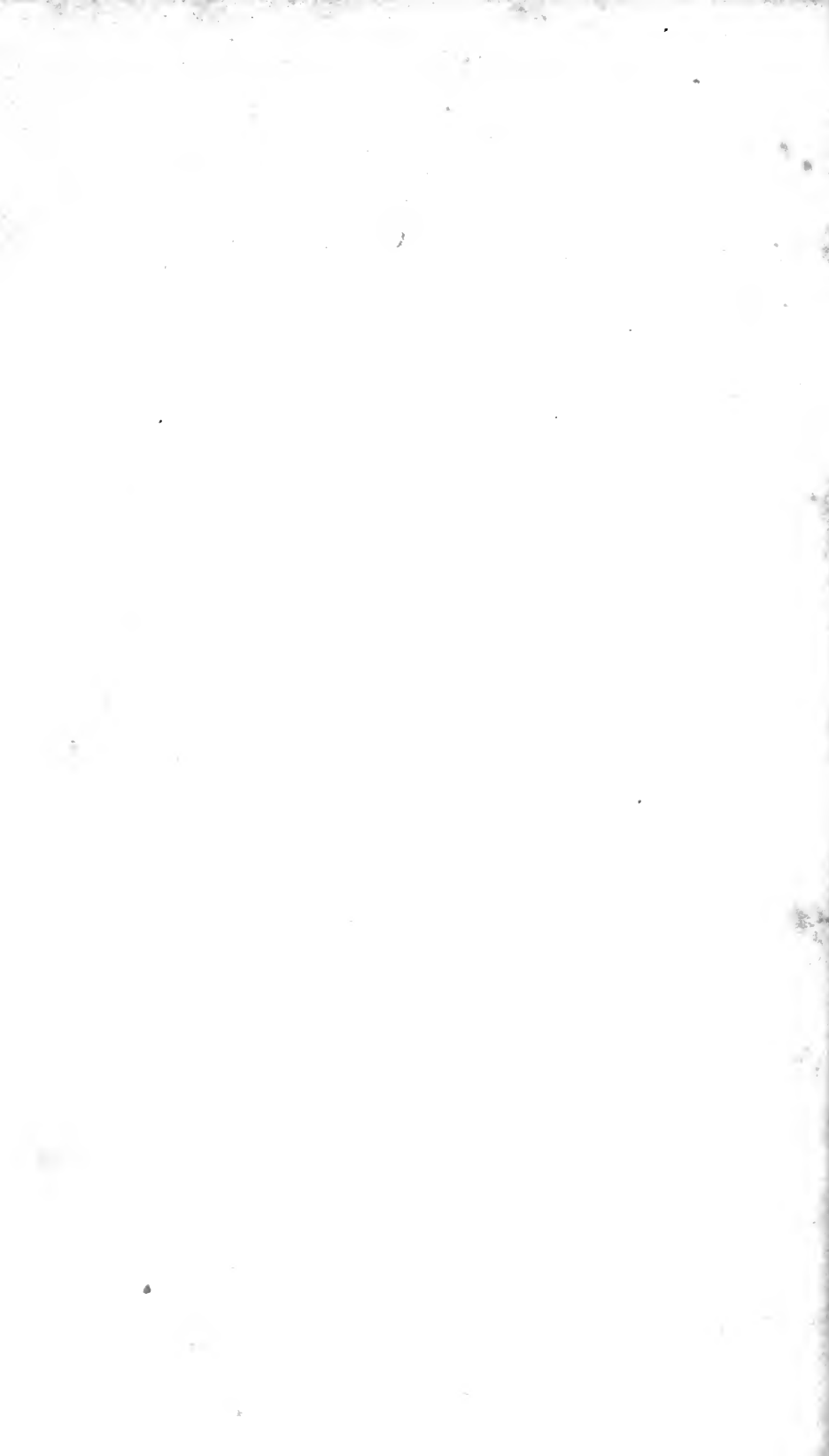
¹ The fiction by which the Catholics under Elizabeth were executed as traitors, has been already noticed, but it may not be useless to subjoin the following remarks from Hallam's Constitutional History, on the enormity of making religious opinions the test of civil allegiance, and then punishing the refusal of that test as treason. "Though no Papists were in this reign put to death purely on account of their religion, as numberless Protestants had been in the woeful days of Queen Mary, yet many were executed for treason." Churton's Life of Newell, p. 147. Thus it is when the impulses of very strong partiality operate on a naturally obtuse understanding. Mr. Southey, whose abandonment of the oppressed side I sincerely regret, holds the same language; and a later writer, Mr. Townsend, in his Accusations of History against the Church of Rome, has laboured to defend the capital, as well as other punishments of Catholics under Elizabeth, on the same pretence of their treason. Treason, by the law of England, and according to the common use of language, is the crime of rebellion and conspiracy against the government. If a statute is made, by which the celebration of certain religious rites is subjected to the same penalties as rebellion or conspiracy, would any man, free from prejudice, and not designing to impose upon the uninformed, speak of persons convicted on such a statute as guilty of treason, without expressing in what sense he uses the words, or deny that they were as truly punished for their religion, as if they had been convicted of heresy? A man is punished for religion, when he incurs a penalty for its profession or exercise, to which he was not liable on any other account. Lawyers are apt to be too rigidly technical: but I believe none would be found to argue like these ecclesiastics. This is applicable to the great majority of capital convictions on this score under Elizabeth. The persons convicted could not be traitors in any fair sense of the word, because they were not charged with any thing properly denominated treason. It certainly appears that Campion and some other priests, about the same time, were indicted on the statute of Edward III., for compassing the queen's death, or intending to depose her. But the only evidence, so far as we know, or have reason to suspect, that could be brought against them, was their own admission, at least by refusing to abjure it, of the Pope's power to depose heretical princes. I suppose it is unnecessary to prove that, without some overt act to show a design of acting upon this principle, it could not fall within the statute. These gentlemen to whom I allude, will answer, probably, that they are not bound to know the law. Perhaps not; but they are not bound to write books, wherein, for want of that knowledge, they advance the most untenable positions. If a man is to commit errors, let it at least not be in defence of oppression and inhumanity." P. 224. In another place he writes as follows: "Walsingham grounds the queen's proceedings upon two principles: the one, that 'consciences are not to be forced, but to be won and reduced by force of truth, with the aid of time, and use of all good means of instructions and persuasions'; the other, that 'cases of conscience, when they exceed their bounds, and grow to be matter of faction, lose their nature; and that sovereign princes ought distinctly to punish their

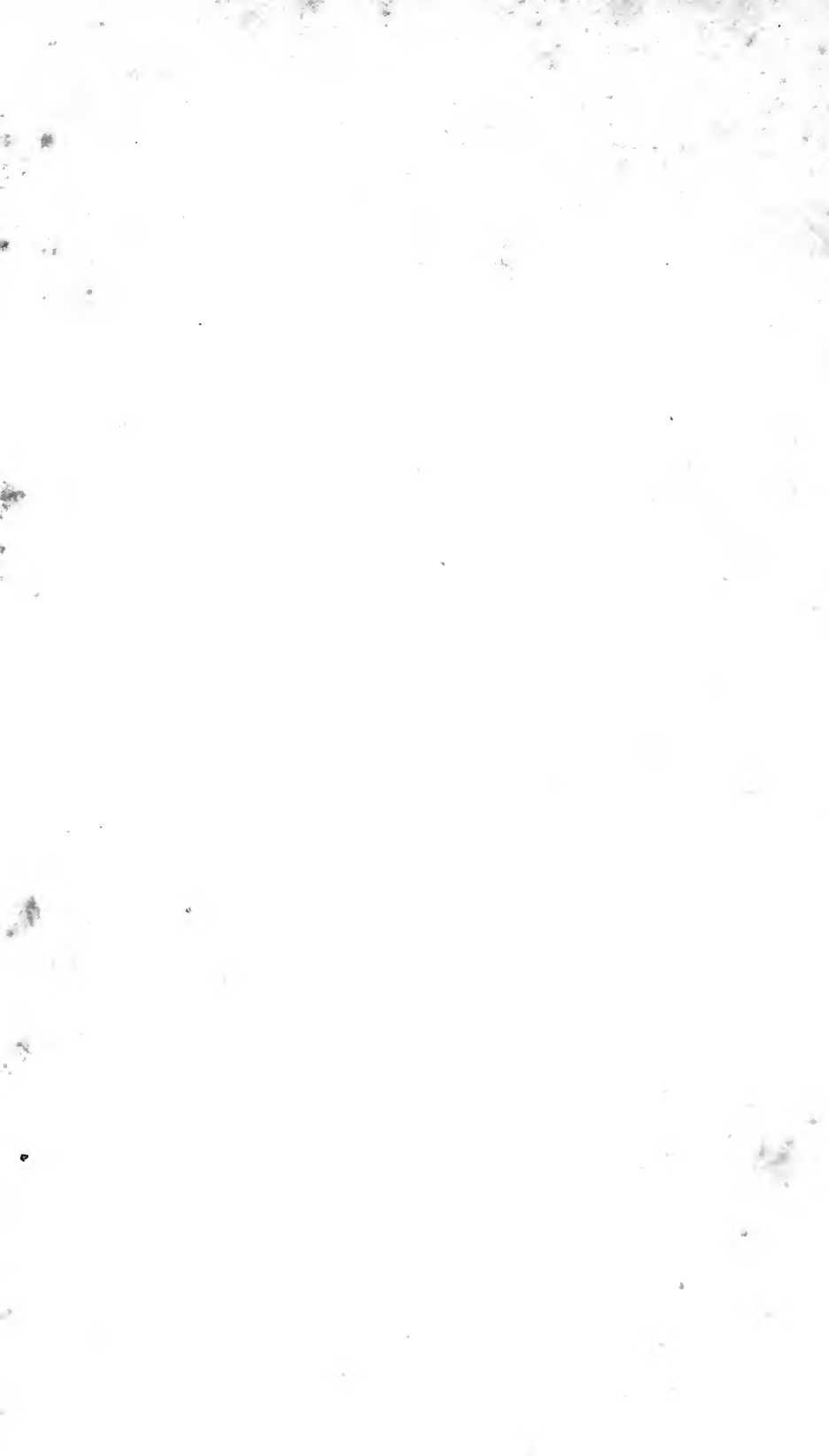
history of mankind affords, where even these restrictions have been really consonant to the soundest policy, are by no means numerous. Cases may also be imagined, where the free discussion of controverted doctrines might, for a time at least, be subject to some limitation for the sake of public tranquillity. I can scarcely conceive the necessity of restraining an open exercise of religious rites in any case except that of glaring immorality. In no possible case can it be justifiable for the temporal power to intermeddle with the private devotions or doctrines of any man. But least of all can it carry its inquisition into the heart's recesses, and bind the reluctant conscience to an insincere profession of truth, or extort from it an acknowledgment of error, for the purposes of inflicting punishment. The statutes of Elizabeth's reign comprehend every one of these progressive degrees of restraint and persecution. And it is much to be regretted, that any writers worthy of respect should, either through undue prejudice against an adverse religion, or through timid acquiescence in whatever has been enacted, have offered for this odious code the false pretext of political necessity. That necessity, I am persuaded, can never be made out; the statutes were, in many instances, absolutely unjust; in others, not demanded by circumstances; in almost all, prompted by religious bigotry, by excessive apprehension, or by the arbitrary spirit with which our government was administered under Elizabeth."¹

practices and contempt, though coloured with the pretence of conscience and religion.' Bacon has repeated the same words, as well as some more of Walsingham's letter, in his observations on the libel on Lord Burleigh, i., p. 522. And Mr. Southey, (*Book of the Church*, ii., p. 291,) seems to adopt them as his own. Upon this I have to observe; first, that they take for granted the fundamental sophism of religious intolerance, namely, that the civil magistrates, or the church he supports, are not only in the right, but so clearly in the right, that no honest man, if he takes time and pains to consider the subject, can help acknowledging it: secondly, that, according to the principles of Christianity, as admitted on each side, it does not rest in an esoteric profession, but requires an exterior profession, evidenced both by social worship, and by certain positive rites; and that the marks of this profession, according to the form best adapted to their respective ways of thinking, were as incumbent upon the Catholic and Puritan as they were upon the primitive church; nor were they more chargeable with faction, or with exceeding the bounds of conscience, when they persisted in the use of them, notwithstanding any prohibitory statute, than the early Christians." *Ibid.*, p. 308.

¹ Hallam, i., p. 229.









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